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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.

[new ser.]

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St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.

FOUNDED FEBRUARY 6th, 1879.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE
ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1890.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A., on "Dedication Crosses, with especial reference to those in Scotland." The paper was illustrated by drawings and photographs; and a short discussion followed, in which Mr. C. Browne, Mr. Bolton and Mr. Horsburgh took part.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1890.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

Mr. J. Grimshire read a paper on "The Abbey Churches of England, both perfect and ruinous, with suggestions as to treatment of the latter." The paper was profusely illustrated by a very fine series of lime-light views.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1890.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Before proceeding to the business of the evening, the following resolution was proposed by the Chairman, seconded by the Rev. E. Hoskins, and carried unanimously: "That the Members of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society have received with deep sorrow the intelligence of the great loss they have sustained in the death of their President, the Dean of St. Paul's, to whose support the Society has been so largely indebted for the success to which it has attained, and desire to express their sincere sympathy and condolence with the members of his family, under this affliction."

Objects of Ecclesiological interest were exhibited and described by the following members:—

The Chairman:—1. Photographs of a Mantel-piece in Bas-relief, in the Dining Room of what was formerly the Manor House of West-Down, near Ilfracombe, North Devon. The subject is, apparently, the Course of Time, illustrated by the ages of man, from childhood to old age; with allegorical figures of Time, Spring and Autumn, and other subjects. The date is apparently late 15th or perhaps 16th century.

2. A MS. Book of "Hours" with brilliant illuminations. Date, 15th century. It is principally remarkable for retaining unmutilated the office for St. Thomas of Canterbury, with a quaint illumination representing his death; which must have been very jealously guarded during the time of Henry VIII., when the mere possession of such a book might have exposed the owner to the penalties of misprision of treason. From entries in the Kalendar of Family Events, such as births, deaths, &c., it appears to have belonged to some members of the families of Bedingfield and Yelverton.

3. A Devotional Watch, with a very sweetly toned bell, on which the hours are struck, set in a case in the form of a skull, covered with engravings of scenes partly scriptural, partly classical, with appropriate mottoes from Horace. It very closely resembles the watch belonging to Sir Thomas W. Dick-Lauder, exhibited by him at the Stuart Exhibition (No. 360), and which was by him stated to be one of twelve presented by Mary to her favourite ladies of honour. It is, however, rather larger, and purports to be the original watch presented by Francis II., King of France (Mary's first husband), to Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland; from which the twelve made by Mary's orders, and distributed amongst her ladies, are said to have been copied. But the lettering of the inscription seems to be of a later date than that of Francis II., and must most probably have been placed upon the watch (the works of which have been greatly tampered with) at a later period.

4. A small Cross, inlaid with mother-of-pearl, and said to contain a fragment of the True Cross set in it. It is made to screw on to the skull watch above mentioned; and when so

attached the two together present the image of a Calvary, to be set before the person using it at her or his devotions.

5. A Crucifix, the cross in ebony, and the figure in ivory; stated (traditionally) to have belonged to Mary Queen of Scots, and to have been used by her at her execution. It was purchased from the celebrated antiquary, Dr. Medde, by whom it was said to have been purchased from the descendants of Andrew Melville, Mary Stuart's secretary—to whom she is said to have given it immediately before her death.

6. A collection of copies in water-colour of several rather rough and inartistic drawings or paintings on the walls of the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, the originals of which were executed by the Crusaders themselves; many of them being representations of the crests or shields of (presumably) the persons who made the sketches. These drawings being in a remote and dark part of the church, remained for many centuries unnoticed, but were at last discovered and brought to the attention of Napoleon III. (who assumed the character of Protector of the Latin Christians in the East), and he commissioned an artist to proceed to the Holy Land, and to make careful copies of these drawings. Whilst engaged in this work, however, the Franco-German War broke out, and the Emperor had other things to do with his money than to pay the artist whom he had employed for this work. And so the drawings were sold to a private purchaser, from whom they have passed to the present owner, who has kindly permitted them to be exhibited to the Society.

Rev. E. S. Dewick :—Several illuminated MSS, including a Gradual of the Premonstratensian Canons of the Abbey of Parc, near Louvain, circa 1280, with inscription at the end; "Explicit Graduale dominorum de Parcho quod fecit scribi frater Symon de louanio prior in honore gloriose virginis Marie. Si quis abstulerit anathema sit fiat fiat." Also a MS. containing the night offices, which once belonged to the same abbey of Parc, as shown by the stamp on the binding, BIBLIOTHECÆ PARCHENSIS. It had, however, belonged originally to a priory of nuns, and had been transcribed and finished in 1499, by the prioress herself, as a labour of love in her leisure time, as appears from an inscription towards the end of the book :—"Mera ex caritate. festiuis diebus. uacanti tempore liber hic scriptum exstat. quare vendi non licet. sed pie exorandum pro Adriana van den veeken tunc temporis priorissa. que suis laboribus indefessis propriis manibus eundem perfecit. Anno milleno quadringenteno nonagintesimo nono. duodecima die mensis augusti." Information as to Adriana van den Veeken is desired, in order to identify the religious house of which she was prioress.

A MS. Bohemian Missal which once belonged to the cathedral church of Olmutz. The Sanctorale includes the offices of many Bohemian saints, including S. Wenceslaus, S. Ludmilla, SS. Cyril and Methodius, S. Adalbert, S. Procopius.

A MS. Premonstratensian Breviary which is unfortunately without a calendar, but the Sanctorale seems to prove that it was in use in the neighbourhood of Cologne.

A MS. theological treatise arranged alphabetically, with the colophon: "Explicit summa compilata secundum literas alphabeti extracta ex decretalibus et decretis et ex dictis thome." The binding is of stamped leather, with the binder's name, "Johannes fogel." His name also appears on the copy of the Mazarine Bible belonging to Eton College, which has the same stamps.

Mr. C. H. Skilbeck :—A curious carving, representing the Crucifixion, found behind a panel in an old house in Berkshire.

Mr. W. H. Pitman :—A Handkerchief distributed at the Consecration of the Greek Church in Bayswater. The imprint on it represents the Iconostasis of the Church.

Mr. St. Cedd :—A Crucifix commemorative of the burning of the belfry of York Minster, on May 20, 1840, the figure being made from part of one of the bells, fused by the great heat. Another in ebony, left by Mons. Darboy, Archbishop of Paris, in the cell of the prison La Roquette, when taken out to be murdered under the Commune of Paris, May 24, 1871.

Mr. Horsburgh :—Photographs of Miserere Stalls, and other carved wood-work.

Mr. A. Oliver :—Rubbings of Brasses, and of incised Slabs and Matrices.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 14, 1891.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. E. J. Tarver, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.,* read a paper on "Screens" (printed at p. 16), illustrating the subject by a large number of drawings and plans. A long and interesting discussion took place, opened by Mr. Micklethwaite, who was followed by Major Heales, Mr. R. H. Carpenter, Mr. C. Browne, Mr. Birch, Mr. Grimshire and Rev. E. Hoskins.

* A few months after the reading of this paper, the numerous friends of Mr. Tarver had occasion to lament his death, which occurred on June 7, at the early age of 49.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 31, 1891.

TWELFTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed; after which the Annual Report and Balance Sheet were presented.

TWELFTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1890-91.

The Twelfth Annual Report, regarded as a record of the year's work, must be considered highly satisfactory.

Nine Meetings have been held at the Chapter House during the year, at which Papers on the following subjects have been read:—"Historical Notes on the City of Angers, its Ecclesiology and Antiquities," by Mr. G. H. Birch; on "The Ecclesiology of Denmark," by Major Heales: "An Enquiry into the literal meaning of the Ornaments Rubric, so far as it affects Parish Churches, by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite; on "St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin," by Mr. R. Herbert Carpenter; on "The Knights of the Teutonic Order," by Mr. Charles Browne; on "Dedication Crosses, with special reference to those of Scotland," by Rev. E. S. Dewick; on "The Abbey Churches of England, both perfect and ruinous, with especial reference to, and suggestions as to the treatment of the latter," by Mr. J. Grimshire; and on "Screens," by Mr. E. J. Tarver. Following the precedent of last year, one evening was devoted to an exhibition of objects of ecclesiological interest. The result was again very satisfactory.

Afternoon visits were made to the Churches of St. Mark, St. Peter, and St. Mary-by-the-Park, Battersea, under the direction of Mr. William White; to the Chapel of St. John, and the Church of St. Peter-ad-Vincula, in the Tower of London, which were described by Mr. G. H. Birch; to the Churches of Stone and Northfleet, under the guidance of Mr. H. Roumieu Gough; and to Waltham Abbey, which was described by Mr. J. Arthur Reeve.

A whole-day excursion was made to the City of Coventry, where the Churches, the Monastic, and many other interesting remains were visited, under the direction of Mr. W. G. Fretton. The Society is much indebted to the Clergy, the City Authorities, the Board of Guardians, and other gentlemen, for the facilities granted for the inspection of the many objects of interest in this ancient City.

The best thanks of the Society are also due to the clergy of the Churches visited, to the Authorities of the Tower of London, to the gentlemen who have read papers, acted as guides, or otherwise conduced to the success which has attended the year's proceedings.

Volume II. of the Transactions has been completed, by the issue of Part V., during the year. It is gratifying to note that the Society's Transactions are assuming a prominent place among works of reference. The amount received for sale of Transactions is encouraging.

The deaths of the Very Reverend the Dean, and of the Reverend Dr. Liddon, Canon, of St. Paul's, were events of national moment, and called forth expressions of profound sorrow from all parts of the country. The members of this Society are especially concerned, the late Dean having been its first President, and Dr. Liddon a Vice-President since its formation. The Council feel their inability to add anything to the expression of universal respect which has been manifested for them, and they therefore content themselves by gratefully acknowledging the obligations which this Society owes to them.

It will be remembered that it was the Reverend Canon Gregory who actually proposed the establishment of this Society, and every member will join in the hearty congratulations which the Council venture to offer him on his preferment to the Deanery. It is with much pleasure that the Council announce his acceptance of the Presidency of the Society.

The annexed Balance Sheet is very disappointing; the comparatively large indebtedness of the Society is largely due to the fact that many members have neglected to pay their subscriptions, and it is to be observed that the deficit would have been much greater, except for the very liberal special donations of a few members, to whom the best thanks of the Society are due.

It is obvious that in order to maintain the Transactions at their present standard prompt payment of subscriptions is necessary, and an increase in the number of members is desirable.

Nineteen new members have been elected during the year; the number now on the Register is 250.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,
Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,
Honorary Secretary.

BALANCE SHEET, 1890, ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Dr. Dec. 31st, 1890.	£	s.	d.	*Cr.* Dec. 31st, 1890.	£	s.	d.
To Entrance Fees and Subscriptions ...	53	12	6	By Balance from last Account	12	14	7
,, Life Subscriptions	6	6	0	,, Amount paid for printing Transactions,	46	16	7
,, Sale of Transactions	15	18	2	,, Printing and Stationery	9	14	0
,, Publications Fund (Special Donations)	11	6	8	,, Postage	13	19	2
,, Interest on Reserve Fund	1	13	6	,, Fees to Attendants	2	16	0
,, Balance (Deficit due to Treasurer) ...	0	12	3	,, Half of Life Subscriptions carried to Reserve Fund	3	3	0
				,, Miscellaneous	0	5	9
	£89	9	1		£89	9	1
Jan. 1st, 1891.				Jan. 1st, 1891.			
Reserved Fund in Post Office Savings Bank...	71	10	6	Balance (Deficit due to Treasurer) ...	0	12	3
				Liability for Transactions	29	6	7
				Liability for Printing and Postage ...	3	10	4

We have examined the above, and found it correct,

RICHARD C. JACKSON, EDWIN H. FEDARD, } *Auditors.*

H. G. DUFFIELD, *Hon. Secretary.*

January 22nd, 1891. ALFRED HEALES, *Treasurer.*

The Report and Balance Sheet, proposed from the Chair, were unanimously adopted.

The members of the Council retiring from the Council in accordance with Rule VI., viz., Messrs. H. R. Gough, Somers Clarke and F. Gill, were re-elected.

The re-election of Major Heales as Treasurer, and of Mr. E. J. Wells and the Rev. H. G. Duffield as Hon. Secretaries, was carried unanimously.

The Chairman announced that the Dean of St. Paul's had consented to accept the office of President of the Society.

On the proposal of the Council, the Very Rev. the Dean of Davenport, U.S.A., and the Rev. Canon W. Cooke, F.S.A., were elected Vice-Presidents.

The Meeting concluded with votes of thanks to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for the use of the Chapter Room for the Society's Meetings; to the Honorary Secretaries, and the Honorary Editor of the Transactions, and to the Chairman of the Meeting.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1891.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. A. Oliver, A.R.I.B.A., read a paper on "The Brasses of the City Churches," and exhibited rubbings of those which are still in existence.

The following is a list of churches in the City which now contain Brasses:—All Hallows Barking; St. Andrew Undershaft; St. Bartholomew the Less, Smithfield; St. Dunstan in the West; St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, (including those formerly in the Church of St. Martin Outwich); St. Martin, Ludgate, which before long will have the Brass of Thomas Beri, from St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street, placed there; Holy Trinity, Minories; St. Peter, Cornhill (an inscription relating to the foundation of the Church). In the Chapel of St. Catherine's Hospital, Regent's Park, is the Brass of William Cuttinge, removed from the Chapel of St. Katherine by the Tower.

One of the most interesting City Brasses is at All Hallows Barking; which is illustrated in the accompanying Plate. Mr. Oliver's description is as follows:—

In the Nave of All Hallows Barking, is the Brass of *Andrew Evyngar*, 1535, it is a Flemish example. It is inlaid in a slab, round which is an incised marginal inscription. The left side of the slab has been destroyed, together with the sentence, and also the evangelistic symbols, of which traces may be seen. The Brass consists of the figures of Evyngar, his wife, son, and daughters, standing under a canopy of pointed arches which spring from side shafts. In the centre on a throne or a chair is placed our Lady of Pity, supported underneath by a corbel. The background is richly diapered. The figures of the personages commemorated stand on a tessellated pavement, and are turned the one towards the other. Scrolls, bearing sentences, issue from the mouths of Evyngar and his wife, and address each of the personages above. That from the man bears the words, "O filii (*sic*) dei miserere mei," and that from the woman, "O mater dei memento mei." The figure of Evyngar is dressed in a long, loose

PHOTO LITHO. SPRAGUE & Co LONDON.

ANDREW EVYNGAR 1535:- ALL HALLOWS, BARKING.

Size — 1ft. 11½ins × 2ft. 9½

From a Rubbing by ANDREW OLIVER, A.R.I.B.A.

gown, with deep full sleeves, under which is worn an under-garment; the feet are in broad-toed shoes. The wife's figure is in a long mantle with long gauntlet cuffs at the wrists; round the waist is a broad ornamented belt, with a large round buckle, from which hangs a rosary, which terminates in a tassel; a large plain hood is worn over the head. The son's dress is similar to that worn by his father, excepting the sleeves, which in this case fit close. The five daughters are placed at the side of the mother in three rows. The two in the front row wear a similar dress, excepting for the belt and rosary, which are omitted, their place being taken by a crossed girdle. Of the other figures only the head-dress, which is similar to that worn by the others, is seen. The arms of the Merchant Adventurers and the Salters Company are placed on either side at the top of the Brass. The Merchants' mark is borne on a shield placed between the feet of the principal figures. At the bottom of the Brass is all that remains of the inscription: ". . . of Andrewe Evyngar cytezen and salter of london and ellyn hys . . ." The words with which the inscription commenced, "Of your charite pray for the soules," were doubtless erased to save the Brass from total destruction as "a monument of superstition."

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 25, 1891.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

On behalf of the Council, the Chairman proposed the election of the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., F.S.A., Canon of St. Paul's, as a Vice-President of the Society, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., read a paper entitled, "Notes on the Ancient Churches of Middlesex" (printed at p. 21). A discussion followed, in which Mr. A. D. White, Rev. E. Hoskins, Rev. E. S. Dewick, Mr. Bell, Mr. Charles Browne and others took part.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 18, 1891.

Chairman: Rev. Edgar Hoskins, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. H. B. Briggs on "The History and Characteristics of Plain-song" (which is printed at p. 27). The paper was illustrated by selections of music, sung by a choir under the direction of Mr. B. Luard-Selby, organist of St. Barnabas, Pimlico. A discussion followed, in which Mr. Spenser Nottingham and others took part, and votes of thanks were unanimously passed to the lecturer, and also to Mr. Luard-Selby and the members of the choir.

SATURDAY, MARCH 21, 1891.

Visit to Holy Trinity, Chelsea.

A visit was paid to the recently opened church of Holy Trinity, Chelsea, under the direction of the architect, Mr. J. D. Sedding, F.R.I.B.A.,* who pointed out that the principles which had guided him in building the church, had been explained in his paper, read before the Society in 1884. (See *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, vol. ii., p. 1.)

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 15, 1891.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

On the proposal of the Council, the Right Rev. the Bishop of Iowa, U.S.A., was elected a Vice-President of the Society.

Mr. F. J. Beckley, B.A., gave a Lecture entitled, "The Pagan and Earliest Christian Monuments of Ireland viewed in connection with their History."

SATURDAY, APRIL 25, 1891.

Visit to Christ's Hospital and St. Bartholomew the Great.

At Christ's Hospital, a paper on the "Grey Friars," by Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., was read in his unavoidable absence by the Rev. E. Hoskins. The remains of the old cloister of the

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* A fortnight after this visit, the members of the Society were saddened by the news of the death of Mr. Sedding, after a few days' illness, on April 7, 1891. An interesting note upon his artistic life and work, with a portrait, and illustrations of some of his most successful designs will be found in *The Builder* of October 10, 1891.

Grey Friars were inspected, and a visit was paid to the great hall, built by James Shaw, in 1825–9; and also to the adjoining edifice of Christ Church, Newgate Street, which stands on the site of the choir of the old church of the Grey Friars.

At St. Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, an interesting account of the church, and of its restoration now in progress, was given by Mr. E. A. Webb. Since the last visit of the Society in 1887, the restoration of the south transept has been completed, in the course of which two of the original Norman triforium arches, and other interesting remains have been brought to light. The transept arch has now been opened out, after having been long concealed by the canvas-covered partition which separated the vestry from the church.

SATURDAY, MAY 9, 1891.

Visit to Kingston and Hampton Court.

The Parish Church of Kingston and the Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene were described by Major Heales, F.S.A.; whose account of the Church of Kingston-upon-Thames will be found in the *Surrey Archæological Collections*, vol. viii., p. 13; and of the Free Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, *Ib.* p. 255.

Afterwards Hampton Court Palace was visited, and particular attention was directed to the Chapel, which still retains a fine Tudor roof, though the fittings and windows are the work of Wren. The ancient kitchen and other parts of the Palace were also visited.

SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1891.

Visit to Shenfield and Hutton.

Under the direction of Mr. F. Chancellor, F.R.I.B.A., Shenfield Church was visited, and an account of the parish and the church was read by him.

"The origin of the name Shenfield is somewhat in dispute. Morant says it is formed of two Saxon words, *scen* and *feld*—a pleasant field. Roman remains have been found here, which is not to be wondered at, as it lies on the old Roman Road from Londinium to Cæsaromagus (Chelmsford), and so on to Colchester. Whether there are any fragments of Roman materials in the walls of the present church it is not possible to say, because they have been plastered over. One Bodd, a freeman, owned the parish in the days of Edward the Confessor, but at the time of the Survey it was held by Eustace, the great Earl of Boulogne. The next possessor upon record is Humfrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, for at the time of his death he held the manor here of the king *in capite* of the honour of Mandeville. It seems to have come to him possibly by the marriage of his great-grandfather, Henry de Bohun, with Maud, heiress of the house of Mandeville. The manor continued in this family until Eleanor, daughter and co-heiress of Humfrey de Bohun (who died in 1372) brought it in marriage to Thomas of Woodstock, sixth son of Edward III., who was murdered in 1397. It was afterwards in the family of the Bourchiers, and then in the family of Humfrey Stafford, who was killed in 1460.

"The manor was afterwards seized by Edward IV., and it remained in the hands of the Crown until Queen Mary granted it away.

"Robert Lord Fitzwalter held lands in this parish in 1301, and had licence to enclose a park.

"I have given this short sketch of the owners, because we find that many of the churches in Essex owe much to the munificence of the great landed proprietors in former days. In this case we have a long succession of noted men who were also great builders in their day.

"This church, dedicated to St. Mary, originally consisted of a long parallelogram, 70 ft. long by 19 ft. wide, with nave and chancel dating back to the 13th century, and probably built by Humfrey de Bohun, the then owner of the manor of Shenfield Hall. The walls are 3 ft. thick, and the interior was no doubt lighted by the usual small lancet windows of that period.

"In the 15th century, probably during the tenure of the Stafford family, the greater portion of the north wall was pulled down, and an arcade of five arches constructed in oak, and a north aisle with a chapel at the east end of it was thrown out. At about the same time the tower with spire was constructed at the west end of the nave, and the south porch added. We may also, I think, attribute the alteration of the old lancet windows in the south wall into two-light windows to this period, and also the making of the three-light east window. The south door appears to be of a much more modern date.

"I should wish to draw especial attention to the details of the nave arcade, for, without going to the length of saying that it is unique, I may say that it is a very rare treatment.

"The clustered columns and arches extend to a total length of 47 feet, divided into five bays; there are four clustered columns and two responds, all with moulded capitals and bases. It is probable that there were brackets at the sides, and arches with pierced spandrels from cluster to cluster. About the year 1840 these details were mutilated.

"In 1856, portions of the screen which enclosed the two bays forming the chapel at the east end of the aisle still existed, but these fragments have now disappeared.

"The alterations made at this period, *i.e.*, in the 15th century, were much elaborated, and the roof is no doubt of this period. Its embattled tye-beams attest the quality of the work.

"The tower is a fine specimen of carpentry, not so massive as Margaretting; but still the four main posts on either side, with their curved braces and the cross-beams between them, have a very picturesque effect. The next story also is very strongly constructed, and if any one will take the trouble to mount to the bell-chamber, where there are four bells, he will be rewarded by a view of one of the most marvellous pieces of carpentry in the spire that I know of, even in this county, so noted for its carpentry work."

After leaving Shenfield, a visit was paid to Hutton Church, which was also described by Mr. Chancellor:—

"The manor of Hutton, which belonged in the time of Edward the Confessor to one Got, a freeman, was given by William the Conqueror to Battle Abbey, in Sussex. In 1539, at the Suppression, it was granted by Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Darcy.

"The church is dedicated to All Saints, and consisted of nave, with north and south aisles, chancel, and bell-turret, built apparently at one time in the reigns of Henry IV. and V., early in the 15th century. The walls have been so thoroughly 'restored,' that neither externally nor internally is there any trace of the old work, except in some of the columns and arches of the arcades, and one jamb of south door. Externally the nave has been re-faced with cut flints. The chancel has received the modern additions of a south chapel and a north organ chamber; and a tower has been added at the west end of the nave."

SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1891.

Visit to Guildford.

Under the guidance of Mr. Ralph Neville, F.S.A., the annual whole-day excursion of the Society was made to Guildford and its neighbourhood. The Church of St. Mary was the first object of interest, and attention was directed to its architecture, commencing with the Early Norman or pre-Norman of the central tower, and going on to the Transition Norman of the nave arcade, and subsequent additions and alterations in the Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular styles. In the chapel, on the north side of the chancel, the wall-paintings, with legendary and other subjects from the lives of St. John the Baptist, and St. John the Evangelist, attracted much attention. They have been carefully described by Mr. J. G. Waller, in *Archæologia*, vol. xlix., p. 199.

On leaving St. Mary's, the castle was visited, and the small chamber in the keep, which once served as a chapel or oratory, offered many points of ecclesiological interest. The richly carved Norman capitals of the wall arcade were admired, and the rude carvings on the walls of St. Christopher, and other subjects, were discussed.

A move was then made to Holy Trinity Church, which was completed in 1763. It is a red-brick building, remarkable for the great span of its roof. It has recently been improved by the throwing out of an apse, and by a judicious use of colour. Some monuments from the old church have been preserved. Among them, the most conspicuous is that of Archbishop Abbot, who reclines beneath a canopy, on which are placed figures of the cardinal virtues.

Some interesting old houses and the undercroft at the Angel Inn were visited, and the party then spent some time in Abbot's Hospital (founded in 1619), where the chapel with its stained glass, which was probably imported from the Low Countries, was the principal object of interest. The glass illustrates the history of Isaac, Jacob, and Esau, and several scrolls in the windows contain the words, "Clamamus Abba Pater," a "canting" allusion to the name of the founder. The dining room, and other parts of the Hospital, also attracted attention on account of their fittings in massive oak.

The last object visited in Guildford was the church St. Nicholas, which was rebuilt in 1836, and again in 1875, but fortunately the old Losely chapel has been preserved. It was built in the 15th century, and contains several monuments of interest.

On leaving Guildford, progress was made to St. Catherine's Chapel, and thence a pleasant walk across the fields brought the party to Godalming, where some time was spent in examining the church, which is principally Perpendicular, but retains many earlier features, including some wall-paintings on the jambs of the original Early English windows in the south aisle of the choir, once blocked up, but now re-opened.

SATURDAY, JUNE 27, 1891.

Visit to Beddington and Carshalton.

At Beddington Church an account was read of its restoration by the late Mr. Joseph Clark, a Vice-President of the Society; and at Carshalton some notes on the church were read by Mr. W. Bolton.

SATURDAY, JULY 18, 1891.

Visit to Great and Little Bookham.

Under the direction of Major Heales, F.S.A., the two churches of Great and Little Bookham were visited. The latter church now consists of nave and chancel without aisles, but when the plaster was recently removed from the south side of the nave, it was found that piers and arches of Transitional Norman character still existed in the walls, showing that the church once possessed a south aisle, which has been pulled down, and the arcade walled up and plastered over. The Norman capitals on the outside have been left exposed, and the piers may be seen inside.

The Church of Great Bookham has Norman piers in the nave, but the chancel is an addition of the 14th century, as recorded by a remarkable inscription on the east wall, which gives the date 1341:—

"Hec domus abbate fuerat constructa iohanne
De rutherwyka decus ob sancti nicholai
Anno milleno triceno bisque viceno
Primo Christus ei paret hinc sedem requiei."

There are several Brasses and monuments of interest.

A *full description* of the church by Major Heales, will be found in the *Surrey Archæological Collections*, vol. v., pp. 24—52.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1891.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The following papers by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A., were read:—

1. Some Imitations of *Te Deum*.
2. A Comparative Study of the Time in the Christian Liturgy of which the Elements are prepared and set on the Holy Table.
3. The Black Scarf of Modern Church Dignitaries, and the Grey Almuce of Mediæval Canons.

The first of these papers is printed at p. 34, and the other two will be printed in the next Part of the *Transactions* of the Society.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1891.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

On the proposal of the Council, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Pretoria was elected a Vice-President of the Society.

A paper was read by Mr. J. Starkie Gardner, F.L.S., F.G.S., on "Enamels, in connection with Ecclesiastical Art," which will be printed in the next Part of the *Transactions*.

A collection of modern enamels was exhibited in illustration of the paper. The series included specimens of Mr. Gardner's experiments, and some very beautiful examples of Russian work, lent by Mr. A. Kotin.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1891.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

The re-election of Messrs. E. H. Fedarb, R. C. Jackson, and S. Rawson as auditors of the accounts for the year 1891 was proposed, and carried unanimously.

Objects of Ecclesiological interest were exhibited and described by the following members:—

The Chairman:—Examples of Mediæval Champlevé Enamels, including two crucifixes, a pyx, and a small reliquary.

MS. Pontifical of the 14th century, arranged by Gulielmus Durandus, for use in the diocese of Mende.

MS. Sarum portifory (sanctorale only), containing on the leaves at the end a curious entry relating to "the makynge and reparynge of shitlington churche pale," with the names of parishioners and the number of yards, varying from one to six, for which they were severally responsible. Shitlington or Shillington is in Bedfordshire, a few miles north-west of Hitchin.

Mr. A. D. White:—The Mediæval Chalice and Paten belonging to West Drayton Church, Middlesex.

Mr. R. C. Jackson:—An old Panel Painting giving the portraiture of a canon.

Mr. Krall:—Various specimens of Ecclesiastical Metal-work, recently purchased in Italy, including crucifixes, processional cross, incense boats, ciborium, and three renaissance chalices.

Mr. W. A. Luning:—A large collection of modern Church Vestments, mostly brought from the Continent, including chasubles, copes, chalice-veils, &c.

Mr. M. Pope:—An Alms Dish, presented to Edmund Calamy in 1641, a portrait of this well-known Puritan divine, and other objects.

Mr. H. E. Franks:—A Geneva Bible, 1599, and an album containing a collection of autographs.

Mr. W. Bolton:—A well-preserved block of stone, with carving of chevron pattern, thrust out of Ely Cathedral during "restoration." The head of an angel, carved by Flaxman, which formed part of the destroyed monument of Anne Bowling in Croydon Church.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 5, 1892.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

An address was given by Mr. Fitzhugh Whitehouse, of New York (son of the late Bishop of Illinois) on "The Church in the United States of America, its Past, Present, and Future." The lecturer said that the Church in America was known not only as the American Church, but as the American Catholic Church. The exact title of the organization was the Protestant Episcopal Church, to which many of them had a grave objection. They seldom made references to "sectarian" differences, preferring to refer to them as bodies rather than sects. In the colonial time they were largely indebted to the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which sent a large number of missionaries to America. It was a debt which they would never adequately repay. They were trying to do something in that direction, however, by sending missionaries to other lands. Referring to the organization of the American Church, Mr. Whitehouse said the convocations were held triennially, the House of Bishops being presided over by the senior Bishop in the order of consecration. They had no Archbishops as in England, and in America there were no translations, except in the case of a missionary Bishop. They considered the power of a Bishop as inherent in the office, and it was only limited by the constitutions and canons. The lecturer gave an interesting description of the principal cathedrals of America, and said the parishes were controlled by a rector, who was elected by the two wardens and eight vestrymen, while on Easter Monday the vestry were elected by the congregation. In America it was more expensive to go to church than to the people in England. In fashionable churches pew rents were very dear, running as high as £80 a year. They had a great unwillingness to clear off debts on churches by bazaars. When a debt had been incurred on a church it was cleared off by way of assessment on each member of the congregation. He had known as much as £25,000 cleared off in that way by a congregation on an Easter Sunday morning. Calling attention to endowments, Mr. Whitehouse regretted they were not in vogue in America. There were now four religious bodies in America, known as high, low, and broad Church, and ritualistic, the Evangelical party having mainly died out. He congratulated all Englishmen on the fact that the attendances at their churches were larger than in America, and this, he thought, was due to the services generally being more interesting and more engaging.

At the conclusion of the address, a very cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer was carried on the proposal of the Rev. Canon Benham.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 27, 1892.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A lecture was given by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., on "The Growth of a Parish Church," in which, commencing with the earliest churches which remain in England, he traced the development of the fabric and furniture. The church of All Saints, Wakefield, was selected as an example of typical development. The lecture was illustrated by numerous plans, and at its conclusion a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Micklethwaite.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 1892.

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed, after which the Annual Report and Balance-sheet for 1892 were presented:—

THIRTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1891-92.

In presenting their Thirteenth Annual Report the Council have much pleasure in again congratulating members on the satisfactory position of the Society.

Since the last Report, eight Meetings have been held at the Chapter House, and Papers have been read on the following subjects:—"Brasses in City Churches," by Mr. Andrew Oliver; "Notes on ancient Churches of Middlesex," by Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock; on "The History and Characteristics of Plainsong," by Mr. H. B. Briggs; on "The Pagan and earliest Christian Monuments of Ireland, viewed in connection with their History" (First Part), by Mr. F. J. Beckley; on "Some imitations of Te Deum," "A comparative study of the time in the Christian Liturgy at which the elements are prepared and set on the Holy Table," and "The Black Scarf of Modern Church Dignitaries and the Grey Almuce of Mediæval Canons," by Dr. J. Wickham Legg; on "Enamels in connection with Ecclesiastical Art," by Mr. J. Starkie Gardner; and on "The Church of the United States of America, its past, present, and future," by Mr. Fitzhugh Whitehouse, of New York. One evening was devoted to an exhibition of objects of ecclesiological interest.

Afternoon visits have been made to the Church of Holy Trinity, Chelsea, under the direction of (the late) Mr. J. D. Sedding; to Christ's Hospital, when a Paper by Mr. G. H. Birch was read; to St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, on the opening of the South Transept, conducted by Mr. E. A. Webb; to the Parish Church, and the Free Chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, at Kingston, under the direction of Major Heales; to the Chapel at Hampton Court Palace, conducted by Mr. Chart; to the Churches of Shenfield and Hutton, under the direction of Mr. F. Chancellor; to Bookham and Little Bookham, under the direction of Major Heales; to Beddington, where a pamphlet by the late Rector was read; and to Carshalton, where the Churchwardens kindly received the Society.

A whole day was spent in Guildford, when Mr. Ralph Nevill was good enough to conduct. Unfortunately the attendance on this occasion was but small.

The Council desire to express their best thanks to the Clergy of the various churches, and to the authorities of the other buildings which have been visited, for their courteous welcome to the Society; and also to all those gentlemen who, by reading papers, acting as guides, and otherwise, have contributed to the success of the proceedings.

The Council regret to have to record the death during the year of their Financial Secretary, the Rev. H. G. Duffield, who had filled that office with great advantage to the Society during a period of upwards of seven years, and desire to express their sympathy with his family and friends in their loss.

Mr. Gill has been elected by the Council to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Mr. Duffield, and has kindly consented to accept the appointment.

Part I. of the Third Volume of the Transactions has been issued since last report. The outside demand for the Society's Transactions continues, and their sale produced a substantial amount during the year.

The Balance-sheet is a great improvement on that of last year, a large number of subscriptions then in arrear have been paid, and the finances of the Society are now in a fairly satisfactory condition.

The Register of Members is under revision. Twenty-four new members have been elected during the year.

LEWIS GILBERTSON, *Chairman.*
EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Secretary.*

BALANCE-SHEET, 1891, ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Dr.

Dec. 31st, 1891.	£	s.	d.
To Entrance Fees and Subcriptions ...	63	8	6
,, Life Subscriptions	12	12	0
,, Sale of Transactions	14	5	11
,, Publication Fund (Special Donations)	3	5	6
,, Interest on Reserve Fund	1	15	6
,, Balance (Deficit due to Treasurer) ...	6	1	10
	£101	9	3
Jan. 1st, 1892.			
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank	£77	16	6

Cr.

Dec. 31st, 1891.	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last Account	0	12	3
,, Amount paid for printing Transactions (including £29 6s. 7d. for 1890)...	65	6	7
,, Printing and Stationery	12	19	7
,, Postage	13	18	8
,, Fees to Attendants	2	6	2
,, Half of Life Subscriptions carried to Reserve Fund	6	6	0
	£101	9	3
Jan. 1st. 1892.			
Balance (Deficit due to Treasurer) ...	£6	1	10

We have examined the above, and found it correct,

RICHARD C. JACKSON, SAMUEL RAWSON, } *Auditors.*

EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Secretary.*
January 23rd, 1892. ALFRED HEALES, *Treasurer.*

The Report and Balance-sheet, on the proposal of the Chairman, were unanimously adopted.

Alterations in the Rules were proposed on behalf of the Council by the Chairman, who explained that the object of the changes was to enable the Financial Secretary to be called the Treasurer.

The proposed alterations were carried unanimously, with power to re-number the Rules where necessary. The following were the changes:—

Rule VI. After "President" to insert "elected Trustee," and for "Secretaries" to substitute "Secretary."

Rule VII. For "Secretaries" to substitute "Secretary."

Rule XI. Before "funds" to insert the word "current," and after "Society" to insert the words "receive subscriptions."

New Rule XI. The Trustees, in whose names the invested funds of the Society are held, shall be the Chairman of the Council, the Secretary, and one member elected by the Council.

Rule XIII. For "Secretaries" to read "Secretary," and after "Members" to omit "receive subscriptions."

Rule XIV. For "five" to read "four."

Rule XVI. For "Secretaries" to read "Secretary."

Rule XVIII. For "until the next," to read "except at an."

In accordance with Rule VI.—four members—Rev. E. S. Dewick, Messrs. C. Browne, F. Gill, and H. T. Roxby retired from the Council. Rev. E. S. Dewick and Mr. C. Browne were re-elected, and Messrs. E. Bell and J. C. Horsburgh were elected as new members.

Mr. E. J. Wells was re-elected Secretary.

Mr. F. Gill was elected Treasurer.

On the proposal of the Council the Rev. Canon Newbolt was elected a Vice-President of the Society.

Cordial votes of thanks were passed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for their continued kindness in allowing the meetings of the Society to be held in the Chapter House; to the Hon. Secretaries; to the Editor; and to the Chairman of the meeting.

The Members afterwards attended Evensong in the Cathedral, where, by the permission of the Dean and Chapter, seats were reserved for them in the Choir.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1892.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

A paper was read by Mr. T. A. Martin, entitled, "Some Religious Subjects on Misericordes." At the conclusion of the paper the Chairman made some remarks on the early history of the Misericorde, pointing out that it was a concession to human frailty, which preserved in some degree the form of standing, whilst giving relief to the body. Rev. E. S. Dewick remarked that the term Misericorde, as applied to a part of the stall, was found in a Cistercian Consuetudinary of the 12th century, and he suggested that the word "miserere," often used to describe such stalls, was an invention of the 19th century.

Mr. Martin's paper will be printed in the next Part of the *Transactions*.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 9, 1892.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Mr. F. J. Beckley, B.A., read the second part of his paper on Irish Antiquities. entitled, "The Christian Monuments of Ireland up to A.D. 900." The paper was illustrated by a large number of rubbings, plans, and photographs.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 23, 1892.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. J. R. Dore, entitled, "Some early Printed Editions of the English Bible," which will be found printed at page 86.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6, 1892.

Chairman: G. H. Birch, F.S.A.

Mr. F. J. Beckley, B.A., read the third part of his paper on Irish Antiquities, entitled, "The Round Towers and Romanesque of Ireland."

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 27, 1892.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

Rev. F. E. Brightman, M.A., Librarian of Pusey House, read a paper on "The Cross in its relation to the Altar," which is printed at page 105.

SATURDAY, MAY 7, 1892.

VISIT TO ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

Under the guidance of the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A., a large party of members and friends visited St. Paul's Cathedral.

SATURDAY, JUNE 11, 1892.

VISIT TO CHESHAM AND CHESHAM BOIS.

The churches of Chesham Bois and Chesham were visited under the guidance of Rev. C. H. Evelyn-White, F.S.A.

SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1892.

VISIT TO CRAYFORD AND DARTFORD.

At Crayford Church, Major Heales, F.S.A. directed attention to the peculiar plan of the church, the nave of which is divided into two equal parts by an arcade running down the centre, and terminating just above the point of the chancel arch.

The church of Dartford was afterwards visited under the same guidance.

A paper by Major Heales, on Crayford Church, will be found in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. xviii., p. 319; and another, by Canon Scott Robertson, on Dartford Church, *Ib.*, p. 383.

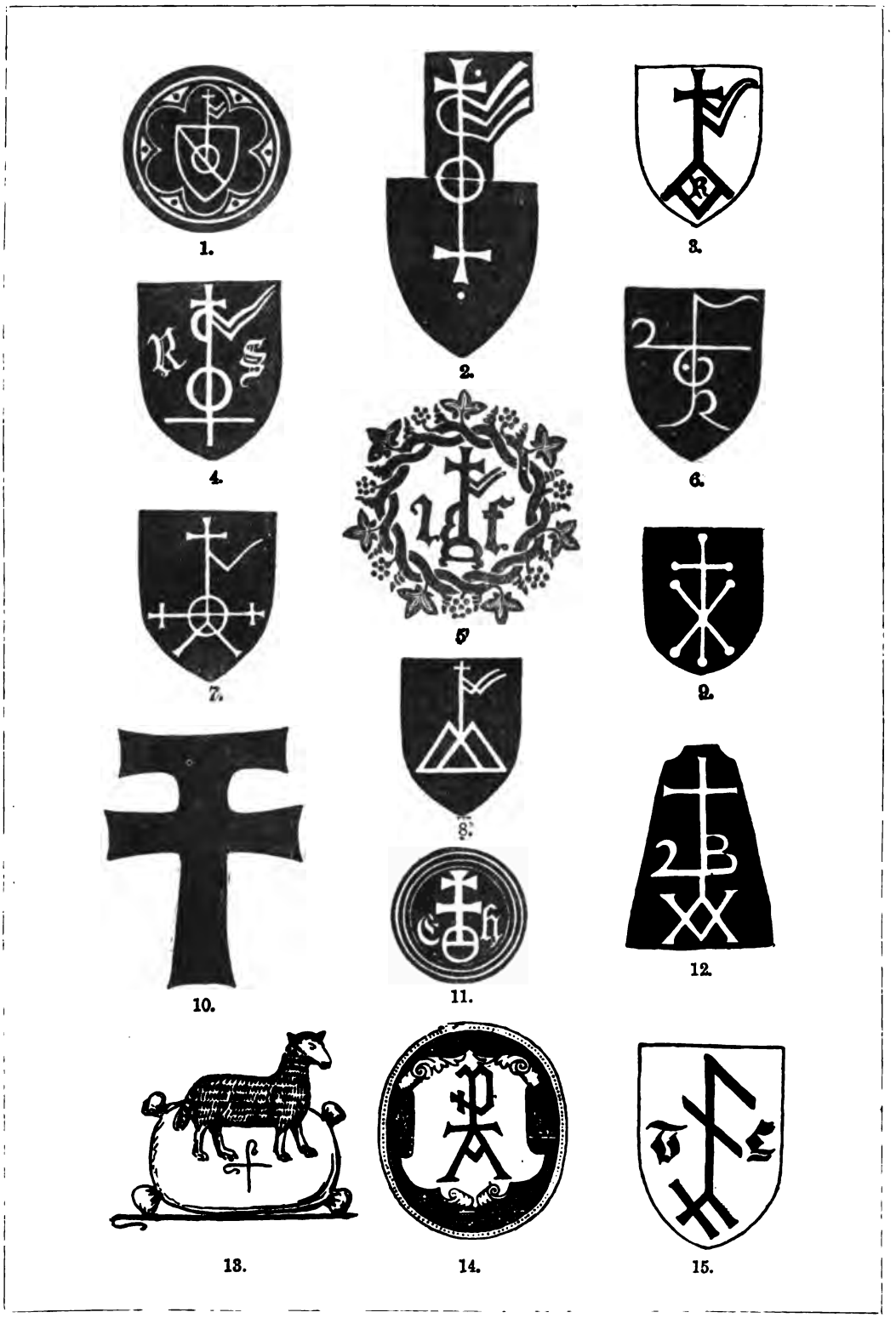
SATURDAY, JULY 9, 1892.

VISIT TO CANTERBURY.

On reaching Canterbury the party went at once to the Cathedral Church, the architectural history of which was explained by Dr. Brigstocke Sheppard, and nearly three hours were spent in examining, under his guidance, the architectural details of the building, and its sepulchral monuments.

Afterwards, the ruins of the Church of St. Pancras were described by the Rev. Canon Routledge, F.S.A., and the venerable Church of St. Martin was visited under the same guidance.

Before leaving Canterbury many of the members paid a visit to St. Augustine's College.



MERCHANTS' MARKS, PRINCIPALLY FROM CHURCHES IN GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1892.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A lecture was given by the Rev. G. F. Browne, B.D., F.S.A., on "Christian Art in Early England," which was illustrated by a series of lantern slides, comprising subjects from Manuscripts, Metal Work, and Sculptured Stones of the pre-Norman period.

On the proposal of the Chairman, seconded by the Rev. E. S. Dewick, a hearty vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer for his most interesting address; and also to Mr. Grimshire for the use of his lantern, and to Mr. Romer for helping in its manipulation.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 30, 1892.

Chairman: C. Browne, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

Mr. Cecil T. Davis read a paper entitled, "The Cross and Commerce," the subject being those Merchants' Marks in which the Cross forms part of the design.

The lecturer commenced by saying that it was not his intention to describe the Crosses under whose shade markets were held, and of which many examples are still left standing throughout the country, nor to allude to the impetus given to Commerce by the Crusades; but to direct attention to the Merchants' Marks used for distinguishing their wares, in which the Cross forms a prominent feature. He proceeded to give a short bibliography of the subject, and quoted from *Le Théâtre d'Honneur* (published at Paris in 1623), that "Merchants (for their honour) were allowed to bear the first letters of their names and surnames interlaced with a Cross" in lieu of arms. He showed a page of the Churchwardens' Account Books of Wandsworth (dated 25th May, 1578), whereon the parishioners in vestry assembled had "sette their markes," as the majority could not write.

Many illustrations of Merchants' Marks were exhibited, amongst others, those shown on the accompanying plate. Numbers 1-13 are taken from Monumental Brasses in the County of Gloucester, and represent mostly the Marks of Woolmen or Wool-merchants. It is feasible to connect the form of Mark shown in Nos. 1-8, with St. John Baptist, the Patron Saint of Wool-merchants.

The lecturer concluded with a quotation from *Prolusiones Historicæ*, by the late Rev. Edward Duke:—"In these Marks I cannot but say that I recognize a figurative meaning. I cannot divest my mind of the idea that the pious merchant here means to designate that his mercantile transactions are entered into with honest integrity, that he trades beneath the Cross, that he is enlisted under the banner of his Saviour, that he enters on his commercial dealings with the good faith of a Christian."

Explanation of the Plate.*

1. William Grevel, Chipping Campden, 1401.
2. John Barstaple, Trinity Church, Bristol, 1411.
3. Robert Page, Cirencester, 1440.
4. Reginald Spycer, Cirencester, 1442.
5. John Fortey, Northleach, 1458.
6. Thomas Rowley, St. John's Church, Bristol, 1478.
7. John Jay, St. Mary Redcliff, Bristol, *c.* 1480.
8. Wool-merchant, Northleach, *c.* 1485.
9. John Benet, Cirencester, 1497.
10. John Twinyhow, Lechlade, *c.* 1510.
11. Edward Halyday, Minchinhampton, 1519.
12. Thomas Bushe, Northleach, 1526.
13. John Taylour, Northleach, *c.* 1490.
14. Augustus Parker, Quay Church, Ipswich, 1590.
15. In St. John, Maddermarket, Norwich.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1892.

Chairman: Rev. Canon Browne, B.D., F.S.A.

Objects of ecclesiological interest were exhibited and described by the following Members:—

The Chairman:—A cast of the Brough Stone, bearing an inscription in Greek. The story of the finding of the stone and of its acquisition for the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge was related at length, and the inscription itself was fully explained.

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* For the use of this Illustration the Society is indebted to Mr. C. T. Davis.

REV. E. S. DEWICK :—Several liturgical manuscripts, including a Cistercian Missal written in 1302 by Jacobo di Marliano, for the Monastery of Santa Maria at Morimundo, near Milan; a Collectarium of Dominican Use, written for the Black Friars of Alby; a book of *Novæ Missæ et Officia* (15th century) of the Use of St. Albans, which once belonged to the Infirmary of that house, as appears from an inscription on the first leaf, "Liber de infirmitorio sancti albani," and another at the end, "iste liber pertinet ad infirmitorium"; and a *Diurnale* of York Use (15th century), written for the Church of St. Mary Beverley, as shown by the entry in the Calendar on May 11th, "Dedicacio ecclesie beate marie beverlaci festum duplex principale."

MR. A. OLIVER :—A Bishop's Pectoral Cross of Italian Workmanship, and several Carved Ivories.

MR. ALINGTON :—Cast of a Figure at Lincoln Cathedral, and Hollar's view, showing the Spires with which the Western Towers of the Minster were once crowned.

MR. KRALL :—A Metal Crucifix.

MR. PEARCE :—Several Rubbings of Brasses and a Sketch Book.

MR. HORSBURGH :—Photographs of Misericordes; and of Carvings at Crail Church, Fifeshire.

MR. F. C. PENROSE, Surveyor of St. Paul's :—A perspective view, giving a restoration of Old St. Paul's.

At the conclusion of the Meeting, Messrs. Fedarb, Jackson and Rawson, were re-elected as Auditors for the next year.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1893.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

A paper was read by Mr. G. Ambrose Lee, Bluemantle, entitled, "Some Notes on English Ecclesiastical Heraldry." A discussion followed, and a cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1893.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed; after which the Annual Report and Balance Sheet for 1892 were presented.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1892-93.

The Council again have the pleasure of placing before the Members the record of a successful year's work.

Ten Meetings have been held at the Chapter House since the last Report, at which Papers on the following subjects were read:—"The Growth of a Parish Church," by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite; "Some Religious Subjects on Misericordes," by Mr. T. A. Martin; "The Christian Monuments of Ireland up to A.D. 900," by Mr. F. J. Beckley; "The early printed versions of the English Bible," by Mr. J. R. Dore; "The Round Towers and Romanesque of Ireland," by Mr. F. J. Beckley; "The Cross and its connection with the Altar," by the Rev. F. E. Brightman; "Christian Art in Early England," by the Rev. G. F. Browne, Canon of St. Paul's; "The Cross and Commerce," by Mr. Cecil T. Davis; "Some Notes on English Ecclesiastical Heraldry," by Mr. G. Ambrose Lee. An exhibition of objects of ecclesiological interest occupied one evening.

Afternoon visits were made to the following Churches:—St. Paul's Cathedral, under the guidance of the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson; Chesham Bois and Chesham, conducted by the Rev. C. H. Evelyn White; Crayford and Dartford, where papers were read by Major Heales.

A day was spent in Canterbury, where the Cathedral was visited under the direction of Dr. Sheppard, while the Rev. Canon Routledge conducted at the Church of St. Martin, and also described the remains of the Church of St. Pancras.

The best thanks of the Society are due to the Clergy of the Churches visited, and to those gentlemen who have, by reading Papers, or otherwise, so largely assisted in making the proceedings of the year successful.

Part II. of the Third Volume of the Transactions has been issued during the year, and it may be asserted with confidence that it forms a valuable contribution to ecclesiological literature.

The annexed Balance Sheet is very satisfactory, especially when the large expense of the Transactions is considered, but it must be remarked that an unusually large number of Life Subscriptions and Arrears have been paid during the year, and very generous donations have been made towards the Publications Fund.

Fifteen new Members have been elected since the last Report.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,
Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,
Hon. Secretary.

BALANCE SHEET, 1892, ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Dr.

Dec. 31st, 1892.	£	s.	d.
To Entrance Fees and Subscriptions ...	69	9	9
„ Life Subscriptions	25	4	0
„ Sale of Transactions	10	4	1
„ Publications Fund (Special Donations)	9	0	3
„ Interest on Reserve Fund	1	18	4
	£115	16	5
Jan. 1st, 1893.			
Balance	£2	14	4
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank	90	8	6

Cr.

Dec. 31st, 1892.	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last Account	6	1	10
„ Amount paid for Transactions ...	65	4	5
„ Printing and Stationery	9	4	9
„ Postage, including forwarding of Transactions	18	12	1
„ Fees to Attendants	1	7	0
„ Half of Life Subscriptions carried to Reserve Fund	12	12	0
„ Balance	2	14	4
	£115	16	5

We have examined the above, and found it correct.

EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Secretary.*

EDWIN H. FEDARB, RICHARD C. JACKSON, } *Auditors.*

FREDERICK GILL, *Treasurer.*

January 19th, 1893.

The Report and Balance Sheet were unanimously adopted.

In accordance with Rule VI., four Members were announced as retiring from the Council, viz.: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, Messrs. W. Bolton, T. Garratt and A. Taylor, all of whom were subsequently re-elected.

On the proposal of the Council, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Salisbury was elected a Vice-President of the Society; and the Rev. F. E. Brightman, Librarian of Pusey House, was elected as an Honorary Member.

Mr. E. J. Wells and Mr. F. Gill, were re-elected to the offices of Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer, respectively.

Cordial votes of thanks were passed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, for their continued kindness in allowing the Meetings of the Society to be held in the Chapter Room; to the Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Editor, for their services during the past year; to the readers of papers; and to the Chairman of the Meeting.

The Members afterwards attended Evensong in the Cathedral, where, by the kindness of the Dean and Chapter, seats were reserved for them in the Choir.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1893.

Chairman: Rev. Canon Browne, B.D., F.S.A.

Mr. Edward Bell, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on "The origin and use of the word Triforium," which is printed at p. 124.

At the end of a discussion, in which several members took part, the Chairman remarked that he could not believe that in connection with a mural gallery the late-coined word "triforium" had anything to do either with *three* or with *doors*. In the earliest full account of the building of a church in England, Wilfrid's Church at Hexham (about 670 A.D.), a passage was described running in the thickness of the wall, with spiral staircases to suit the changes of level. This he believed was a triforium, a passage "pierced along or through" the wall. The slype at Bolton Abbey was an example. When they developed the wish for an upper row of windows, the triforium became here and there an open passage, running across a window.

Gervase nowhere, as he understood, spoke of a triforium as a passage with openings, in which openings two columns could be placed to divide them into three. He spoke in each case of the triforium and the window openings as two quite separate and distinct features. His *triforium inferius* was clearly a mural gallery with an arcade on one hand, and the solid wall on the other, where from the nature of the case there was no idea of *three* or of *doors*. He (the Chairman) took triforium to be a corruption of the Italian *trafori*, pierced holes, from *transforare*. He found that while *trafori* is familiarly used, and has long been, for the piercings of windows and screens, *perfori* did not exist, *perforamenti* being the only word he could find. Thus our "perforation" of the walls by passages might be called "traforation." In one of the churches in Rome, the Quattro Santi Incoronati, there were still remaining lattice-work screens in front of the women's gallery, which occupied the place of the triforium as now commonly so-called, viz., the space under the aisle roof, a use to be kept quite distinct from the original use of the word for a passage. Those present were of course familiar with the magnificent list of the treasures of St. Paul's, in charge of his predecessor Robert de Drayton. The first thirteen items, all of them, described morses ornamented with triforium work. That was in 1278, when he believed there was only one example in the whole of St. Paul's of anything like a triple-doored bay. The triforium of the inventories was an open-work cresting, or "gallery," or an open-work setting of precious stones. The old French *trifoire* was used in the same sense, for open-work ornament. A derivation from *transforare* met all the cases.*

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1893.

Chairman: Rev. Canon Browne, B.D., F.S.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. James Cooper, D.D., of Aberdeen, on "Ecclesiology in Scotland," which is printed at p. 131.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 1893.

Chairman: Charles Browne, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.

A lecture was given by Mr. J. Grimshire, entitled, "Memorials of some holidays spent among the Cathedrals of Normandy and North-Eastern France." The lecture was profusely illustrated by a fine series of views shown by the lime light lantern, and at its conclusion a hearty vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

THURSDAY, MARCH 23, 1893.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

A paper was read by Mr. R. Phené Spiers, on "The History and Early Development of St. Mark's, Venice." The paper, which is printed at p. 113, was illustrated by a large series of plans and photographs.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 12, 1893.

Chairman: J. T. Micklethwaite Esq., F.S.A.

A paper by Mr. Charles Browne, M.A., F.S.A., was read on "Ecclesiastical Head Dress," which is printed at p. 155. An interesting discussion followed, in which the Chairman, Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Dr. J. Wickham Legg, and others, took part.

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* The *œuvre trifoire* is frequently referred to in the early French romances. Thus

D'or auoit descure un oisel
A trifoire et à neel.

Similarly,

Li corn estoit de iveure
Entaillez de trifure,

and

Les listes sunt d'or fin à trifoire fondu.

In later French, *trifoire Salomon* is Solomon's porch. An arcaded cloister, or colonnade, would naturally lend its name to open-work ornament. If we could find that the word *triforium* was specially applied to the colonnade across the front of a basilica, from which doors opened into the nave and aisles, the three-door derivation would serve. But the use in ornament would come from the front of the colonnade, not from the doors in the back.

G. F. B

SATURDAY, APRIL 29, 1893.

A visit was paid to the new church of St. Philip, Stepney, where the Rev. J. S. A. Vatcher, Vicar, courteously welcomed the members, and gave an interesting account of the building of the church, and the reasons which had led to the adoption of the plan followed.

Afterwards the church of St. Augustine, Stepney, was visited, where the Vicar kindly received the party, and conducted them over the church and parish buildings.

SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1893.

A visit was paid to the church of St. Bartholomew the Great, under the guidance of Mr. E. A. Webb, to inspect the works of restoration then in progress. An interesting account of the history of the church was given by Mr. Webb, who described in detail the progress of the work of restoration since the last visit of the Society.

The works completed in 1892-3 include the rebuilding of the north transept, by which the site lately occupied by a blacksmith's forge has been restored to the church. During the pulling down of the partition which blocked up the north transept arch, a fifteenth-century screen of two bays was discovered, and has been carefully preserved. The west front of the church has been newly faced with flint and stone, two porches have been built, and the triforium has been opened out to the church.

SATURDAY, JUNE 3, 1893.

A visit was paid to the Temple Church under the direction of Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A, who gave an interesting account of the history of the church, and directed attention to the various points of interest in the existing fabric.

SATURDAY, JUNE 24, 1893.

The church of Horton Kirby in Kent,* was visited under the guidance of Mr. John P. Seddon, F.R.I.B.A., who has supplied the following notes :—

"This church is one of unusual interest, and shows throughout its structure very remarkable archæological and historical changes. It now consists of an aisle-less nave, central tower, transepts and chancel, but it has suffered much from injudicious alterations of comparatively modern date. By these the chancel has been reduced to nearly one-half of its original length : its eastern portion is of the period of the transition from the Norman to Early English styles, the tower arches being of lofty proportion, with acutely pointed arches, with simply chamfered jamb and arch moulds, and delicately moulded capitals and bases continued as stringcourses ; but portions of semicircular arches on either side show that the intention was to have extended westward thence a nave with aisles of the usual character, but either this intention was never carried out, or all traces of the arcades have been obliterated, although the arrangement of the façade shows an early doorway on the same axial line as the tower, with buttresses equidistant on either side, but the outer walls are of much later date. and of the Gothic style, the northern one placed just outside the face of the tower, while that on the southern side is at a considerable distance clear of it ; and there are angle buttresses to both, giving a very irregular effect to the façade. There is a porch on the south side of the nave, which has been shorn, like the chancel, to about a half of its original stately proportions. The nave has a good roof of braced coupled rafters and longitudinal beam supporting the collars with moulded kingposts with caps., bases and curved strut braces above, resting on massive moulded tie-beams, with wall posts and curved brackets, rising from stone corbels. The transepts are square on plan, divided into two bays, and are surrounded by wall arcades. Just within the chancel on the north side is a semicircular headed doorway to a stair turret leading to the tower. Apparently, the original eastern triplet window has been replaced in the modern eastern wall of the reduced chancel, and there no doubt was an additional triplet window on

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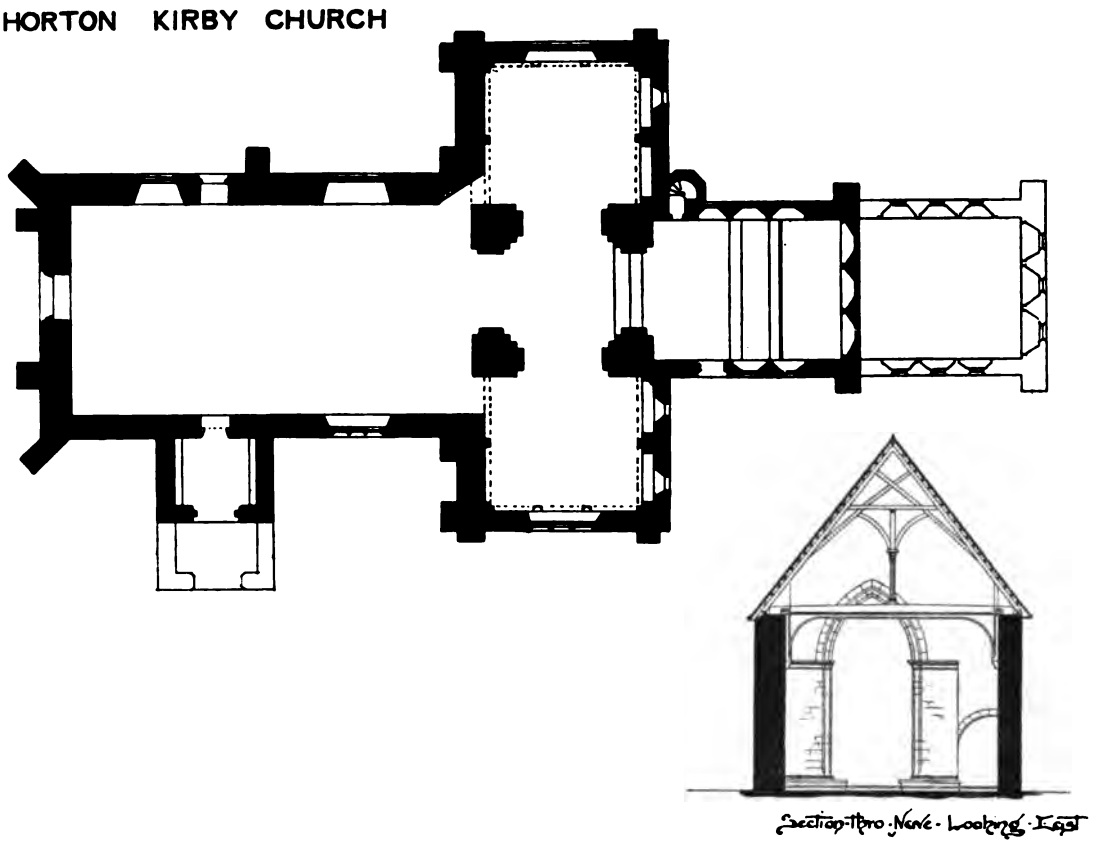
* "At the time of the Domesday survey, Horton was held under Bishop Odo by Anschetil de Ros, whose descendant Lora, called 'The Lady of Horton,' conveyed the manor by marriage to the north-country family of Kirby, who already possessed lands here. Hence the name Horton *Kirby*, which in this case does not indicate a Danish settlement."—Murray's *Handbook for Kent*, 1877, *p.* 67.

either side resembling those left in the bay next the tower, which are very noticeable as to their detail, which combines features of late as well as of early style, showing a curious and unusual manner of alteration.

"Horton Kirby was once a commandery of the Knights Hospitallers. Unfortunately, only some scanty and featureless fragments remain of the other ancient monastic and domestic buildings of this religious fraternity; and the exterior of the fabric of the church is more admirable for its fine proportions and charming position, than for its architectural details, as its principal feature, the central tower, has been sadly modernized, and brickwork has been substituted for its original stonework. Nevertheless, even as it is, Horton Kirby church forms a beautiful object at a distance in its lovely valley, and still contains much that is worth careful study and close examination."



PLAN AND SECTION THROUGH THE NAVE OF HORTON KIRBY CHURCH, KENT.

Scale $\frac{1}{24}$ inch to one foot.

SATURDAY, JULY 8, 1893.

VISIT TO ROCHESTER.

The cathedral church of Rochester was visited under the guidance of the Rev. G. M. Livett, Precentor of Rochester; and Mr. G. Payne, F.S.A., afterwards described the castle, pointing out the features of interest, and conducted the members along the line of the ancient walls which once protected the city.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1893.

Chairman : Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read on "Brasses in London Museums," by Mr. A. Oliver, A.R.I.B.A., who exhibited a series of rubbings of the brasses described. Attention was first directed to those in the British Museum, the finest being the portion of a Flemish brass with the head of a bishop or abbot. The brass of Nicholas Lebrun, 1547, was also specially noticed on account of its unusual design, which is in two divisions, the lower containing an emaciated figure lying on a mattress, and the upper a representation of the Crucifixion. The other small brasses and fragments in the British Museum are not of much importance. Two brasses in the South Kensington Museum were referred to, the most important being the fine Flemish plate of Henry Oskens, 1535, kneeling before St. Peter and the Emperor St. Henry, his patron saint. Brasses in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries were then described; and special attention was called to a brass preserved in a place where it certainly would not be looked for, viz., in the Museum of Practical Geology, in Jermyn Street. The brass of Louis de Corteville, which is there located, is a fine example of Flemish workmanship, and deserving of attentive study.

In addition to these brasses in London Museums, Mr. Oliver also described and exhibited rubbings of many others in private possession, the finest being the brass of Sir John Swynstede, 1395, which, together with a "rose brass" of John Killingworth, 1412, is preserved in the chapel of Ashridge Park, Berkhamsted, having been removed from the neighbouring church of Edlesborough.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1893.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. J. N. Comper, entitled "Practical Considerations on the Gothic Altar, and certain Dependent Ornaments," (which is printed at p. 195). An interesting discussion followed, in which Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Mr. W. White, and Mr. Luning took part.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1893.

Chairman : Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

Objects of Ecclesiological interest were exhibited and described by the following members:—

THE CHAIRMAN :—MS. Sacramentarium (12th century), of South German execution; MS. Evangelium secundum Lucam (12th century) which formerly belonged to the Premonstratensian Abbey of Mons near Louvain; MS. Hymns and Sequences in the vernacular Flemish (15th century); MS. Institutiones canonicorum regularium sancti Augustini, in binding of stamped leather, with effigies of St. Thomas the Apostle and St. Catharine.

Mr. W. A. LUNING :—Several examples of modern Roman vestments, including a reversible chasuble.

Mr. A. E. FROST :—A Rubbing of the Swynborne Brass at Little Horkesley, Essex, representing Sir Robert Swynborne, who died in 1391, and his son, Sir Thomas, who died in 1412. The Brass was engraved after the death of Sir Thomas, and is remarkable as showing different styles of armour worn by father and son; the usual practice of mediæval artists being to show only the fashion at the time of the execution of the monument.

Mr. TAGG :—Examples of Greek crosses, triptyches, etc.

Mr. E. J. WELLS :—A rubbing of a brass in private possession.

At the conclusion of the Meeting, Messrs. Jackson, Fedarb and Luning were elected auditors for the ensuing year.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 11, 1894.

Chairman: Rev. E. Hoskins, M.A.

The Rev. C. L. Acland, M.A., F.S.A., read a paper on "Celtic Bells and Bell Shrines," illustrated by diagrams. Mr. Acland pointed out that the shape of these bells was still found in the modern sheep-bell, and he exhibited a large bell made for him by a maker of sheep-bells at Great Cheverell, near Devizes, which reproduced the form of the old Celtic bells.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 1894.

Fifteenth Annual Meeting.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.
The following Report and Balance-Sheet were presented and adopted:—

Fifteenth Annual Report, 1893–94.

In issuing the Fifteenth Annual Report, the Council can again congratulate the members upon the position of the Society.

Nine meetings have been held at the Chapter House during the year, and papers upon the following subjects have been read:—"The origin and use of the word Triforium," by Mr. Edward Bell, M.A., F.S.A.; "The Ecclesiology of Scotland," by the Rev. James Cooper, D.D.; "The Cathedrals of Normandy and North-Eastern France," by Mr. J. Grimshire; "St. Mark's, Venice, its early history and development," by Mr. R. Phené Spiers, F.S.A.; "Ecclesiastical Head-dress," by Mr. Charles Browne, M.A., F.S.A.; "Brasses in London Museums," by Mr. Andrew Oliver, A.R.I.B.A.; "Practical considerations on the Gothic Altar and certain dependent ornaments," by Mr. J. Ninian Comper; "Celtic Bells and Bell Shrines," by the Rev. C. L. Acland, M.A., F.S.A. An exhibition of objects of Ecclesiological interest occupied one evening.

During the summer, afternoon visits were made to the following Churches:—St. Philip, Stepney, conducted by the Vicar; St. Augustine, Stepney, conducted by the Vicar; St. Bartholomew, Smithfield, under the guidance of Mr. E. A. Webb; the Temple Church, conducted by Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A.; Horton Kirby, Kent, conducted by Mr. J. P. Seddon, F.R.I.B.A.

A whole day was spent in Rochester, the Cathedral being visited under the guidance of the Rev. G. M. Livett, the Precentor, and the Castle and Town Walls under the guidance of Mr. George Payne, F.S.A.

Once more the Council have much pleasure in acknowledging the courtesy which has been manifested to the Society by the Clergy and other custodians of the buildings visited, and to them and to the gentlemen who have kindly rendered assistance as conductors, they beg to offer their very hearty thanks.

Part III. of volume III. of the Transactions has recently been issued.

The financial position of the Society, as shown by the Balance-Sheet annexed, is very satisfactory.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,
Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,
Hon. Secretary.

BALANCE-SHEET, 1893. ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Dr.

Dec. 31st, 1893.	£	s.	d.
To Balance from last account	2	14	4
„ Entrance Fees and Subscriptions ...	53	5	0
„ Life Subscriptions	25	4	0
„ Sale of Transactions	12	8	4
„ Publications Fund (Special Donations)	0	10	0
„ Interest on Reserve Fund	2	4	6
	£96	6	2
Jan. 1st, 1894.			
Balance	£1	2	2
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank	103	0	6

Cr.

Dec. 31st, 1893.	£	s.	d.
By Amount paid for Transactions ...	52	1	2
„ Printing and Stationery	13	3	9
„ Postage, including forwarding of Transactions	16	3	1
„ Fees to Attendants	1	3	6
„ Banker's Charge on Cheque	0	0	6
„ Half of Life Subscriptions carried to Reserve Fund	12	12	0
„ Balance...	1	2	2
	£96	6	2

We have examined the above, and found it correct.

EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon. Secretary.*

EDWIN H. FEDARB, W. A. LUNING, } *Auditors.*

FREDERICK GILL, *Treasurer.*

11th January, 1894.

Four members of the Council retiring in rotation, viz., Rev. E. Hoskins, Messrs. E. C. Hulme, O. J. Dullea, E. Bell, were re-elected.

Mr. E. J. Wells and Mr. F. Gill were re-elected to the offices of Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer respectively.

Votes of thanks were passed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for their continued kindness in allowing the Society to meet in the Chapter Room; to the Hon. Secretary, Treasurer and Editor, and to the Chairman of the Meeting.

Members afterwards attended Evensong in the Cathedral.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 31, 1894.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

A paper was read by Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A., on "The Monumental Brasses of Surrey"; which was illustrated by a very fine series of rubbings. The paper is printed at p. 186.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1894.

Chairman: Rev. E. S. Dewick, M.A., F.S.A.

Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A., read a paper entitled, "Some Notes on the Marriage Service of the Book of Common Prayer, 1549" (which is printed at p. 165). A discussion followed, in which the Chairman, the Rev. E. Hoskins, Messrs. Cheney, Krall, Gill and Taylor took part.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 14, 1894.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by the Rev. Canon Browne, F.S.A., on "The Order of Dignities in the Cathedral Chapters of France from Early Times to the Revolution." The paper will be printed in the next Part of the *Transactions*.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 4, 1894.

Chairman: Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A.

Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, M.A., read a paper on "Russian Icons, and their Use in the Russian Orthodox Church." The paper was illustrated by a large and very interesting collection of examples.

SATURDAY, APRIL 14, 1894.

VISIT TO ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

A large party of members visited St. Paul's Cathedral, under the guidance of the Rev. L. Gilbertson, with the special object of inspecting the mosaics recently set up in the choir.

SATURDAY, MAY 5, 1894.

VISIT TO ST. HELEN'S CHURCH, BISHOPSGATE.

A visit was paid to the church of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, where the members were welcomed by the Rector, the Rev. J. A. L. Airey, and the church was described by Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A.

The church had been previously visited by the Society in 1881, and the paper read by Mr. Birch on that occasion will be found in *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, Vol. I., p. 169; and an account of the visit is given on p. xxii, with a plan of the church facing p. xx.

SATURDAY, MAY 26, 1894.

VISIT TO ST. SAVIOUR'S SOUTHWARK.

A visit was paid by a large party of members to the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark, the rebuilding of the nave of which had been nearly completed, under the direction of Sir Arthur Blomfield. The conductor of the visit was Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., who read an elaborate account of the history of the building which was formerly the church of the Priory of St. Mary Overy. Mr. Birch subsequently conducted the party over the ancient choir and the new nave, and pointed out the fragments of the ancient nave which have been brought to light in the course of the present rebuilding, and have been carefully preserved.

The church had been previously visited by the Society on two occasions, viz., on May 1, 1880, and April 14, 1888. An account of the church, in connection with the first visit, under the guidance of Mr. F. T. Dollman, F.R.I.B.A., was given in *Trans. S. P. E. S.*, Vol. I., p. x. The nave was there described as having been "erected in the worst period of early revived Gothic, with plaster vault carried on wiry iron columns, and a plain wooden gallery on three sides supported on iron trusses painted dark green;" and a hope was expressed "that the present nave might be removed to give place to a reproduction of the ancient nave, so as to harmonize with the mutilated, but still exquisitely beautiful, eastern portion of the church." The hope thus expressed in 1880 has found its ample fulfilment in 1894.

SATURDAY, JUNE 9, 1894.

VISIT TO CHALFONT ST. GILES.

The church of Chalfont St. Giles was visited under the guidance of the Rector, the Rev. P. W. Phipps.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1894.

Chairman: Rev. Edgar Hoskins, M.A.

A paper was read by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, "On the three methods of Canonical Election in the Middle Ages."

The constitution *Quia propter* of the Fourth Lateran Council, in 1215, set out three methods of election, as follows:—

1. *Quasi per inspirationem*, called in English, by way of the Holy Ghost. There was a resemblance to this in the popular acclamation of St. Ambrose as Bishop of Milan, and of Hildebrand as Gregory VII., but these were instances rather of election by tumult than of a sober canonical election. Nothing supernatural was claimed for this method, and it was used when all were known to be agreed. Instances in English history were given in the election of John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, and of William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester.

2. *Per scrutinium*, by scrutiny, that is by ballot, when a majority of two-thirds is sometimes insisted on. This is the usual way of electing the Pope, though the Bull *Æterni Patris* still allows of the other two methods. A voting paper prepared at the election of Leo XIII. was shown by permission of Mr. Hartwell Grissell.

3. *Per compromissum*, by compromise; this means that the election was entrusted to a small committee, who elected without reference back to the chapter. At Rochester to this day at the election of a Bishop the Dean always proposes "that this election be by compromise;" but it is not attended to. We often see this mode of election at the present day, when the Archbishop of Canterbury and two or three other Bishops are asked to provide for a vacant colonial see.

A discussion followed, in which the Rev. E. S. Dewick, Mr. Charles Browne, and others took part. Mr. Dewick remarked that the modern statutes of St. John's College, Cambridge (1882), relating to the election of the Master, preserved most of the ancient features of an election *per scrutinium*. It is, however, laid down by them that the third scrutiny shall be final, and that "that person shall be pronounced elected who has the greatest number of votes, whether they form a majority of the whole number of votes or not."

[Dr. Legg's paper will be printed in full in the next Part of the *Transactions*.]

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 28, 1894.

Chairman : Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by Mr. J. Grimshire, on "The Basilican Churches of Rome and Ravenna." The subject was illustrated by a fine series of lantern views, many of the slides having been specially prepared for this lecture. At its conclusion a very hearty vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Grimshire, and also to Mr. Romer, who had assisted with the lantern.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1894.

Chairman : Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A.

Objects of Ecclesiological interest were exhibited and described by the following members :—

The CHAIRMAN.—Photographs of the old men and women who bring up the oblations of bread and wine in the Metropolitan Church at Milan. Photographs of the coronation rings of four English sovereigns, including the ring with which the Queen was invested at her coronation in 1838.

Rev. E. S. DEWICK.—Several liturgical MSS., including a Hereford Missal which differs considerably from the printed text of 1502; and a small Sarum Prymer, with an entry on a blank leaf relating to the admission of Edmund Appleyard into the Jesus Guild in St. Paul's Cathedral :—"Edmundus appilizerd in vigilia assumptionis beate marie virginis A° iiij H [enrici] vii^ti factus fuit frater fraternitatis ihu in ecclesia sancti pauli london."

Rev. F. E. BRIGHTMAN.—A collection of "holy loaves" used in various branches of the Church in the East—Armenian, Coptic, Syro-Jacobite, Abyssinian; a large number of Eastern rosaries, Mohammedan as well as Christian, and photographs of Eastern prelates.

Mr. KRALL.—Several examples of ecclesiastical metal work, including some pyxes, one of which, believed to be English, was obviously intended for suspension and not for placing in a tabernacle.

Mr. FROST.—Rubbings of brasses from Bray, Berkshire, and Wiston, Sussex.

Mr. E. C. HULME.—Two small metal plaques with religious subjects.

Mr. WHITTINGHAM.—A Chalice with a Danish inscription.

Mr. A. TAYLOR.—A parchment bag, with inscription showing that it had once contained accounts of the time of Edward III.

At the conclusion of the Meeting, Messrs. Fedarb, Luning and Banister were elected auditors for the ensuing year.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1895.

Chairman : J. T. Micklethwaite, Esq., F.S.A.

Mr. F. D. Matthew read a paper entitled "The Social Life of the Monastery." In the discussion which followed the Chairman took the leading part.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 26, 1895.

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING.

Chairman : Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

The Sixteenth Annual Meeting was held in the Trophy Room of St. Paul's Cathedral.

The Minutes of the last Annual Meeting were read and confirmed.

The following Report and Balance Sheet were presented and adopted :—

SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT, 1894-95.

The Council have much pleasure in presenting the Sixteenth Annual Report.

Since the last Report eight Meetings have been held at the Chapter House, and Papers have been read on the following subjects :—"The Monumental Brasses of Surrey," by Mr. Mill Stephenson, F.S.A.; "Some Notes on the Marriage Service of the Book of Common Prayer, 1549," by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A.; "The Order of Dignities in the Cathedral

Chapters of France, from early times to the Revolution," by the Rev. Canon Browne, B.D., F.S.A.; "Russian Icons, and their use in the Russian Orthodox Church," by Mr. W. J. Birkbeck, M.A.; "The various methods of Canonical Election in the Middle Ages," by Dr. J. Wickham Legg, F.S.A.; "Basilican Churches of Rome and Ravenna," by Mr. J. Grimshire; "The Social Life of the Monastery," by Mr. F. D. Matthew; one evening was devoted to an exhibition of objects of Ecclesiological interest.

Afternoon visits were made to the following Churches:—St. Paul's Cathedral, under the guidance of the Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.; St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, conducted by Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A.; St. Saviour's, Southwark, where Mr. G. H. Birch again conducted; Chalfont St. Giles, under the guidance of the Rector, the Rev. P. W. Phipps, M.A.

Arrangements were made for a whole day excursion to Lichfield, but so very few Members notified their intention of attending that this visit had to be abandoned. It has been observed that, while the attendances are large at churches in or close to London, very few members attend places less readily accessible; the Council will therefore endeavour to arrange for a larger proportion of London visits.

The Council beg to offer their very hearty thanks to the Clergy of the churches visited, to the gentlemen who have acted as conductors, and to those who have read papers or otherwise assisted in the very successful work of the year.

Part IV, of Volume III., of the Transactions has been recently issued, and will be found to be an interesting and valuable addition to the Society's publications.

The accompanying Balance Sheet will, it is believed, be considered satisfactory.

LEWIS GILBERTSON,
Chairman.

EDWARD J. WELLS,
Hon. Secretary.

BALANCE SHEET, 1894, ST. PAUL'S ECCLESIOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

Dr.

Dec. 31st, 1894.	£	s.	d.
To Balance from last account	1	2	2
„ Entrance Fees and Subscriptions ...	53	0	0
„ Life Subscriptions	6	6	0
„ Sale of Transactions	14	13	0
„ Publications Fund (Special Donations)	2	2	0
„ Interest on Reserve Fund	2	10	7
	£79	13	9

Jan. 1st, 1895.			
Balance	£2	13	11
Reserve Fund in Post Office Savings Bank	£103	0	6

Cr.

Dec. 31st, 1894.	£	s.	d.
By Amount paid for Transactions ...	50	18	0
„ Printing and Stationery	10	17	7
„ Postage, including forwarding of Transactions	14	7	3
„ Fees to Attendants	0	17	0
„ Balance...	2	13	11
	£79	13	9

We have examined the above, and found it correct,

EDWARD J. WELLS, *Hon Secretary.*

EDWIN H. FEDARB, ALBERT BANISTER, } *Auditors.*

FREDERICK GILL. *Treasurer.*

January 16th, 1895.

Of the four retiring members of the Council, Mr. G H. Birch, F.S.A., and Mr. Jas. Horsburgh were re-elected. Mr. W. A. Luning and Mr. G. R. Fletcher, F.S.A., were elected to fill the two vacancies.

Mr. E. J. Wells and Mr. F. Gill were re-elected to the offices of Hon. Secretary and Hon. Treasurer respectively.

Votes of thanks were passed to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for the use of the Chapter Room for the Society's Meetings; to the Hon. Secretary, Treasurer, and Editor; and to the Chairman of the Meeting.

Members afterwards attended Evensong in the Cathedral Church, seats being reserved for them in the Choir.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1895.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

Mr. H. Roumieu Gough was elected a Vice-President.

A paper was read by Mr. Leland L. Duncan, F.S.A., on "The Parish Churches of West Kent, their dedications, altars, images, and lights, being gleanings from the wills of West Kent folk from A.D. 1400 to 1558."

A discussion followed, in which Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, Mr. Micklethwaite, and the Rev. E. S. Dewick took part.

The paper is printed at p. 241.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1895.

Chairman: Rev. Lewis Gilbertson, M.A.

A paper was read by Dr. Reginald Eager, entitled, "Notes on Spanish Churches as bearing upon old English Ritual." In the discussion which followed Mr. William White, Mr. Luning, Mr. Wright, and the Chairman took part.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 13, 1895.

Chairman: J. T. Micklethwaite, Esq., F.S.A.

A lecture was delivered by the Rev. Canon Browne, B.D., D.C.L., F.S.A., on "Some Inscriptions of the British Church." The inscriptions were written out on a blackboard, and discussed in detail. The Chairman, Mr. Macalister and others took part in the discussion, and the proceedings closed with a very hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer.

SATURDAY, MARCH 16, 1895.

Visit to Sir John Soane's Museum.

Mr. G. H. Birch, F.S.A., Curator of the Museum, conducted a large party of members over the building and pointed out the objects of interest, amongst which some illuminated MSS. of great beauty attracted special attention.

SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1895.

Visit to St. John's, Clerkenwell.

The members were received by the Rector, the Rev. T. W. Wood, and Mr. H. W. Fincham, Churchwarden. A considerable time was spent in the examination of the fine crypt, which has been lately cleared out and made accessible to visitors.

THURSDAY, APRIL 4, 1895.

Chairman: Rev. Edgar Hoskins, M.A.

Mr. Andrew Oliver, A.R.I.B.A., read a paper entitled, "Notes on the Brasses and Matrices at St. Alban's Abbey." A discussion followed, in which Mr. Bolton, Mr. Mill Stephenson, and Mr. Rawson joined.

SATURDAY, APRIL 27, 1895.

Visit to Chislehurst.

The church of Chislehurst was described by Major Heales, F.S.A., who afterwards hospitably entertained the members at his residence, The Leesons.

SATURDAY, MAY 11, 1895.

Visit to Kingsbury and Hendon.

The members visited Kingsbury Church,* and afterwards proceeded to Hendon, where the church and its monuments were described by the Vicar, the Rev. Newton Mant.

SATURDAY, MAY 25, 1895.

Visit to Bromley and Beckenham.

The churches of Bromley and Beckenham were visited, and were described by their Vicars.

SATURDAY, JUNE 8, 1895.

Visit to Willingale Spain.

The church of Willingale Spain, near Ongar, Essex, was described by the Vicar, the Rev. C. Lennard Payne.

SATURDAY, JUNE 22, 1895.

Visit to Hornchurch and Upminster.

The churches of Hornchurch and Upminster were visited under the guidance of Mr. F. Chancellor, F.R.I.B.A.

SATURDAY, JULY 13, 1895.

Visit to Peterborough.

The annual whole day excursion of the Society was devoted to the examination of Peterborough Cathedral, which was described by the Rev. W. D. Sweeting.

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*A good description of the Church will be found in *The Builder*, July 10th, 1886.

THE KNIGHTS OF THE TEUTONIC ORDER.

BY

CHARLES BROWNE, M.A., F.S.A.

I HAVE already had the privilege and the pleasure of giving to the Society sketches of the history of two of those great Monastic Military Orders that played so important a part in the history of the Middle Ages—especially in the Crusades undertaken for the recovery of the Holy Land from the dominion of the Mahometan powers—the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers of St. John; and I purpose now, with your permission, to complete the trio, by giving you a similar sketch, so far as time will allow, of the origin, the organization, and the history of the third of those Orders, namely, "The Teutonic Order of Knights of the Hospital of St. Mary in Jerusalem" (to give them their full title), or, as it runs in their vernacular German, "Deutscher Orden der Ritter des Hospitales St. Marien zu Jerusalem."

In approaching this subject, I think I am right in saying that very much less is known to us inhabitants of the Western part of Europe of the constitution and doings of the Teutonic Order (as I may be allowed to call them for shortness) than is known of the history of the other two Orders with whom they were associated, and that for several reasons. One reason is that being recruited, as they were, from remote parts of Continental Europe, at a great distance generally from the coast, it was not possible, as it was in the case of the other Orders, to transport the forces which they had collected and wished to despatch to the aid of the Crusaders, directly by sea to their destination, and to place them at once on the shores of Palestine; but they were obliged to march, with great toil and suffering, causing great losses in their ranks, over enormous inland tracts, occupied by savage and pagan tribes, who opposed their march with great hostility, and through whom they had to cut their way with ceaseless fighting. And even when they had reached the comparatively civilized regions which were under the dominion of the Greek Emperors, their progress was not much facilitated by those sovereigns. For the emperors at Constantinople were never particularly favourable to the enterprises of the Crusaders—as, indeed, was natural enough, seeing that the result of the Crusades had been a great disappointment to them. For, having started them with the idea that they should engage the whole force of Christendom to win back to their sway a province which had been torn away from the Eastern Empire by a Mahometan power, they found that the only result of the Crusades, when they were most successful, was to establish in the immediate neighbourhood of the seat of their own empire a rival kingdom, ruled over by sovereigns of Western origin, and having connections with purely Western powers; and, above all, in its ecclesiastical relations, placed under the hated supremacy of the Pope of Rome, instead of that of the Patriarch of Constantinople. And thus, from these different causes, it came about that the forces which were collected and despatched by the Teutonic Order, and which actually reached the Holy Land, were so worn and wasted by the way, that they formed but a comparatively small addition to the crusading force; and their exploits in Palestine were of a proportionately inconsiderable character.

Another reason for our hearing so little about them was that at an early stage of their existence their feats of arms were principally, and ultimately exclusively, performed in the remote regions of North-Eastern Europe, with which the nations of the West were seldom brought into contact; and so the chroniclers of the West, from whom, principally, we derive our knowledge of the mediæval history of Europe, had but little occasion to mention the Teutonic Order. And we, in studying their records, have our attention but seldom called to the contemporary doings of the Order by any mention made of them in the historical narratives of the time with which we are familiar.

And yet, if we come to think of the great achievements of the Order in their own province, the extent of the dominions acquired by them, and the effect which their doings have had upon the political and ecclesiastical history of Continental Europe, we shall see that there is no comparison between the impression made upon mediæval history and the mark left upon the institutions of our own times by the Teutonic Order, and the effects in similar matters produced by the institutions of the Templars or the Hospitallers. For whereas the Templars have left behind them only a few churches—mostly in ruins, and the Hospitallers, besides this, have been indirectly the cause of handing over the sovereignty of the Island of Malta to the British Crown, the Teutonic Order, besides numerous other provinces of considerable importance and extent, were the actual founders of that great State of Prussia, which in our own day has developed into the headship of a mighty empire, which seems destined for a long time to come to dominate the politics and history of a large part of Continental Europe. They founded and established more than a dozen episcopal sees; they erected several cathedrals and churches, many of them of the first class, such as Marienburg, Riga, Königsberg, and Dantzic; whilst the cities, towns, and villages founded by them, and over which they ruled as sovereigns, may be numbered by the hundred.

But now, to begin at the beginning. The origin of the Teutonic Order, as is the case with the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, is very obscure, and for the same reason; the absence, that is, of contemporary written documents, by which to test and verify the statements that are made only by later writers. It appears, however, to be established that the first beginnings of the community, which afterwards became the Teutonic Order, arose in this way:—

In the year 1127—that is, just after the time when the Knights Templars had acquired, literally, a local habitation and a name, by receiving for their principal establishment a station in that Church which Justinian had erected within the precincts of the Temple at Jerusalem, and at the very time when the Hospitallers of St. John were turning themselves from a merely philanthropic into a Military Order—a private gentleman of German nationality, whose name even has not been preserved, who had resided for a long time at Jerusalem, was greatly struck with compassion for the sufferings and privations endured by the many pilgrims from his own country, who, when sick or famishing, found greater difficulty in obtaining relief from the charitable organizations, founded and carried on by those of another race, than did the pilgrims from other parts of Europe; and being animated with the desire to relieve these sufferings to the best of his ability, this gentleman fitted up his own private house to serve as a *Hospital*—not in the modern restricted sense of the word, as confined to giving assistance to the sick or wounded only, but in the larger sense of the Latin *Hospitium*, or the French *Hospice*, meaning a place prepared for the reception of all who required hospitality and care, whether rich or poor, sick or wounded, or suffering merely from want and privation. And at the same time, his wife, animated by the same philanthropic and patriotic feelings, procured an adjoining house, which she had fitted up in the same way, for the reception of female pilgrims from any part of Germany; and the two together obtained from the Patriarch of Jerusalem a faculty, or license, for a private chapel, for the use in common of the inmates of both houses, which was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin; and thus the whole establishment came to be known as "*The German* (Teutonic) *Hospital of St. Mary at Jerusalem.*"

The Institution thus commenced was greatly patronized and supported by wealthy Germans, who, sometimes in their own persons, and more frequently in those of their dependants or poorer kinsfolk, had enjoyed the hospitality and experienced the kind treatment of this new organization. And, accordingly, the Hospitium of St. Mary was speedily endowed with considerable gifts of lands and money, and valuables of different kinds, and soon became a very flourishing Institution. Thus matters continued until that fatal 2nd of October, 1187, when Jerusalem fell under the dominion of Saladin, never again, but for a very short period, to be restored to the rule of any Christian power.

Saladin, however, as we know, was of a very generous spirit; and considering the great benefits which the German Hospitallers of St. Mary had rendered to the sick and wounded, he permitted them, as he did also the Hospitallers of St. John, to remain, though with a diminished establishment, in possession of their headquarters in the city, to look after the poor pilgrims from their own land, who still continued, under the treaty which he had made upon the capitulation of the city, to throng the holy places.

This state of things, however, continued but for a very short time. Two years after the capture of Jerusalem, in 1189, the crusading host was engaged in that terrible siege of Ptolemäis, better known to us as St. Jean d'Acre, which after lasting through two years was only put an end to at last by the intervention of our own King Richard of the Lion-heart; and the Hospitallers of St. Mary, thinking that the camp of the Crusaders offered a more useful sphere for the exercise of their benevolent offices than the city of Jerusalem, transferred their establishment thither, and fitted up, with the sails of the small merchant vessels that brought supplies to the camp, a large tent, or series of tents, in which to carry on the proper work of the Hospital.

But in the next year, A.D. 1190, there arrived in the camp one who completely changed the whole organization and objects of the Institution, and is properly regarded as the founder of the Order, such as it became in the days of its greatest power and glory.

This was Frederic, Duke of Suabia, a younger son of the Emperor Frederic I. (Frederic of the Red-beard, Barbarossa, as he was familiarly called), who had died whilst leading a force of German Crusaders to the Holy Land, in consequence of a chill which he had caught through plunging into the ice-cold waters of the river Cydnus in Cilicia, when over-heated with violent exercise; and who, according to a superstition not yet extinct, as it is said, in some parts of Germany, is supposed to be still lying under the waters of the river in a magic sleep, until the day when he will awake and put himself at the head of the whole German race, and lead them on to the conquest of the world.

Frederic, his son, on bringing to the camp the toil-worn and shattered remnant of the forces that had been gathered together under Barbarossa, and looking about for some means of filling up the chasms in his sadly diminished ranks, naturally had his attention attracted to the spectacle of a fine body of stalwart men, all natives of his own country, engaged in what he must have considered the feminine occupation of tending the sick and wounded, and giving themselves up to the task of healing, instead of inflicting the blows in which warriors should take delight.

Struck with the idea of engaging these promising subjects to join his fighting force, he summoned the Hospitallers of St. Mary to a meeting, at which he put before them the proposal that they should follow the example set by the Hospitallers of St. John sixty years before, and turn themselves into a body that, without entirely neglecting their original purpose of tending the sick and wounded, should nevertheless regard the sacred duty of fighting and, if possible, exterminating the pagans as their principal object.

His proposal was readily accepted by the assembled body; and immediately, with the view of carrying it into effect under the most powerful patronage, and with the most sacred sanction, he sent off ambassadors to his brother, Henry VI. (who not having yet been crowned Emperor by the Pope, bore only the subordinate title of King of the Romans,) and to the Pope, Clement III., both of whom approved and gladly confirmed and sanctioned the project; which, as Clement died before it was formally carried into effect, was ultimately ratified and carried out by his successor in the chair of St. Peter, the Pope Celestine III.

The rule which Celestine gave to this new Order was framed in accordance with that of the Augustinian Canons, which was considered to be more suitable for an active body, as the Teutonic Order was intended to be, than that of St. Benedict, which was better suited for a recluse and contemplative Order.

As Monks, the brethren were required to live in community, and to take the three regular monastic vows of Poverty, Chastity, and Obedience. Their habit was exactly the converse of that of the Hospitallers of St. John, being a white mantle, with a black cross (patée) edged with silver. And in later times they added a pendant, or jewel, consisting of a cross of enamel, alternately black and white, surmounted by a helmet bearing a crest of three ostrich feathers.

The Order, all the members of which were of necessity to be of German nationality, was divided into three classes or ranks. The members of the first class were termed *Knights* (Ritter corresponding to Chevaliers). These were all required to be of noble birth and descent. The second class comprised the *Priests of the Obedience* (*i.e.*, Clergy bound by the rules of the Order), who performed the office of Chaplains, and discharged generally the priestly and clerical functions required by the general body, and continued to pay special attention to the care of the sick and wounded: and the third class consisted of Men-at-Arms—(*Servientes ad Arma;* equivalent to the Escuiers, Armigeri, or Esquires of the other Orders). These were not necessarily of noble blood, but were only required to be descended from burghers of repute, and composed the fighting infantry force, though, as the power of the Order increased, and their constant wars required larger bodies to fight their battles, much the greatest part of the forces that were engaged in the field on their side consisted of the vassals who owed them allegiance, and were bound to render them military service, in accordance with the feudal constitution under which they held their possessions.

In addition to these three classes, which comprised the members of the Order properly so called, there was a body of Associates, or *oblati* as they were called, who, without being regular members of the Order, gave assistance to it by gifts of men, money, or arms, and in other ways; and received in return various privileges in connection with the Order, and were considered to be under its special guardianship and protection.

At the head of the whole body was a Supreme Chief, who was at first termed *Master* (Meister). But as their power gradually expanded, this term was applied to the heads of the different provinces into which their dominions were divided, and thereupon the superior of the whole Order was distinguished by the title of Grand or High Master (Hoch-Meister, Magnus Magister). Under him were the Provincial Masters, the Governors of Provinces (Landmeister),

and Commanders (Komture), and the usual officers, such as Marshal of the Forces, Chancellor, Treasurer, &c. And at the head of the smaller sections, into which their possessions were divided, were placed officers called Bailiffs, who managed the estates, and collected the revenues arising from the property belonging to the Order.

The Order received from the Pope the same privileges in matters ecclesiastical as had already been conferred on the Templars and Hospitallers of St. John: including exemption from all episcopal supervision, freedom from payment of tithes and other ecclesiastical dues, and other immunities and privileges which they enjoyed in common with those other Monastic bodies that had been constituted with the Papal sanction.

The Order thus constituted—in germ at least, for it did not attain to its full development until after the lapse of several years from its original institution—elected for its first Master a member of a noble Rhenish family, Heinrich Walpot von Bassenheim, who, as soon as the Crusaders had at length captured the City of Acre, established there the headquarters of the Order, building a Hospital and a Church, in which the Founder of the Order, Frederic, Duke of Suabia, was afterwards buried. Walpot and his two immediate successors fought valiantly, but without any special distinction, in the wars then going on in, and in the neighbourhood of Palestine: and one of them, Herman von Bardt, died of the wounds that he received in fighting, in conjunction with the Hospitallers of St. John, against one of the Mahometan Sultans in Syria.

But in the year 1210, the Chapter elected for their Master one who had by far the greatest influence in moulding the constitution of the Order, and settling the direction in which its energies should be exerted, of all that ever ruled over it.

This was *Herman von Salza*, a man who was possessed at once of a great faculty of organization, and of great vigour, both physical and intellectual, which enabled him to carry the schemes which he designed into practical effect with almost unfailing success. On taking the command he found the Order considerably weakened by reason of the great losses it had sustained since its commencement. Many, or rather most, of the original members had died in battle, or from natural causes; and their places had not been filled up with new recruits, as the enthusiasm which had animated so many on the first establishment of the Order had considerably cooled down after the lapse of twenty years of not very remarkable or glorious exploits in the distant land of Palestine.

Von Salza immediately set himself, with characteristic energy, to the task of recruiting the Order and bringing it into a state of efficiency that should enable it to compare favourably with the Templars and the Knights Hospitallers of St. John, who were doing their utmost to recover the Holy Places from the dominion of the hated Saracens; and so successfully did he prosecute this object, that partly by his own personal energy, and partly by bringing to bear the great influence which he possessed with the nobles and princes of the many states into which Germany was even then divided, he had soon filled the ranks of the Order, and brought its fighting men into such efficient discipline that they were able to take a very active share with the other Crusaders in the different enterprises which were undertaken by them. And at the siege of Damietta, during the Egyptian Campaign in 1219, they distinguished themselves above even the other orders by delivering the main body of the crusading force from the extremely perilous position into which the rashness and want of caution of their leaders had drawn them.

As a reward for their bravery and the excellent service which they had rendered to the whole Christian force on this occasion, the King of Jerusalem conferred upon their chief the right for himself and his successors to wear the Golden Cross Potence of the kingdom of Jerusalem appended to the Black Cross of the Order—a distinction which was observed by the Grand Masters down to the latest period of their existence.

Von Salza was a great personal friend and confidant of the Emperor Frederic II.; and in order to engage his assistance in the crusading cause he contrived to procure a marriage between him and Iolanthe, or Yolande, the hereditary queen of Jerusalem, then a child of only thirteen years of age; and in her right the Emperor became King Consort of the Holy Land.

Frederic, however, greatly disappointed the expectations of those who had promoted this alliance: for instead of personally conducting, as they had hoped, a vigorous campaign, and wresting the Holy City, by force of arms, from its infidel possessor, he withdrew himself from the camp on the plea of ill-health, and entered into what the Crusaders considered a base and disgraceful treaty with the Sultan, whereby the city of Jerusalem was nominally surrendered to him; but it was stipulated that both religions should meet with equal toleration; and the Mosque of Omar, which was built on the site of the Temple of the Lord, was given up to the Mahometans, although the Christians were allowed to retain the Church of the Resurrection, which included both the site of the Crucifixion and the Holy Sepulchre.

This, however, was not at all what the Crusaders had expected of him; and for the breach of his vow, as well as for many other offences, he was excommunicated by the pope, Honorius III. Notwithstanding this, however, he retained the nominal possession of the city for a few

months only: for whilst lying under the ban of excommunication, neither Templars nor Hospitallers would have anything to do with him, or even enter the Holy City whilst under his command. And he retired under a very heavy cloud, with which the Papal denunciations had overshadowed him.

Then Von Salza came to the rescue. He was well known to be a great personal friend and confidant of the Emperor; but yet such great confidence was placed in his integrity and perfect fairness by the Pope that he consented to accept him as arbitrator between Frederic and himself, and he discharged that office with such success that the two potentates, between them, according to mediæval principles, wielded complete spiritual and temporal jurisdiction over the whole world.

"Ces deux moitiés de Dieu, le Pape et l'Empereur," as Victor Hugo has it, were once more reconciled: and in recognition of his great services on this occasion, Von Salza received from the Pope a ring, set with precious stones of immense value, to be worn by him and his successors in the Mastership of the Order; whilst Frederic bestowed on him and his successors the greatest dignity in his power to confer, by raising them to the rank of Ecclesiastical Princes of the Empire, and assigning to them a seat in the Diet next after the Archbishops, but before all Bishops other than Metropolitans, who enjoyed seats in that august assembly: and, moreover, conferred upon him and his successors the right to add the Imperial Eagle to the Cross of the Order, already augmented by the addition of the Cross Potence of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Brave as he was, Von Salza was not one of those who do not know when they are beaten. On the contrary, he was wise enough to recognize the fact that the recovery of the Sovereignty of the Holy Land, by force of arms, from the Mahometan power, was hopeless; and he had already resolved to direct the energies of the Order into a different channel, and to devote their efforts to the winning over to Christianity of other lands than those in Palestine or Egypt, when at this very crisis there came a summons to the Order which had the effect of determining its whole future course, and settled the part which it was destined to play in the history of Europe during the rest of its existence.

This call came from the Duke of Masovia, one of the petty chieftains of Northern Germany, who, in the year 1230, sent the most pressing solicitation to Von Salza, begging him to come with all his knights, and such other forces as he could collect, to the aid of the inhabitants of the kingdom of Poland, who were being most grievously harassed, and threatened with extermination by a savage and idolatrous pagan race known as *Prussians*.

To understand the position of affairs at this crisis, it is necessary to consider for a moment the state of Northern and North Eastern Germany at this time. It was indeed very different to what it is at present. The whole of this extensive region was occupied by a number of tribes, of very different nationalities, nearly all of whom were barbarous and uncivilized in their manners, idolatrous in their religion, and of the most cruel and savage habits, especially in their treatment of the captives taken by them in war; in fact, they were in very much the same condition in all these respects as were the North American Indians when the European settlers first came into contact with them, some 200 or 300 years ago.

The early successors of Charles the Great had made strenuous efforts to reduce these barbarous tribes to some kind of order; and they had indeed at one time succeeded so far as to have established a nominal sovereignty over the country so far as the Vistula. But they had, for some time before the period of which I am now speaking, been constrained to retire from this position, and the country was again given up to the various tribes that swarmed over it—Russians and Tartars from Asia; Livonians, allied to the Finns, and having some obscure connection with the Basques of the Pyrenees; Lithuanians, an Aryan race coming from the highlands of Northern India, and speaking a language closely allied to Sanscrit; and Prussians, mostly a Teutonic race; and besides these, there were minor tribes of Esthonians, Samogitæ, Senegallians, and many others, who had generally no bond of union between themselves, except that of a common hatred of, and undying enmity to, every civilized and Christian community in their neighbourhood.

In attempting to reduce these savage tribes to order, it had been the policy of the Emperors, the successors of Charlemagne, to establish, as their conquests progressed, boundary provinces along the line of their advance, which were guarded by a ring of fortified posts that formed at once a strong defence for those on the inside, and a starting-point for further incursions into the regions on the outside, still occupied by the barbarian tribes around. These frontier provinces were known by the name of "*Marks*," or, as we more generally call them, "*Marches*" (such as the *Marches* of Wales), meaning a line drawn between the civilized and the uncivilized districts, much in the same way as the term "The Pale" was used in Ireland to designate the fortified inclosure which separated the Norman and English invaders from the wild Irish natives of the surrounding district.

Over each Mark was placed an officer, called a Mark-Graf (or, as we generally represent

the name, a Margrave). And of these Marks, the Mark of Brandenburg, which included, and had in fact been developed out of the Mark of Saxony, was at this time the most famous; and the Margraves of Brandenburg, a very powerful dynasty, were, as time went on, frequently brought into contact with the Teutonic Order, and in the end had a most important influence upon its history.

The Poles, who occupied a very large area in the centre of Northern Germany, were a Slavonic race, having no affinities with their immediate neighbours: but they had been reduced to order at a much earlier period; and so far had they progressed in civilization and political organization, that so far back as the year 1000, their Duchy had been raised by the Emperor, Otho III., to the status of a Kingdom.

It was this Kingdom of Poland that was now being overrun and harassed by the barbarian Prussians, a nearly pure Teutonic race, whose name is said to have been derived from the word "*Pruz*," signifying in some unknown dialect, prudent, wise, clever. These savages not only devastated the country with fire and sword, but on every occasion when they got the upper hand, involved every man, woman, and child in an indiscriminate massacre, accompanied by the infliction of the most fiendish tortures upon their unfortunate victims.

The Duke of Masovia accompanied his earnest supplication for assistance with the offer to give up to the Teutonic Order his own province of Culm, which had been invaded, and was now occupied by the Prussian hordes: but Von Salza would not undertake the enterprise until he had consulted both Pope and Emperor, and had obtained from them, not only a hearty approval of his design, but had also received from them a solemn gift, in full sovereignty, of all the territory which the Order might be able to conquer from the Prussians: a gift which, seeing that Prussia did not in any way belong to the donors, was not altogether so generous and self-denying as the Bull and Charter by which it was conferred would seem to imply.

Von Salza, thus fortified with the sanction of the two greatest ecclesiastical and civil authorities, at once set about the task with characteristic energy and vigour.

He had at this time a lieutenant, who was hardly less vigorous and active than himself. This was Brother Herman von Balck, on whom was bestowed the title of Provisor, or Preceptor of Prussia; and certainly no one ever carried out the precept of "Go into the by-ways, and *compel* them to come in," with greater energy than Von Balck.

The Conquest of Prussia took exactly fifty-two years (from 1231 to 1283) to accomplish: and the whole course of the proceeding was just like the advance of the rising tide upon a shelving shore—where every advancing wave is followed by a reflux of almost equal extent; but still, upon the whole, the forward movement gains until the level of high-water is reached. For the Prussians not only offered a desperate resistance to every attack that was made upon them, but even after they had yielded and surrendered any province to the conquering Order, they would immediately, as soon as ever they had, or thought they had, the chance, rise in rebellion against their new sovereign, the Knightly Order, and had to be repressed by measures as vigorous as those by which they had first been brought into subjection.

Von Balck, furnished with a moderate force of Knights and men-at-arms of the Order, commenced his operations in the year 1231, by crossing the Vistula, and camping on the opposite bank; where he at first established a fortified camp, which he afterwards converted into a strong town named Thorn. His plan, in fact, was to colonize as he went along; and thus, after his several victories, he founded the important cities of Culm, Marienweder, and Elbing, all of which were placed under the immediate sovereignty of the Teutonic Order.

In the year 1237, when the Knights under Von Balck had begun to make considerable way with their conquests, the Order received an accession to its force, of very great importance.

This was the incorporation into its body of the *Knights of the Order of Christ*, otherwise known as *Brethren of the Sword.*

This Order was founded in the year 1201, by a Bishop of Riga, under these circumstances. The province of Livonia, bordering on the Baltic, and having considerable maritime advantages, had been originally evangelized by a Missionary Bishop, without any definite "See." But after a time matters had become so far settled that the Bishop was enabled to set up his "chair" at the town, which then became the *city*, of Riga. But the province of Livonia, of which Riga was the capital, was by no means in a state of peaceful submission to the Christian authorities. And in order to protect himself, and those who owned him as their liege lord, from danger, and to extend the Christian power over a larger area, Albert, the third Bishop, had, with the sanction of that most powerful of all the Popes, Innocent III., founded an Order similar in all respects to the Templars, except that the field of their operations was to be the area occupied by the unconverted heathens of Northern Europe, instead of Palestine and the Holy Places there.

This Order adopted the habit, as well as the rule, of the Templars; and wore the white mantle with the red cross on the breast worn by the more famous community, but distinguished by a blood-red sword placed athwart the cross, from which they derived their second title of *Brethren of the Sword.*

The military monastic body thus constituted proved a most vigorous support of the Bishops (who soon afterwards developed into Archbishops) of Riga; and in little more than thirty years from their institution, they had succeeded in completely conquering and evangelizing (two words for the same thing) the whole province of Livonia, and had acquired some degree of sovereignty over the adjoining duchy of Esthonia.

But, in making these extensive conquests, the Order had greatly exhausted itself, and with such powerful competitors in the field as the Teutonic Order bidding against them, it was not practicable to enlist recruits in sufficient numbers to fill up the gaps which death and casualties of various sorts had caused in their ranks. And thus, finding it impossible to continue their existence as a distinct and separate community, they determined to offer themselves in a body to the Teutonic Order, and to beg them to accept their services and all their possessions in corporate reunion, so that their common cause should not suffer from any mutual rivalry or jealousies, such as had but too frequently sprung up between the Templars and Hospitallers in the Holy Land.

Von Salza, after some deliberation, determined to accept the offer, provided it met with the approbation of his ecclesiastical and secular superiors—the Pope and the Emperor. These potentates both gladly gave their sanction to the union; and, in order to carry it out, the Pope (Gregory IX.) absolved the members of the Order of Christ from the oath which they had taken to observe the rule of that Order; and gave them permission to substitute the oath taken by the members of the Teutonic Order; into which they thus, in the year 1237, became fully incorporated.

The province of Livonia, the sovereignty of which was now handed over to the Teutonic Knights, was, next to Prussia, which they were slowly bringing into subjection, the most important of the provinces over which the Order acquired sovereign power; and Von Salza immediately appointed his energetic Lieutenant, Von Balck, to govern the newly acquired dominion, with the title of *Master* of Livonia. And as it had now become obvious that other provinces, of sufficient importance to require the superintendence of a *Master*, might be expected to be added to their dominions before long, the title of High or Grand Master (Hoch-Meister: Magnus Magister) was bestowed upon Von Salza and his successors in the supreme command of the Order, in lieu of the simple title of *Master*, which had, down to that time, been borne by the general Superior of the Community.

Von Salza died in 1239, shortly after the acquisition of Livonia, and, partially, of Esthonia; and I think that the fact of this latter acquisition, at this particular time, may throw some light upon the observation made by Major Heales, when he was giving us the result of his examination of the Ecclesiology of Denmark, in that exceedingly interesting lecture with which he favoured our Society a short time since. He remarked, if I remember rightly, that whereas in earlier times the Danes had been most profuse builders of churches, so that not only every town, but every small village, was amply supplied with church accommodation, yet, judging from the style of architecture, they appeared to have come to a stand-still in this edifying work about the year 1230, or shortly after, as none of the many village and parish churches gave evidence, from their style of architecture, of having been built at any later date than that time. And it struck me at the time—and I offer it to Major Heales and the Society as a suggestion—that one circumstance, at least, that may have had some influence in causing this sudden cessation of church-building amongst the Danes, may have been the hostile connection with the Teutonic Order, into which they were brought through the acquisition from the Order of Christ of the claims of that body upon the province of Esthonia; of which, though not belonging to the Danish nation, the King of Denmark was Duke—just as at the present day the King of Holland is Duke of Luxembourg, which does not belong to the Dutch. The conquest of Esthonia, however, was stoutly resisted by the Danes, and the numerous fights over this bone of contention, with such a powerful body as the Teutonic Knights (which lasted for centuries, until they were finally terminated by one of the Grand Masters buying up the rights of the King of the Danes, and making a present of them to the Teutonic Order), must have had a considerable effect in diverting the energies and employing the resources of the Danes in a different direction from the building of churches.

The subjugation of the Prussians still continued with great fluctuations of success and failure for forty-six years longer. Once, indeed, it appeared that the Order was to be strengthened by the addition of a powerful ally. This was Mendog, Duke of Lithuania, a barbarous and heathen province, which gave the greatest trouble, especially to the Livonian branch of the Order, from the fierce character of the natives and their constant hostility to the Teutonic Knights, and the raids they were repeatedly making upon their territories. In the year 1250, however, Mendog, the Duke of the province, having been severely beaten by the Master of Livonia, was fain to sue for peace and a treaty of alliance with the Order. To his application, however, the Grand Master replied that the Order could not think of making peace or entering into any alliance with a heathen; but that, if he would become a Christian, the

Order would not only accede to his request for a treaty of peace and alliance, but would go further, and use their influence with the Pope to raise his Duchy to the dignity of a kingdom.

Mendog readily accepted the terms proposed, and at once submitted, with all his family, to the rite of baptism; and the Pope Innocent IV. having, by a Bull in the year 1261, taken the province of Lithuania under the special protection and supervision of the Holy See, and raised it to the dignity of a kingdom, Mendog was crowned with great solemnity by the Bishop of Culm under a special Commission issued for that purpose by another Bull of the same Pope. And he, in return, by a Charter of the same date, granted to the Knights of the Teutonic Order the reversion of this newly-created kingdom in case of his own death without leaving heirs male of his body to succeed him. At the same time several of the noblest members of the Order transferred themselves to his Court to teach the immediate attendants of the King the habits and manners of courtiers, and to spread amongst his heathen subjects the doctrines and morals of Christianity.

But, alas! all this fair promise speedily vanished, and the bright hopes of the Order of deriving great additional power and influence through this alliance with the Kingdom of Lithuania, were doomed to disappointment. In the short period of three months, Mendog, whose only object had been to gain a little breathing time to recover from his defeat, and to secure some secret alliances with some of his congenial pagan neighbours, suddenly abjured his Christianity, contemptuously cast aside his Crown, and repudiated the title of King so recently conferred upon him, and immediately ordered, and carried into effect, a horrible massacre of all the Christians whom he could lay hands on throughout Livonia, Prussia, and Poland, as well as in his own dominion of Lithuania, including those unfortunate Knights of the Teutonic Order who had placed themselves at his Court, and whom he put to death with tortures of the most terrible description: Andreas, the Provincial Master of Livonia, being probably one of the victims.

Notwithstanding this terrible drawback, however, the war with the Prussians, now supported vigorously by the relapsed Mendog, still went on; and at length, after fifty-two years of continuous fighting, and alternating victories and defeats, in the year 1283, Sudavia, the most populous and most powerful of all the Prussian provinces, and which held out against the advance of the Teutonic Knights the longest of all, surrendered. And the whole of Prussia had now become subject to the sovereignty of the Order, though for many years after the Prussians were continually organizing revolts, and striving to throw off the yoke imposed upon them by the victors.

Although their energies during this half century had been engaged almost exclusively in what was considered a meritorious crusade against the pagans of North-Eastern Europe, the Order had managed to keep up a force in the Holy Land; and, acting rather as a reserve to be used in times of trouble and disaster than putting themselves forward in the same front as the Templars and the Hospitallers of St. John, they had occasionally done excellent service to the crusading cause. In particular, they had rendered such aid to Louis IX. of France (Saint Louis) during his unfortunate campaign in Egypt in the year 1250 that, as a mark of his gratitude and esteem, he granted to the Grand Master and his successors the privilege of wearing four fleurs-de-lis attached to the Cross of the Order, which had been already augmented by the addition of the Black Eagle of the Holy Roman Empire.

After the conquest of Prussia had been completed there occurred a short lull in their European contests, which left the Order at leisure to give assistance in the defence of Acre, the common headquarters of all the three great Orders, and the last stronghold of the Crusaders in Palestine. The siege was a most terrible one, and ended in 1291 with the complete defeat and expulsion from the Holy Land of all the Christian forces. The Templars and Hospitallers of St. John retired to Cyprus. The Teutonic Knights removed their headquarters to Venice, where they remained for 20 years, under the idea that they might still be required to give aid in the efforts which it was contemplated might yet be made for the recovery of the kingdom of Jerusalem; and it was only when it had become certain, to them at least, that the day for such enterprises was over, and that the proper area for exhibiting their prowess was the pagan, or only partially Christianized region in and about their own recently acquired dominions, that they removed to Marienburg, on the Vistula, which they made the capital of Prussia, and surrounded with extensive and powerful fortifications.

The period of comparative inaction which followed the conquest of Prussia, and the retirement of the Order from Palestine, however, did not last long. They soon became involved in other and more serious troubles, partly domestic and partly external, which lasted, with occasional interruptions, for about 150 years.

The domestic troubles, which concerned their ecclesiastical status and privileges, affected principally their province of Livonia.

The actual origin of these dissensions is not very clear; but it is pretty certain that it was in fact a struggle for supremacy between the Archbishops of Riga and the Knights of the

Teutonic Order; neither of which potentates was willing to submit to the supremacy of the other.

The Bishopric of Riga, which had now developed into an Archbishopric, with four suffragan sees comprised within its province, and which in its early days had been so weak and powerless that it had been compelled to establish a Special Order—that of the Brethren of the Sword—to defend it against the attacks of its pagan neighbours, had now become so strong that it was laying claim to a civil and territorial jurisdiction, with a powerful body of vassals to support it, which was constantly coming into conflict with the same or similar rights claimed by the Teutonic Knights.

The probable origin of these conflicting claims was that different Emperors, at different times, forgetting or wilfully ignoring the acts of their predecessors, had granted to the Knights, and to the Archbishops, privileges which were identical, and which affected, or professed to affect, the self-same subjects: and the attempts to exercise which necessarily brought the two claimants into constant conflict. Thus each power claimed to be the exclusive sovereign under the feudal supremacy of the Emperor, of the City of Riga, and the principal parts of the Province of Livonia. The Archbishops, moreover, claimed the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all the Clergy of the province, whether they were members of the Order or not, whilst the Knights not only maintained their exemption from all ecclesiastical rule, except that of the supreme Pontiff himself, but also raised a claim to nominate or to have an influential voice in the election of the Archbishops, and in various ways to limit their episcopal jurisdiction over, at any rate, such of the Clergy in their diocese and province as were, or had been, members of the Order.

The quarrel, after smouldering for some time, burst into flame about the year 1297, when both parties took up arms and commenced a most sanguinary conflict. The Archbishop, notwithstanding his position as a Christian prelate, did not hesitate to join in an alliance with the pagan and barbarian Grand Duke of Lithuania; and so vehement was the animosity of the contending forces, that actually nine pitched battles were fought between them in eighteen months; in one of which the Provincial Master of Livonia, together with 23 Knights of the Order and 1,500 men-at-arms, were left dead on the field of battle.

The issue, however, between the contending parties, was not left to be settled by arms alone, but was referred to the common Superior of both, the Pope, Clement V. The Archbishop, Von Schwerin, addressed a long list of complaints against the Order to His Holiness, and this was followed up by a personal visit of his successor, the Archbishop Frederic, to Clement at Avignon, where the Papal Court was then established; and every effort was made by him to induce the Pope to proceed against and exterminate the Teutonic Order in the same manner as, in conjunction with the King of France, he was proceeding to exterminate the Templars. But this latter task was quite enough for Clement at one time: and the utmost that Frederic could obtain from him was a Papal Bull, ordering an inquiry into the charges brought against the Teutonic Knights, from which nothing came; and matters were allowed to relapse into their former state of hostility, tempered occasionally, when both parties were out of breath, with a truce which was allowed to last only until they had recovered sufficient strength to renew the conflict with vigour and virulence.

Several times during the course of the struggle, the Popes fulminated decrees of excommunication against the Order, for not obeying their command to give up the city of Riga to the Archbishops. But at last the contest was compromised, and the ban of excommunication was removed, upon the terms that the civil government of the city of Riga should be exercised jointly by the Archbishop and the Teutonic Order; but that the command of its military forces should be conceded to the Knights, and that the Provincial Masters of Livonia should be released from the oath of allegiance and submission, which the Archbishops had insisted upon requiring as due to them.

But then the quarrel, thus temporarily appeased, broke out in a new place. One of the Members of the Order was elected Archbishop, and thereupon proceeded to divest himself of the habit, which, when he was first enrolled, he had vowed for ever to wear. The Order immediately fired up, and appeals on both sides were made to the Pope—who, however, in this matter altogether favoured the claims of the Order—and ultimately Pope Boniface IX. commanded, that not only the Archbishops but all the Clergy of Riga should wear the habit, and be subject to the rules of the Order. And this injunction was afterwards extended by Martin V. to all the Clergy of the Province of Livonia, including the three suffragan sees of Oësel, Derpt, and Curland, that owed allegiance to the Metropolitan of Riga.

These domestic conflicts were interspersed with constant and severe fighting with the surrounding heathen and barbarous tribes—Russians, Tartars, Samogitæ, Esthonians, Lithuanians, and others—who were for ever pressing upon them on all sides from without, whilst they were struggling with their Christian, or at any rate Episcopal, foes within. And so completely did these contests absorb the energies of the Livonian Branch of the Order, that

they were able to give but little assistance to the main body, who, during the same time, were engaged in a struggle with Poland and its allies, which was nothing less than a life and death contest for supremacy or extermination, that lasted for upwards of 150 years.

The way in which this struggle came about was this:—In the year 1309, Mestwin, the last Duke of Pomerania, died without leaving any legitimate issue, and thereupon the Poles, on various pretexts, laid claim to his succession, and took possession of the lands comprised in his Duchy. The Margraves of Brandenburg, however, had long before been established by the emperors as the lawful Suzerains of the Dukes of Pomerania; and in that character they, in accordance with feudal principles, claimed the succession as of a fief which had escheated for want of heirs; and, with the consent of the Emperor, Henry VII., they sold and made over a large part of the territory of Pomerania, and the rights of sovereignty over it, to the Teutonic Order.

Some attempts to settle the rival claims of the two bodies were made, but without success; and thereupon the Knights took up arms and made themselves masters of the disputed territory; and to emphasize their resolution to retain the mastery over it, they built a new city at Dantzic to be the capital of the newly acquired region, and a powerful fortress to resist any attempts of the Poles or their allies to take it from their grasp.

This was the commencement of a series of wars which lasted for rather more than 150 years; and I wish that those amiable enthusiasts, who fancy that in a contest involving matters of real national importance, perhaps even the question of national existence, the dispute can be settled by arbitration, could study the history of this struggle between the Teutonic Order and the Polish kingdom, and take in the lessons which that history so emphatically teaches—for the whole course of events during those 150 years ran in a cycle that was repeated over and over again, always in the same order, until the final blow that crushed one of the contending bodies beyond the power of further resistance.

The series of events was always this: first the parties began with most desperate fighting, with various success until both were exhausted, and were glad to arrange a truce. The dispute was then agreed to be referred to arbitration. The arbitrators chosen were generally the neighbouring kings of Hungary, Bohemia, or Denmark—sometimes the Pope, who acted in the first instance through Nuncios, who were invested with his power of fulminating decrees of excommunication, and whose awards were almost invariably set aside by the Popes themselves upon being referred to them personally by way of appeal. On some few occasions the Emperor himself acted, not in his character of supreme over-lord, but as a friendly intermediary; and once no less important a body than a General Council of the Western Church, the Council of Constance, intervened, in a vain attempt to establish a final settlement of the dispute.

The awards pronounced on these several occasions always required something to be done—a province, or a city, or a fortress to be given up, a large sum of money to be paid, or some important privilege to be conceded by one or both of the disputants; and, as invariably, when the time for performing the award arrived, the power that had to give or give up anything discovered or invented some flaw in the award, or some pretext upon which non-compliance with the terms of the sentence was declared to be justified, and then the other side seeking to enforce the decree commenced a fresh war which ran through the same course as that which it was supposed had been terminated by the intervention of the friendly arbitrators. And so it went on, over and over again, until the bitter end at last was reached by the sheer exhaustion of the one party to the strife, and the overpowering increase of force acquired by the other, which enabled them to dictate and enforce the terms of submission which their adversaries were compelled to submit to, without appeal to any third parties to assist in settling the dispute.

This long war, or series of wars, was computed to have caused the death directly, and in open battle, of several hundreds of thousands of men, without counting the myriads who succumbed to the miseries brought about by this constant state of warfare, including the pestilences generated by the unburied bodies of the slain, and the famines that arose from the devastation of the lands, the destruction of the harvests, and the dragging away to death on the battle-field of the peasants who ought to have been engaged in cultivating the land. Vast numbers of towns and villages were burnt, and their inhabitants rendered homeless; and, as may well be supposed, the progress of civilization in North-Eastern Europe was arrested to such an extent, that the common people on both sides remained as much in the state of barbarism in which they were at the commencement of the strife, as they would have done if they had never had any teachers or professors of a higher condition of cultivation to instruct them in the arts of advanced humanity.

The war was carried on with alternating successes and defeats on both sides, without any great preponderance in favour of either, until about 1382, when an event occurred which turned the scale so much in favour of the Poles, that it was in reality the beginning of the end of the long-continued strife.

In this year, 1382, a marriage was arranged between Jagellon, the Grand Duke of Lithuania,

and Hedwige, the Queen of Poland; thus uniting the forces of the two greatest and most powerful enemies of the Order, who, though occasionally allied in some expeditions against the Teutons, had never before been so closely bound together in a common and persistent hostility to the Order.

In order to effect this union, Jagellon had to go through the form (for it was nothing more) of being baptized, and nominally becoming a Christian. And before allowing the Duke to be recognized as King of Poland, the nobility insisted upon his taking a secret oath that he would devote himself to the conquest and recovery, on behalf of the Polish kingdom, both of Pomerania and the whole of Prussia.

This undertaking put Jagellon in a somewhat curious position with regard to the Teutonic Order. For it so happened that his recognition, through his marriage, as King of Poland, took place during one of those intervals of truce between that nation and the Order of which I have spoken: and thus, whilst Jagellon, King of Poland, was at perfect peace with the Knights, Jagellon, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, was at deadly war with them, and seeking to exterminate them.

The war with Lithuania and its Duke accordingly continued for a time without the Poles, as such, being ostensibly concerned in it; and, indeed, so far was the truce with Poland observed that the Order had leisure to obtain, partly by purchase, and partly by treaties of exchange with the Northern powers, the new Mark of Brandenburg and several maritime provinces along the seabord of the Baltic, which expanded their dominions from the Oder to the Gulf of Finland—the greatest extent of territory which had ever submitted to their sovereignty; and this increase in their importance as a naval power brought them for the first and apparently the only time into contact with the Kings of England, with whom they at this time entered into some treaties to regulate the commerce carried on in those maritime regions by the respective subjects of the two powers.

But in 1407 the old dispute with Poland began again. This time it was about a portion of the territory of the new Mark of Brandenburg which the Teutons had recently acquired. As usual both parties took up arms. Then followed a reference to the arbitration of the King of Bohemia, whose award being adverse to the Poles, Jagellon refused to abide by or perform it. And then, at last, the overwhelming force which the union of Lithuania and its allies with Poland had brought to bear against the Teutonic Order, so turned the scale that the Knights were compelled to yield to their now irresistible antagonists. They did not, however, give way without a desperate struggle; and when, in the year 1410, Jagellon, with a combined force of Poles, Lithuanians, Samogitæ, Russians, and Tartars, amounting to upwards of 120,000 men, invaded the Provinces of Prussia, the Teutonic Knights, with a force of 83,000 men-at-arms, met them in the plains of Tannenberg, on the 15th of July, 1410, and then ensued the most tremendous battle that the Order had ever been engaged in.

The fight at first went entirely in favour of the Teutons, whose forces were much the best disciplined of the two. But (as so often has happened on other occasions), the Knights attempting to push their success without due precautions for securing their lines of communication, were drawn into disorder; and when the half-routed Poles stopped their flight and turned upon the victors, now straggling in confusion, the Grand Master was killed, and the tide of battle completely turned against his followers, who, in the final stage of the combat, were totally and ruinously defeated, leaving on the field of battle no less than 40,000 dead on their own side, but matched with 60,000 of the enemy whom they had despatched to make up the round number of 100,000 killed, or put *hors de combat*, in this most sanguinary affair.

The victory of the Poles was immediately followed by the not unwilling submission to them of several of the towns and fortresses of Prussia, and Jagellon laid siege to Marienburg, the capital, but this, after eight weeks, he was obliged to relinquish, and return to his kingdom of Poland, where the motley force with which he had effected the victory of Tannenberg soon melted away and dispersed to their own several homes.

Notwithstanding their crushing defeat at Tannenberg, however, the Order still retained sufficient power to offer a vigorous resistance to the attempts of Jagellon and his successors to seize and hold the Duchy of Pomerania and as much of Prussia as he could lay hands on; and the same weary round of fighting, truce, arbitration, refusal to abide by the awards of the arbitrators, and resumption of fighting, as had been the regular course of things during the last hundred years, was gone through until the year 1454, when the whole nation, or province of Prussia, at the instigation and with the assistance of the Poles, rose in arms against the Sovereign Order, placed themselves under the protection of Casimir, the then King of Poland, who received their homage; and after a contest which lasted for twelve years, which cost the lives of 300,000 men, and during which no less than 18,000 villages were burnt and the inhabitants rendered homeless, compelled the Knights, in the year 1466, to submit to a most disastrous treaty, under which Prussia was divided into two parts. Of these, the Western, which comprised the long disputed Duchy of Pomerania, was ceded to the King of Poland, whilst the Eastern

was allowed to remain under the rule of the Order, but only on condition that they should render homage for it to the Kings of Poland as the legitimate suzerains and over-lords of that sadly curtailed dominion.

Marienburg, which, since its erection by the Teutons after their retiral from Venice, had been the capital and seat of government of the Order, being included in that part of the territory which was given up to the Poles, was, of course, abandoned by the Knights, and their headquarters were thereupon transferred to Königsberg, which fell within the lines of the region over which they were permitted for a time to retain a subordinate sovereignty.

But the disastrous external losses to which the Order was thus compelled to submit were not the only troubles that afflicted them. The religious dissensions, which, at this time divided the several German States, broke out in the body of the Teutonic Knights themselves, and gave rise to internal conflicts and domestic discord, which greatly helped to reduce their power and nullify their influence amongst the Germanic States.

So far back as the year 1393, during the Grand Mastership of Conrad von Wallenrod, a preacher of the name of Leander, who had originally been a member of the sect of the Albigenses, and had afterwards adopted the views of Wiclif, managed, with the connivance of the Grand Master who secretly favoured his views, to make many proselytes amongst the Prussian subjects of the Order, as well as to infuse a strong feeling of favour towards Protestantism in many of the Knights and other members of the Order themselves.

Later on, about the year 1410, the Grand Master Heinrich von Plauen, who was elected in that year, acted still more openly in supporting the preachers and promulgators of the tenets of Wiclif, which he had himself adopted; but not having succeeded in winning over the majority of the Knights, he was deposed on account of heresy, in a Grand Chapter of the Order held in the year 1413.

But the full effect of this tendency to the disunion and breaking up of the Order through religious differences, did not manifest itself until, mainly through the support which he was enabled to secure of a large number of malcontent members of the Order, who were fretting against the rules which compelled them to adhere, or at any rate, to profess adhesion to the doctrines and discipline of the Roman Church, enabled the Grand Master, Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, to carry out effectually an act of treason that put a final end to the existence of the Order as a Sovereign ruling power.

Albert, who before his election was not a member of the Order, was elected Grand Master in the year 1511, in pursuance of that fatal policy which induced the Knights to appoint to that high office persons of princely rank or connections, under the mistaken idea that they would secure the assistance of their powerful relatives in the attempts that the Order were constantly making to retrieve their terrible losses. The result, however, was most ruinous to the Order. For instead of promoting the interests of the body over which they were invited to preside, these Princely Masters made the position to which they were called only the means of advancing their own private interests, and regarded the Grand Mastership of the Order as nothing but an ornamental addition to the high dignities with which they were already invested.

Albert, already holding the Margravate of Brandenburg, began by refusing to pay to the King of Poland the homage, for that part of Prussia the sovereignty over which the Order still retained, that the treaty of 1466 had required. This involved the Knights in a war with Poland, in which Albert was thoroughly defeated; and it was only through the intervention of the Emperor and the King of Hungary as mediators, that he obtained a truce for four years.

During the interval Albert effected a most nefarious and traitorous bargain with the Provincial Master of the Livonian Branch of the Order, Walther von Plettenberg, by which, in consideration of large sums of money paid by the latter, he granted to the Livonian Knights a charter of independence, thereby conferring upon them the sovereignty over that part of the dominions of the Order which had been, up to that time, treated as a province; so that thenceforth the Masters of Livonia could exercise in their own names, and without reference to the Grand Masters of the general body, all the rights of sovereignty which previously could be exercised only by the Grand Chapters of the Order, or the Grand Masters in concert with them; and also obtained the privilege of electing their own Master instead of having him nominated by the Grand Master of the whole Order.

But the final consummation of Albert's treachery was yet to come. In the year 1525, after the expiration of the truce with Poland—having himself privately embraced the doctrines of Luther, the Grand Master, after some negotiations, concluded a treaty with the King of Poland, his uncle, the superior sovereign under whom the Knights held their Prussian dominions as a fief, by which it was agreed that all that part of the territory of Prussia, which was then ruled by the Order, should be converted into a secular Duchy, of which Albert was to be recognized as the hereditary Duke, with the succession secured, not only to his lineal, but to his collateral heirs, upon condition that he and his successors would accept investiture of this new-created duchy

from the kings of Poland, as their lawful over-lords and suzerains. This having been completed, Albert at once threw off the habit, and renounced his obedience to the rules of the Order, openly professed Lutheranism, and expelled the Catholics from his duchy, and, in contempt of his vows of celibacy, married two wives (in succession, not both at once; though his new leader, Luther, might, perhaps, have accorded to him the same indulgence as he was willing to grant to another of the Protestant princes of Germany, of having two consorts at the same time).

It was not many years after this defection of Albert of Brandenburg that the Province of Livonia followed the example set by him.

After the acquisition by that branch of the Order of independence as regarded the exercise of sovereign rights in secular matters, and the election by themselves of their own superior, the Livonian knights, though still acknowledging the supremacy in respect of matters purely ecclesiastical of the Grand Master of the whole Order, acted, practically, as if they were an entirely separate community. Their Masters were now raised to the dignity of Princes of the Empire, and took their places in the Diet next after the Grand Masters of the original Order, below the Prince-Archbishops, but above the Prince-Bishops; and the history of the Livonian province thenceforth is that of a separate community. Their quarrels with the Archbishops of Riga and the inhabitants of that city, notwithstanding all the numerous treaties and arbitrations which were supposed to have terminated the dispute, continued as vehement and as virulent as ever. These disputes, together with the constant warlike operations in which resistance to the repeated attacks of Russians, Tartars, Lithuanians, Esthonians, and Suedes, involved them, kept them so constantly engaged on their own account, that they could render but little assistance to the main body of the Order in such enterprises as they were still able to undertake.

At length, in the year 1559, Gothard Kettler, the last Master of the Livonian Branch, finding the pressure of the attacks from their outside enemies becoming much too great for the Livonian Knights any longer to resist by their own forces only, placed himself under the protection of the King of Poland, and made a singular compact with a large body of the Knights Commanders of the Order, whereby he bound himself to use his utmost efforts to deliver his country and Order from their enemies; but stipulated that, if he were not successful in his efforts, he should be at liberty to marry and form for himself an hereditary principality out of the territories then remaining under the rule of his Branch of the Order.

Kettler seems to have attempted honestly to carry out this compact on his part, and for two years he struggled bravely against the enemies of his country; but everything went against him. Every battle that he fought ended in defeat and the loss of great numbers of his best Knights. Every siege resulted in the capture of some important city or fortress. Even his hopes of assistance from the King of Sweden, who had promised him a large force to aid him, were dashed to pieces by the death of his friendly ally, and the succession of one who was his bitter enemy, and at once joined the Russians against him. The Esthonians revolted and gave themselves over to the now hostile King of Sweden; and the citadel of Revel, one of their strongest fortresses, was obliged to surrender to the forces of the same nation. And then, finding it impossible to continue the struggle any longer on behalf of the Order, Kettler availed himself of the licence he had obtained by the compact he had entered into with the Commanders of the Order in Livonia. And on the 28th of November, 1561, he surrendered to the King of Poland all the possessions of the Order in the Province of Livonia, receiving back as a secular hereditary Duchy the district of Courland and Semigallia, as a fief for which he and his successors were to render homage to the King of Poland; and having openly embraced the tenets of Lutheranism, he married and became the progenitor of a line of Dukes of Courland, who thenceforth represented as secular potentates all that remained of the dignity and influence of the once renowned Provincial Masters of the Teutonic Order in Livonia.

After thus sustaining such a terrible loss as that of two such important Provinces as Prussia and Livonia, the Order might well exclaim *Ichabod! Ichabod!*

It is true that they still retained very extensive and valuable possessions, which brought them in very considerable revenues. But with the loss of these two great provinces over which they had exercised sovereign rights, they ceased to enjoy the status of a princely power, and lost all political influence and importance.

The possessions held by them were divided into districts, called Bailiwicks. One of the most valuable of these, that of Sicily, was taken from them in 1489, before their loss of Prussia and Livonia. And another of them, that of Utrecht, established its independence in about the year 1600. The remaining Bailiwicks, eleven in number, were the following, namely:—(1) Elsass (Alsatia) and Burgundy; (2) Austria; (3) Coblenz; (4) Etsch or Tyrol; (5) Franconia; (6) Hesse; (7) The Netherlands; (8) Westphalia; (9) Thuringia; (10) Lotharingen (Lorraine); and (11) Saxony.

Notwithstanding their losses and diminished power and influence, the Order did not cease to make the most persistent attempts to recover their position and their lost territories.

And they did so far succeed, that they got a Decree of the Imperial Chamber at Speyer, in the year 1532, under the Emperor, Charles V., proscribing Albert of Brandenburg for his unjust detention of the Duchy of Prussia; but the troubles of the Empire at this time were too serious to permit the carrying out of this Decree, and nothing was ever afterwards accomplished in the way of restoring the dominion of Prussia to the Order, except the issuing of an idle protest by the Grand Master, Francis Louis Count Palatine, in the year 1701, when Prussia was raised to the dignity of a kingdom, and Frederick III, the Great Elector, was proclaimed King, against the assumption by that Monarch of that title, and the invasion by him of the sovereign rights of the Order over that territory.

Having lost their former Capital of Königsberg, the Order transferred their headquarters to Mergentheim in Franconia. They still continued the fatal policy of electing to the Grand Mastership, scions of the great Imperial and Princely families of Germany, with the consequence that these highly born dignitaries considered the possession of the Grand Mastership chiefly as an ornamental addition to their many other distinctions, rather than as imposing upon them any serious duties of converting or exterminating Pagans and Paganism. And so gross was the abuse of the system of Pluralities in that period, that many of the later Grand Masters held, "*in commendam*," with the Mastership of the Order, several (in two cases no less than five) Bishoprics, or Archbishoprics, and besides these occupied the post of Governors or Viceroys of distant Provinces.*

The supply of Pagans to convert, or exterminate and despoil, beginning now to run short, the Knights had much fewer opportunities of performing those feats of arms, which in by-gone days had rendered them so formidable. And this circumstance so far diminished the inducement to join their ranks, that it became more and more difficult to find sufficient recruits to keep up their numbers to anything like their former amount, or to give such training, by engaging in actual warlike enterprises, to those who did serve in their forces, as their old conflicts, whether domestic or external, had afforded.

It was, indeed, at one time proposed that, as the advance of Christianity had removed Paganism from their immediate neighbourhood, they should transfer their headquarters to the extreme eastern borders of Hungary, where the Turks were now pressing upon the Christianized portions of Eastern Europe, and endeavouring to spread the doctrines of Mahomet, by the energetic employment of that weapon, the use of which he had commanded to be made the principal means of religious conversion—the sword. But the Grand Master represented that—in consequence of the loss of power, of territory, and of wealth, which they had sustained, and the greatly diminished number of members and retainers on whom they could now rely for military exploits—the Order was totally incompetent to maintain such an important post, on the steady and firm holding of which, against the Mahometan power, the safety of all Eastern Europe might depend, and so the project had to be abandoned.

The Knights did, indeed, occasionally furnish some contingents to the forces of the emperors when engaged in their wars with pagan foes abroad or heretic rebels at home; and, notably, they supplied an auxiliary force to John Sobieski, the king of their old foe Poland, on that memorable occasion when, in the year 1683, he raised the siege of Vienna, and thereby repeated for Eastern Europe that deliverance which nearly a thousand years before Charles Martel had wrought for Western Europe by the Battle of Tours, thereby putting an effectual and final stop to the further spread over Christian Europe of that deluge of Mahometanism which was threatening to overwhelm it.

So greatly, however, had the changes of every sort which had befallen the Order affected its practice that in 1606 the then Grand Master, the Archduke Maximilian, son of the Emperor Maximilian II., found it inevitably necessary to the continued existence of the Order to entirely remodel its constitution and rules. And accordingly he repealed the then existing, and enacted a new, set of statutes, which, not merely in matters of detail, but fundamentally, changed the constitution and character of the Order, and thenceforth regulated its government and objects to the end of its existence. Under these new statutes the members of the Order, who had become too few to maintain the conventual life in their still numerous and widely-scattered possessions, were relieved of the necessity of leading the Common life and observing the

* Charles of Austria, a cousin of the Emperor Maximilian II., elected Grand Master in 1618, was Bishop of Breslau and of Brixen, and Viceroy of the Kingdom of Portugal.

Leopold William, son of the Emperor Ferdinand II., elected in 1641, held, together with the Grand Mastership, the Bishoprics of Passau, Strasburg, Halberstadt, Olmutz and Breslau, and was at the same time Governor of the Low Countries.

Louis Antoine Count Palatine, elected in 1684, was Abbot of Fécamp in Normandy, Canon of Cologne, Liège and Munster; Provost of Elwangen, Bishop of Worms, Coadjutor of the Elector-Archbishop of Mainz, and upon the point of being elected Bishop of Liège, when he died.

Clement Augustus of Bavaria, elected in 1732, was, at the same time, Elector-Archbishop of Cologne, and Bishop of Munster, Paderborn, Hildesheim, and Osnaburg.

Monastic rules, which up to that time had been obligatory upon them. And perhaps the most important of all the inroads made upon their original constitution was the permission given to the members in the Bailiwicks of Hesse, Thuringia, and Saxony to hold and profess the tenets of Lutheranism, though the members in the other Bailiwicks were still bound to profess Catholicism, and to recognize the Pope as their supreme ecclesiastical ruler.

Still, notwithstanding the attempt to infuse new energy into the decaying body by these bold changes in its constitution, the Order drooped and dwindled until, by the end of the eighteenth century, it had no longer strength to resist the vigorous attacks made upon it by the great Napoleon, who, in the year 1801, boldly seized and annexed to France all the Bailiwicks belonging to the Order situate to the west of the Rhine; and in 1809, in the plenitude of his power, absolutely extinguished the Order, and distributed all its remaining possessions (with the exception only of the Bailiwick of Utrecht, which has retained its independent existence down to the present time) amongst those of the neighbouring German states that he permitted to continue to exist. And thus this once immensely powerful and redoubted Order had nothing left but to point to the relics and memorials of its former greatness—the cathedrals and churches, the castles and palaces, the cities and towns, and fortresses that it had built or founded, now lying in ruins or in the hands and under the dominion of strangers, and to exclaim with him who, at the enthronization of a Pope, scatters a handful of flax upon a blazing torch as an emblem of the transitory nature of all human splendours as he utters the warning cry, "*Eheu! Sic transit gloria mundi.*"

Here ends the history of the famous Teutonic Order of Knights of St. Mary in Jerusalem. But it must be added that, with that same feeling of admiration for shams that has unfortunately beset some who have sought to revive the kindred Order of the Knights Hospitallers, in the year 1840 a pretence was made of resuscitating the Teutonic Order. And a very meritorious body, bearing indeed its name, but having no sort of claim to identify itself with the Order, was formed for the purpose of giving assistance to the sick and wounded, both in war and in peace, who have, I believe, rendered some valuable service as an ambulance corps; but cannot justify the falsification of history by assuming a name to which they have no rightful title, and which can only serve to confuse students of the doings of that mighty Power, a slight sketch of whose history, that perhaps may be of some service to those of the members of our Society who may chance to visit the scenes of their great exploits, I have endeavoured to put before you this evening.

No doubt it would be easy to work out a restoration by continuing the curves of these springers, aided by accurate archæological knowledge. I submit, however, that we have had enough, if not too much, of this scholarly restoration of features which have entirely disappeared, and that it is a less mischievous amusement for us to confine such restorations to paper, or, if we want to make the tracery complete in order to get rid of ruins in our old buildings, I would suggest that the completion should be carried out with details quite distinct from the original work. The most marvellous and satisfactory practice, followed by our forefathers, was that of engrafting *their* modern work on to previous buildings, so as to harmonize with them, and yet to be clearly of a later style.

So far, we have been considering screens which occupy the whole height of the arch, or wall, between the nave and chancel; but as I have said, the most usual form of screen is that which reaches to somewhere about the springing line of the arches of the church, if they be of moderate height, while in lofty churches, the screens would, of course, not reach up to this springing line.

Pugin, writing from his point of view, says that, in cathedral churches, the screen enclosing the choir from the nave should be solid, with a recess for an altar on each side of a central door; but that, in parish churches, these screens should be of open work. There is something to be said in favour of the comfort of a solid screen, to those occupying the stalls within them, for the draught setting towards the comparatively warm choir from the cold nave, finds its way through a pierced screen most bitterly. Besides, the distinct service held within the choir justifies the complete reparation afforded by a solid screen.

These screens carry a floor originally intended for use during part of the service, but subsequently devoted to the accommodation of the organ as well, or of the organ only. Examples are still to be found of two spiral staircases, one at each end, giving easy access to the floor, or loft.

I have not a drawing of an English example, but that at Naumburg, sketched by Mr. Phené Spiers, shows what a telling feature could be made of these staircases.

Sometimes, the enclosure of the choir simply consists of the backs of the stalls, beyond the East end of which the high enclosure ceases. The backs of stalls are not edifying things to look at, and a stone enclosing screen, carried right round the choir behind the altar, may be made not only a beautiful, but a very edifying structure by means of sculpture.

The most complete enclosure that I have seen is at Chartres Cathedral; it is of the latest Gothic, with a strong tinge of Renaissance detail which, in my judgment, is an improvement rather than a defect. The upper portion of this screen consists of a series of deep recesses peopled with sculptured figures in full relief.

Viollet-le-Duc says, "That in the enclosing screen in the Cathedral of Paris, these sculptured groups were without backgrounds, and visible from both sides—from the choir as well as from the surrounding aisle."

The Cathedral of S. Cecilia at Albi contains a more complete enclosing screen than any that I know of. It is magnificently illustrated by photography, in a monograph, by M. Jules Rolland and Le Baron de Rivières, published at Toulouse in 1882. The plan of Albi Cathedral consists of one wide span, with side chapels between the buttresses. There is therefore no structural aisle surrounding the choir, the enclosing of which is entirely performed by this rich screen.

In the Western portion, or jubé, the spiral staircases may be seen.

Though far more modest in its design, the stone enclosure of the Choir at Canterbury Cathedral, built by Prior de Estria in 1304, is a very refined piece of work. It is described and illustrated by Professor Willis, in his "History of Canterbury Cathedral," and he points out that the Western portion, next the nave, still exists behind a more modern screen.

As an example of a stone screen, in a parish church, Mr. C. F. Hayward has lent me his measured drawing of that at Totnes, in Devonshire. The loft appears to be missing. The effect of the different planes of tracery must be very rich.

Coming now to wooden Screens, I exhibit an enlargement of a sketch, by Mr. Walter Spiers, representing the very simple screen at Pixley. The double beam is interesting.

Mr. William Pite has kindly lent me his Pugin Travelling Studentship drawing of the screen at Stanton Harcourt, in Oxfordshire. This is evidently Early English in style, and is rather too like a stone design to be valuable as an example of true principles in architecture. The piercings in the panelling, and the unfinished painting look as if some apprentice, at a later period, had been amusing himself with experiments.

The next example is from the screen at the back of the return stalls in S. Mary's Hospital at Chichester.

Within a few miles of London there is a beautiful screen at Northfleet, Kent; the foliage carving is, of itself, worth a visit, and the back of the top rail, or cornice, should be examined, as it is carved to represent the heads of our Lord and of the twelve disciples.

I have not been able to get any examples of mid-fourteenth century work, but of the latter half of that century, and of the fifteenth century, the examples are numerous.

There is a very complete example from Warfield, in Berkshire, with the Rood-loft complete. It stands at the West end of the Braybrooke Chapel.

While on the subject of Rood-lofts, it is interesting to observe the means of approach to them. It speaks volumes for the nimbleness of those who had to use them to see the steep, winding, narrow stairs that had to be clambered up and down. The mediæval architect made nothing of scooping out a few handfuls of wall in which to construct his stairs.

Sometimes he had to overcome difficulties in arranging the landing of the stairs; and I exhibit Mr. Walter Spiers' sketch of Weobly, in Herefordshire, to show how ingeniously and beautifully the rood-loft stairs were contrived to emerge from behind the thrust of the chancel arch, through a doorway placed anglewise, in order, no doubt, to obtain sufficient width to pass through. The original door, with its strap hinges, appears to remain in this doorway.

The screen at Lamarsh, in Essex, is interesting on account of the shoulders left on the upright posts in order to support the top beam.

A paper on Screens would be very incomplete without mention of the famous example at Dartmouth, in Devonshire, and of the similar screen at Harburton.

Now the type of these Devonshire screens is equal height across both the nave and aisles, the cornice being continuous from side to side of the church. The screens, however, below the cornice, are interrupted by the piers of the church, which carry the chancel arch and the arches terminating the side aisles.

I have often enquired and sought for an example of an uninterrupted screen in the localities most famous for screens, but the only one that I know is far from those localities, and is to be seen in an out-of-the-way corner of the South-East of England, namely the Isle of Sheppey, at the parish church of All Saints, Eastchurch, Kent. Here the screen stands clear to the West of the church piers and their three arches, and is nowhere interrupted by them. I had occasion to attend to the seating of this church, and also to do just enough to this screen to take off its ruinous appearance. One pair of doors and one traceried arch were missing, besides several cusp ends, &c., and the beam notched for the joists was not a pleasing object to contemplate. There was no manner of doubt, not a possible shade of a doubt, as to replacing the missing portions in exactly the same form in which they originally existed; and yet, in replacing them, I determined to make the repairs tell their own tale; therefore, instead of using oak, the material of the old screen, for the purpose, I used teak, the material of the new seats I had put in the chancel; so that any future Ecclesiologist may see that these two new works are of the same date. I put a teak cresting to complete the cornice towards the nave; the notched beam is still visible behind it. In this church the rood-loft stairs are approached from the West of the screen, which is unusual.

The continuous screen at S. John's Church, Leeds, is not quite a similar case, owing to the difference in the plan of the fabric.[1]

The screen at Cassington, in Oxfordshire, has an unusual amount of tracery in the lower panels; the upper tracery is appropriate to the material, as it is suggestive of being carved out of the width of a board.

Mr. Walter Spiers has furnished a very complete set of drawings of the screens at Handborough in the same county. These are not continuous either in plan or elevation. The central portion appears to have had no loft over it, while the loft floors do remain over both North and South aisle screens, with stairs to the South loft only. Altogether this arrangement affords food for discussion.

The piercings, as at Stanton Harcourt in the same county, are seen in the lower panels—possibly to enable kneeling people to see the altars beyond.

The screens at Cawston and other Norfolk churches are worth a long journey to see. The carving alone is beautiful, but the chief beauty of these screens lies in their coloured decoration. There is a very fine set of drawings of them, by Mr. Wardle, in the library of the Royal Institute of British Architects. The painting is not only on the surface of the wood, but in many places on patterns raised in gesso; nor is this all, for the panels are filled with figure paintings which, in my judgment, equal many of the Italian and Flemish masterpieces.

The screens at Randworth, Barton Turf, and Fritton are well illustrated by Mr. C. W. Winter.

Mr. Sydney Vacher has lent me the next three illustrations. The first represents the screen at the parish church of Conway, in North Wales. In a note he says that this screen was brought from the former Abbey Church, which would account for its not fitting very well into its present position. It retains its coving and cornice, which show the rich character of the local work.

[1] Since the reading of this paper, Mr. G. H. BIRCH, F.S.A., has shown me an illustration of a continuous screen at Woodbridge, Suffolk. I should be glad to hear of any further examples.

The next, from Montgomery church, has the rood-loft complete, or nearly so. This, again, is stated to have been brought from the neighbouring Abbey church.

There is another example with loft at Llanergwyn, illustrated by Mr. Nevinson in the "Architectural Association Sketch Book," Vol. VIII., p. 19.

The last drawing of a rood-screen I have the pleasure of exhibiting is by Mr. Vacher, and represents the very complete example at Llanrwst. It is rather over 16-ft. high to the top of the rood-loft, and is a very good example of the large amount of small rich detail to be found in Welsh work.

Now, besides stone and wood, there is another material which, in this country, is generally used for grilles, or, at most, for screens of moderate height, to keep people out of the aisles of the choir; I refer to wrought iron. This part of the subject has, however, been already brought before the Society by Mr. J. Starkie Gardner, and it will be sufficient to refer to his paper on "Metal Grilles," which is printed in "Trans. S.P.E.S.," Vol. II., p. 185.

The altar screens which I included at the beginning of this paper must be mentioned, though I regard them as reredoses. We have four fine examples in England, namely:—at St. Saviour's, Southwark, St. Alban's Cathedral, Winchester Cathedral, and at Christ Church, in Hampshire. The latter rises to the springing of the clerestory windows. It was originally filled with "storiated" sculpture. The figure of Jesse asleep remains in the bottom central compartment, and the Adoration of the Magi in the central compartment above the last, and the figures in the small niches are also left; but the figures from the larger niches, which must have completed the edifying historical lesson of the entire design, are gone.

In conclusion, I would say that if the highest art of which we are capable is to find its place in the most sacred of our buildings, rather than in the houses of the rich, there is no better vehicle for such art than screens.

THE CHURCHES OF MIDDLESEX.

BY

E. P. LOFTUS BROCK, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

My theme this evening is not to bring to your notice a series of buildings of great architectural beauty. Were this the characteristic of the Churches of Middlesex, the task would doubtless have fallen to other hands years ago.

But the sacred buildings of the County in which we are assembled, have distinctive features of their own; they are close to our hand, and for the latter reason alone, they deserve attention from us. In addition, it will be found that their study will be far from a fruitless one; for not only are there structural features of interest to be found, but the documentary evidence is much clearer and more complete than is the case in some other counties, and we can study the growth and increase of the parishes in the light of clearer evidence than is sometimes rendered. My attention is directed entirely to the churches outside of the City; to those within the walls I do not propose to refer.[1]

It must be acknowledged at the outset, that the churches of our county are not elaborate. nor do they afford examples of very fine artistic detail, or of features that are new to the Ecclesiologist. Stone was very difficult to obtain in mediæval times; and what was procurable, namely the freestone of Hertfordshire and that from Reigate, was never of very lasting quality, the earliest stonework being in fact the best preserved. The Norman doorway at the Western end of the tower of Harrow Church, as well as others in other churches, was fairly well preserved when I saw them last; but a fifteenth century window, which was not restored when the church underwent that process, had fallen into so bad a state of decay fourteen or fifteen years afterwards, that it had then to be renewed. For many ages the great forest of Middlesex covered a very large tract of the county, coming quite up to the walls of London; but through its dense extent communication was possible, not only along the course of the ancient Roman roads which traversed it in many directions, but from others which must have been formed at an early date. The physical difficulty of the forest, it is clear, had succumbed to the energy of the people to a great degree prior to the Norman conquest. This is well established by the documentary evidence, which plainly shows that a large settled population had made its abode in many spots now well known to us by familiar names.[2]

We find that vast tracts of land had been given, at an early period, to St. Paul's Cathedral, and to St. Peter's, Westminster: and by Domesday Book, which has a very full survey of the county, we have ample details of the ownership of the manors, their names, those of their tenants, with the number of the slaves, the oxen, and the values. We cannot look to Domesday Book for a record of all the churches. As has been often observed, the object of the book was to preserve a full return upon which taxes and such like could be assessed; and wherever a church was not endowed, there was nothing to record. It is, therefore, only where we find a priest possessed of land, that we may assume that a church existed in the locality where he lived. One half of a virgate of land is the amount generally which we find him in possession of[3]; but sometimes we find that he was in possession of a virgate, as at Hendon. At Harrow and Hayes the priest had a hide of land; but at Tottenham, only one half of this quantity. Such entries are made with respect to the existence of a priest at Harrow, Stanmore, Kingsbury, Hendon, St. Pancras, Hillingdon, Kensington, Cranford, Harlington, Shepperton, Sunbury, Hayes, Tottenham, and perhaps, some others. We may safely conclude that churches were in existence at each of the above places, but this does not prevent us from supposing that many others existed elsewhere.

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[1] These are already mentioned in my paper on the "Ancient Churches of London," which is printed in *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, vol. ii., page 9.

[2] A reference to any map of Middlesex shows that the parish churches are placed very generally over the country. They do not follow in any very remarkable degree the course of the ancient roadways, but are placed in spots remote from them; in fact, there is a curious absence of villages and churches along the courses of the roads out of London, especially three of the principal Roman roads, the North road, that to St. Alban's, familiar to us by its modern name, Edgware road, and the ancient Western road which follows the course of the Roman road to Silchester, entirely through the county, from London.

[3] Newcourt specifies the number of parishes as being in his time fifty-nine, besides chapels of ease, of which number Chiswick, Friern Barnet and St. Pancras, W. Drayton, Stoke Newington and Willesden, were peculiars of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. Harrow and Hayes exempts to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and St. Margaret's, Westminster, in the jurisdiction only of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster.

Of the actual formation of the parishes, when they were actually parcelled out, and by whom, history is wholly silent here, as elsewhere. But we may readily conjecture that this followed as a matter of course, the granting of the territories to the two great Religious Houses, which have been named, in Saxon times. There exist records of St. Paul's Cathedral, which date from the closing years of the twelfth century, in which the possessions of the chapter are stated, with many references to the churches; but these only point to the prior existence of the fabrics and the formation of the parishes. The taxation of Pope Nicholas is a valuable document in relation to all the churches in existence in the fourteenth century, and there are other records set forth in Newcourt's *Repertorium;* to speak generally, there are but few ancient existing parishes which are not referred to in documents of the thirteenth century, and many are mentioned earlier. This points clearly to the fact, that all such must have been founded either prior to the conquest, or after that momentous event, up to the times named; and there are indeed but very few that are of a date later than the fourteenth century. Patient examination of the evidences points to the conclusion, that the formation of the parishes was prior to the conquest, rather than afterwards. In other words, that the vast majority of the parishes date from Saxon days.

The documentary evidence, instead of being shrouded in its original manuscript form, is, in the case of our county, open to the consideration of every student, and in a form obtainable without loss of time. Newcourt's *Repertorium* renders an ample summary, and the admirable work of Lysons on the Envrions of London and the Parishes of Middlesex, and others of more recent date, render almost all of importance to our enquiry in readable form. Consideration of the parishes of London within the walls, points to the same result stated above, namely, that the period from the Norman conquest to the Reformation, was not a time for the formation of new parishes. Any single West-end parish outside the walls can show more new chapels of ease, or other churches, founded between the middle of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth, than the whole of London within the walls, from the former date to the Norman conquest.

In tracing the history of ancient parishes, not the least interesting feature is to notice how one grew out of another, which are the mother parishes, and which the off-shoots; whether, as chapels of ease, as many continue, or as separate parishes, only connected by some special features with the parent. By their study we are in possession of information with respect to the growth of the attached district, and we may conclude that the mother church is of older foundation than that of its chapel of ease.

Interesting results follow this enquiry in all counties, and particularly so in Middlesex, where we find a great many parishes are off-shoots in this manner of others, many of which have sunk to secondary positions, while the daughter parishes are now considerable places. Thus Brentford is but a chapel to the older parish of Hanwell, Hounslow to Heston, and Uxbridge to Hillingdon; Stepney is the mother church to Shadwell, Whitechapel, Limehouse, and Bow; Fulham to Hammersmith; Hayes to Norwood; Hendon to Hampstead; Harrow to Pinner; Staines to Teddington, and Ashford; St. Margaret's, Westminster, to Paddington.

But, except the formations from the date of the Reformation, when the separation of parishes recommenced in the way which has developed to the remarkable and rapid changes of modern days, almost all of these date from very remote times, so remote, in fact, as to lead to the belief that they occurred prior to the Norman Conquest, or very soon after. There are, in fact, only two parishes known to me where the evidence is conclusive that the formation was between the fourteenth century and the Reformation. The Church of Hampstead is not noted in Pope Nicholas' Valuation, and it may be concluded, therefore, that it was founded later than the fourteenth century, although it had existed previously as a chapel of ease. The Church of Stratford-le-Bow was built in the fourteenth century, although the consecration was deferred until 1719, and the parish only then actually separated.

The dedications of the churches of any county always throw much light upon the agencies at work at the period of their erection; and we are on safe ground in supposing that when a church was once named after a saint, the name was seldom altered. Sometimes, in rare instances, the original name may continue with that of a saint more popular at some later time conjoined as a prefix; but the original name very seldom disappears entirely. But in Middlesex there is but little reason to suppose that the latter of these contingencies ever occurred. Even the common St. Peter and Paul occurs once only, at Harlington. A dual dedication is found only in a single instance—that of Stepney—which is called after St. Dunstan and All Saints. It may be just possible that since All Hallows is an older dedication than the time of St. Dunstan, the former may have been added in some rebuilding or enlargement at a time in Saxon days when St. Dunstan was popular. But dual dedications originally given are sufficiently common; and this instance is only referred to here since it is the only example known to me within our area, the City of London being excepted. The Church of Hackney is called in older documents by the name of St. Augustine, but in later ones by that of St. John,

probably from the adjoining establishment of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; and old Hampstead Church appears to have been called after St. Mary, until the rebuilding, since which time it has been named St. John's. But these are modern instances.

The dedication of St. Marylebone also was changed when the previous Church of St. John the Evangelist at Tyburn was removed, A.D. 1400, from its then lonely site at the foot of Marylebone Lane, in Oxford Street, to its present position.

Dedications to St. Mary were always popular, and in later Saxon times more than in earlier ones. But it is a remarkable fact that in Middlesex the average is very greatly exceeded, for more than one third of the whole number are so dedicated. It occurs twenty-four times. In addition, the old church in the Strand, of which St. Mary-le-Strand is the modern representative, was called after the Nativity of Our Lady.

These lists include parochial foundations to the end of the seventeenth century only:—

ST. MARY.

Acton.
Bedfont.
Bromley, St. Leonards
Ealing.
Finchley.
Harrow.
Hanwell.
Harefield.
Hampton.
Hornsey.
Hendon.
Hadley.
Harmondsworth.
Islington.
Kensington.
Marylebone.
Northall.
Staines.
Stoke Newington.
Stanwell.
Sunbury.
Twickenham.
Willesden.
Whitechapel.

ST. MARTIN.

Ruislip.
West Drayton.
In Fields.

ST. MARY MAGDALEN.

Littleton.

ST. JAMES.

Friern Barnet.
Westminster.
Clerkenwell.

ST. MARGARET.

Westminster.
Edgware.
Uxbridge.

ST. GEORGE.

Hanworth.

ST. JOHN.

Stanmore.
Hampstead.
Wapping.

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST.

Pinner.
Hillingdon.

ST. MICHAEL.

Ashford.

ALL SAINTS.

Fulham.
Edmonton.
Isleworth.
Tottenham.
Laleham.
Stepney.

PETER AND PAUL.

Harlington.

ST. PAUL.

Hammersmith.
Shadwell.

ST. LEONARD.

Heston.
Shoreditch.

ST. LAURENCE.

Brentford.
Whitechurch.
Cowley.

ST. DUNSTAN.

Feltham.

ST. GILES.

South Mimms.
Ickenham.
In Fields.

ST. AUGUSTINE.

Hackney.

ST. LUKE.

Chelsea.

HOLY CROSS.

Greenford Magna.

ST. ANDREW.

Kingsbury.

ST. CLEMENT DANES.

ST. NICHOLAS.

Chiswick.
Shepperton.

The following summary will show the popularity of the various Saints, as represented by the dedications:—St. Andrew, once; All Saints, five times; St. Augustine, once (formerly); St. Clement, once; St. Dunstan, once, and with All Saints, once; St. George appears once; St. Giles, three times; Holy Cross, once; St. James appears four times; St. John, three times; St. John the Baptist, twice; St. Leonard, twice; St. Laurence, three times; St. Luke, once; St. Mary Magdalen, once; St. Margaret, once; St. Michael, once; the ancient dedication of St. Martin, three times; St. Nicholas, twice; Peter and Paul, once; St. Paul alone, twice; St. Pancras, once.

These are the whole of the dedications of the county, omitting parishes of later date than the end of the seventeenth century, and two or three ancient chapels which did not become chapels of ease or parish churches, such as Our Lady of Muswell, one of the places "abused by pilgrimage," and which ceased to exist after the Reformation; the ancient Chapel of St. Michael, at Highgate, on the site of which the Elizabethan Chapel of Highgate was erected in 1565; the old Chapel of St. Anne, in the Almonry of Westminster; St. Mary Magdalen, in Tothill Street, and some few others.

But the dedications of the churches appear to have been left in considerable obscurity. They are only referred to incidentally in old documents, and a reference to the pages of Newcourt's *Repertorium* reveals the curious fact that hardly one half of the names were known to him, although he attempted to prepare a careful record.

Many of these have since been supplied from sources not known to him; but I have not found satisfactory evidence of the dedications of Twyford, Perivale, Norwood, Northall, Teddington, or such an important church as Harrow, which latter is, perhaps, St. Mary, and I have so counted it. Paddington, he supposes, was dedicated to S. Margaret, from the rather remote evidence of the figure of that saint in the east window of the old church of his time.

Of these dedications, it is curious to note, that three, which probably may be among the most ancient of the foundations, have given the name of the church to the village, following in this respect the constant custom of the Primitive or British Church, such as we see throughout Cornwall and Wales. These are St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, St. Pancras, and St. Giles'-in-the-Fields.

What I have to say with respect to the fabrics is derived from pleasant personal observation in the days when I had leisure; but as it is fully forty years ago since I saw some of them, my remarks may have to be modified with respect to recent changes.

The architectural features of the Middlesex churches are distinctive. In this respect they follow what is a law with respect to the development of our ancient Gothic architecture, namely, that the buildings of every district have a special character of their own, found in the district alone, and nowhere else. Thus, the churches of Norfolk do not resemble those of Sussex, those of Westmoreland are different from those in Cornwall, and so on. Plainness and simplicity are the leading characteristics of the churches of our county, agreeing in this respect with those, say, of Sussex; but the appearance is very different.

The architects had to build with the materials they could command; and these being different to what are found elsewhere, the fabric of necessity takes a different appearance. While the work is simple, the effect is good. Even the plainest church in the county looks like a church, and would never be taken for anything else. The plans are almost always a nave and chancel of very small size and proportions, a south porch, and a timber belfry, and spirelet at the West end. The church which presents the oldest features remaining, is that of Kingsbury, where the walls are of Saxon date, constructed almost entirely of Roman material removed from elsewhere. The chancel does not appear structurally, the building being a simple nave only.

The original form of many churches, rebuilt on a larger scale, partook of the form named, with sometimes a small tower instead of the wooden belfry. Some of the larger churches, mostly of fifteenth century date, possess aisles on each side of the nave, but not many in relation to the number of the churches. Hadley Church is quasi-cruciform in plan, and the same was the case at Hammersmith. Clerestories of no great development occur at Finchley, West Drayton, Stepney, and other places, that of Harrow being, perhaps, the best example. Harrow possesses the highest spire in the county, of timber framing covered with lead, and its position on the well-known conspicuous hill renders it an apt illustration, as Charles II. put it, of the visible church on earth. Would that we saw it as frequently from London as the then clear atmosphere enabled our ancestors! Stanwell, one of the most interesting churches in the county, well worthy of a visit, has the next highest spire, and several other interesting features. But the most distinctive feature of our churches is the peculiar little tower which is repeated again and again, and which is hardly ever met with out of the county. It is found at Stepney, Enfield, Finchley, Hendon, Willesden, and elsewhere. It can dispense with buttresses, and its belfry windows are plain. Sometimes it has battlements, but these are now and then omitted. Most frequently additional appearance of height is obtained by means of a lofty flagstaff. There are a few other towers which approach the Kentish fifteenth-century type, such as we see at Hornsey, Edgware, Brentford, and Twickenham, that at Chiswick being a larger and better developed example, while the fine tower of Fulham rivals by its loftiness many of those of Kent. But the best tower in the county is that at Heston, which is a fine, bold composition, teaching us an admirable lesson of how good an effect can be obtained by well-studied and good proportion rather than by the overloading of ornament. Would that I could speak of the charming old church which was once attached to this fine tower, and its fourteenth-century work, not numerous in the county! But alas! all this fell before the destroyer only a few years ago, and the best church in the county for the Ecclesiologist passed away. The tower of Isleworth Church, fortunately left when the church was rebuilt, has pinnacles, and that at Harmondsworth is similarly decorated.

Of internal features, the almost entire absence of screen-work is very striking. Indeed, in a county where timber was so abundant, it is matter for surprise that its use is not now apparent. The wooden tower of Perivale Church appears to have ancient structural framing, this being the most important use of timber known to me except the spire of Harrow Church. Handsome roofs do not occur, and woodwork, except for the little spirelets, which are of late date, forms no part of the structure. Stanwell has perhaps the most interesting roofs; and there is a good perpendicular porch at the West end of Heston tower.[1] The fourteenth-century porch which existed on the South side, shared the fate of the church. Old engravings show a fairly good porch at Kingsbury Church; but it was removed many years ago, although it has been copied, I understand, in the recent enlargement of this most interesting little church.

Norman work is common—the most interesting features being the doorways and the fonts. The best doorways are at Harmondsworth, Harlington, and at Harrow-on-the-Hill. The former is very good, the latter has been assigned to the time of Archbishop Lanfranc; but since it is adorned with the zig-zag ornament, it must be 30 or 40 years later, and it is undoubtedly a portion of the church which was consecrated by Archbishop Anselm. There is a fairly good doorway at Friern Barnet, which was very carefully preserved by Mr. E. Habershon when he rebuilt the church. The best Norman font is at the curious church of Hendon, and another

[1] The porch of Harlington Church is also of oak, of about the same date, of good and effective design.

good one is at Harrow. The chancel arch at Bedfont is Norman, and there are other portions of the church of the same early date. There is Norman work also at Laleham church. Of the earliest work of the twelfth century, various small portions, with lancet windows, exist; but the style is not well developed in the county.[1] The font at Hayes is a good example of this period—circular, on small circular columns. One of the best examples of later work is Northolt Church, where there are some good geometrical windows. This building is a very good example of a small Middlesex church, and it possesses many interesting features.

The fourteenth century is very poorly represented in the existing buildings; the tower of Tottenham Church being one of the best specimens.[2] The great bulk of the work is of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The latter work partakes of all the characteristics already named, the absence of elaborate work being universal. The best examples of Perpendicular work, in addition to the towers already named, all of which are of that style, are the churches of Stepney, Enfield, Edmonton, Hadley, Hayes, Harrow, Hillingdon, Harmondsworth, and Harlington. All these churches are of interest, and are among the best examples for study. A few brasses only occur, of which those at Harrow are among the best known.

There are some good fifteenth century monuments at Enfield, and there are others of later date at Chelsea, where the Cheyne monuments are very good. At Hillingdon; Cranford, where that to Sir Roger Aston is a good example of its kind; and at Harefield is a fair monument to Alice, Countess of Derby.[3]

There are few churches, however, which do not contain examples of more or less interest. Of stained glass, or special features, I can say little. There is a fine Perpendicular font at West Drayton.

The tower of Hadley has an early date, 1494. There is a piece of Saxon carving, a small panel of the crucifixion, at Stepney, the oldest piece of sculpture in the county.

It is a matter of comment that, in a county where stone was so difficult to obtain and to carry, that brick, for which all the ingredients were at hand, was hardly used in mediæval times. Such, however, was the case.

Except a little at Tottenham Church, there is no brickwork known to me of earlier date than the Reformation. Afterwards its use was constant. Bishop Grindal erected Highgate Chapel entirely with this material, and it was continued in the later work of Hammersmith Church, erected in 1631; Shadwell built in 1656, and in Chelsea, enlarged between 1667 and 1674. These buildings, except the latter, have passed away; but we can either recall their aspect, or it is shown in old views, while the tower of Chelsea remains.

It is of interest to trace in these buildings how late the general forms of Gothic architecture continued to exist long after the advent of Italian work. It has to be remembered that Chelsea Church contains, on its South side, one of the earliest portions of Renaissance work, dated, and of interest.

The smallness of the Middlesex Churches is a matter for special comment. Perivale and Kingsbury are among the most diminutive in the kingdom, while the diminutive sizes of St. Pancras (until lately), Paddington, Marylebone, and others are attested by old views. It was suggested by the late Bishop of Dover, in view of the enormous size of many of the churches in Kent and other places, which are, and which appear always to have been out of all proportion to the scanty number of the inhabitants; that there must have been some stipulation imposed upon the lords of the various manors, or other landlords, to spend money to enlarge or rebuild the churches as part of their tenure.

Indeed, some such hypothesis as this seems necessary to account for appearances familiar to us all. But here in Middlesex, where all the great freeholders were wealthy ecclesiastics, which would have favoured some such tenure, evidences show that it did not exist.

The churches appear to have been small at all times in proportion to the villages; and in the larger towns, where they were largest, no room appears to have been lost. Is this because the great landowners, being churchmen, took a shrewder and more practical view of things? Be this as it may, it is matter for hearty congratulation to trace how active the freeholders have been since the Reformation in promoting the subdivision of their parishes, and the helping forward of the great work of Church Extension, which has already assumed such large proportions all over the country.

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[1] There is a good but plain Early English door in the porch on the North side of Stanwell Church.

[2] The following other examples may be cited:—A door on the North side of Greenford Church. The North doorway, and other parts of Harrow. Portions of Stanwell Church, including some of the roofs, which are early and curious. There is also an ornamental wall arcading of panels to the chancel windows at Cowley. Ruislip Church, according to engravings, appears to be a fairly good specimen. The former churches of Islington and Shoreditch appear to have had some interesting features of this style.

[3] There is a good fifteenth century Easter sepulchre at Harlington. The beacon on the tower of the fine church at Hadley is unique in the county.

The smallness of the fabrics and the rapid increase of population led to a heavy amount of rebuilding of the ancient fabrics, and the antiquary has to deplore the loss of many which were curious and of interest. A large number have been entirely rebuilt, which are deserving of notice. Ashford church, which possessed a Norman door, was rebuilt in 1796. Acton, a brick-cased church, has only recently given place to a modern fabric. Hampstead was rebuilt in 1745. There is a view in Walford's *Greater London* of the curious ancient structure at Hanworth, a charming little church, of which there is also another capital view extant. Hanwell, 1781; Highgate, Sunbury, 1752; Feltham, Shepperton, 1710, have all disappeared. Hampton had a sturdy brick tower of no great age. Islington was a church of much interest, rebuilt about 1750. Its appearance is shown by many old views; and Shoreditch, also a curious fabric, is made familiar to us by Toms' view.

Many of the churches which were rebuilt, in addition to the above, still retain their ancient towers, which were respected by the rebuilders, an example which might have been followed in our own time by the rebuilders of Whitechapel and Hammersmith churches, where the old towers of interest might as well have been preserved.

Such towers remain at Brentford, Chiswick, Edgware, Fulham, Hackney, Heston, Hornsey, Isleworth, Staines (of brick, built by Inigo Jones, 1631), Twickenham, and Whitchurch. Kensington possessed its ancient tower after the rebuilding until 1772. Of the above, the fine ample tower of Hackney, left in its ancient position on the removal of the old church, demands a word or two of attention, since it affords a good example to future church destroyers to stay their hand at least at the tower. The happy effect of this fabric is deserving of favourable comment, and the more so since such an act of mercy as the preservation of this ancient tower could hardly have been expected at the hands of the builders of the dull pile close at hand.

Hornsey Tower is a very good example, very like a Kentish tower. It is said to have been built with the old material of Bishop's Lodge, not far off, the site of which is marked on the large scale ordnance map. Views of the old church exist, and indicate a building of much interest.

But, perhaps, of all the churches that have disappeared, that of Hounslow must have been the most curious. While it was the best example of flowing Decorated in the county, it was also of interest as being part of an old priory church. Lysons has preserved a view of it, which shows a double-aisled building under separate high-sloped roofs, the South aisle having a series of flowing traceried windows, the West window being partially destroyed; no tower or spire is shewn to exist. Woodburn's "Ecclesiastical Topography," of 100 views of churches in the environs of London, contains sketches of many of the demolished churches, with others, among which may be mentioned Hornsey, Acton, Hammersmith, Hampton, Shadwell, Heston, Highgate, and Kensington. Willesden is also shown in its unaltered state.

In conclusion, the details named show that the churches of our county possess many features that will repay examination. In addition, the visitor, in seeking them, will find that he is in a county of surprises. Should he keep to the main roads, except the upper part of the Edgware Road, beneath the entire course of which the old Roman metalling still remains, he will see little but what is prosaic enough. Here and elsewhere, many a mile of suburban villas and their attendant shops, will greet his view, while, on emerging upon flat, level country, he will very frequently encounter all the evidences of brick burning, or of market gardening, to supply the wants of London. But let him turn aside from the main roads, anywhere skirting the boundary of Hertfordshire, from Edmonton right away to Harrow and Cowley (avoiding the brick-works of the latter place), and he will find himself in a district with all the features of remoteness from London as if it were many miles away from Hyde Park Corner. Signs of abundant foliage, undulating country, and charming views, as unexpected as they are beautiful, over forest-like scenery, will reward him; while here and there he will meet with one or another of the simple fabrics, embosomed in trees, which, notwithstanding their modest size, will plainly indicate their dedication to the service of Almighty God.

HISTORY AND CHARACTERISTICS OF PLAINSONG.

BY

H. B. BRIGGS.

It is possible that some of the members of this Society may be rather puzzled by the title of the subject on which I have the honour of addressing them this evening. Plainsong, then, I may explain, is the proper appellation of what you all know as Gregorian music, and is so called—*Cantus planus*, in contradistinction to the *Cantus figuratus*, or harmonized measured music, from which it essentially differs.

Plainsong has nothing in common with this harmonized measured music, and it is impossible to compare the two systems so as to say that the one is a barbarous and undeveloped form of the other, and therefore unworthy of attention except from an antiquarian standpoint. It is true that for a time measured music was affected by the quasi-scientific rules which theorists had invented about Plainsong, so that the two systems appear to run in the same channel, but the student will easily perceive that the two streams never intermingle. The one has expanded into our modern art, the other has still run on in a distinct though weakened current. The reason lies in the nature of the chant itself. It had reached its highest development when S. Gregory, about A.D. 600, edited the collection of church music which has ever since borne his name, and though additions were afterwards made to it as necessity required, yet practically the last note had been written when his version became the authorized use of the Western Church. We can only guess as to its origin, for it is certain that it was not all composed by the saint himself. Most probably it is the chant that had been gradually developed by the Church of Rome on the lines of the musical system of the classical age. The tonality was perhaps Greek, or even Eastern in origin, but under the influence of the Gothic invaders of Italy, had lost most of its distinctive signs, and had become such as we have it now.

In its present form it contains, according to theorists, fourteen different modes or scales, but in the same way as the modern scales are only transpositions, and can be reduced to two—the major and minor—so these fourteen modes may be reduced to seven, in which the positions of the tones and semitones in relation to the initial note all differ. You will understand how this comes about when I tell you that each octave of notes, starting from every white key on the piano, and without the intermixture of any accidentals, forms a Plainsong mode or scale. In any melody the prevailing note was the dominant of the mode on the initial note of which the melody ended. The dominant was sometimes the fifth above the tonic, and sometimes the sixth, and these variations of course created still greater diversity in the modes. We must, however, remember that these theories about the modes grew up after the melodies had been composed and transmitted orally for generations. Many of the chants which are imputed by the theorists to this or that mode seem, to an unprejudiced student, very doubtful, and it is quite possible that further research may lead to serious modifications in mediæval musical science. Everything has been taken from Boethius, a mathematician of the fifth century, who wrote on Greek music; and I was informed a short time since, by a Belgian friend, that a German savant had shown that Boethius had misunderstood the Greek system, but that, in his opinion, mediæval writers had in their turn misunderstood him, and so hit upon the true Greek scale. This will show the immense uncertainty there is in the science of Plainsong, but, at the same time, prove how interesting its study must be for a diligent inquirer.

But besides the tonality, Plainsong differs from modern music in that it is entirely recitative. Now such music, even in its modern form, is almost wholly dependent on the taste and capacity of the singer, so that under corrupting influences the true interpretation of a melody may in time be utterly lost. This has been the case with Plainsong, and you will therefore perceive what a field of research lies open before us when we attempt to restore the original method of rendering it, and have for guide only such vague indications as I will presently lay before you.

Seeing then that the chant is purely recitative, we must not expect from it anything approaching a modern air. Far be it from me to decry the beauties of pure melody, but the greatest master of our day has shown that most powerful effects can be obtained by something that is not simply a beautiful tune. I am sure all admirers of Plainsong will agree with me that the effect produced by Wagner's "Nibelungs' Ring," is of essentially the same nature as that by a mass at the Abbey of Solesmes. The tonality is of course not the same, though that may vary no more than is required by the difference between the repose of religious faith and the turbulence of worldly passion, and the modern master has at his command the resources of the most consummate orchestration, but there is more in common in general effect between the two works than between either of them and a mass by Mozart or Rossini. It is therefore quite impossible to compare Plainsong with modern music. It is an art standing by itself, and must be judged on its own merits. By general consent the cold and passionless voices of boys are superior to those of women for religious singing, and we contend that Plainsong bears the same relation to other music, for, as it does not express definitely the feelings of an individual composer, it can fully harmonize with the various emotions of an entire congregation. But although those who have been privileged to hear this music properly rendered are enabled to testify to its exceeding beauty, it is quite possible that you who have not had that experience may be of a contrary opinion; you will say that it is dreary and ugly and meaningless, and so forth. Of course if you wish the music of the sanctuary to echo the strains of the concert hall, it is waste of time for you to study this system, but if you wish sacred music to assist and not replace your devotions, you will find all you require in Plainsong. What better proof of this can be found, than that those Religious Orders which give themselves up to the cultivation of devout thought and habits, have never wearied for centuries in the daily chant, nor found their devotions require more emotional strains?

We appeal then to the devout-minded, for we must not blink the fact that the service of the sanctuary does not always bring religion with it to the officiants. As in the Middle Ages, so now, there are choir-men who think only of showing off their voices, and have little regard for the solemnity of their office. And again with regard to members of the congregation whose devotions are supposed to be helped by the music, how often do we hear the truly devout objecting to the subjective character of modern services! A society has even been formed to remedy the abuses that have sprung up! What an improvement then it would be if the faithful could always join in those portions intended for objective worship according to the custom in the days of S. Gregory, as we learn from contemporary writers! There will always be some persons who object to congregational singing, and of course, when modern music is used, they have some justification in the loss of balance in the parts which such singing implies; but they are not very numerous, and they lose their chief argument when the service is in unisonous Plain chant. We English have a book of Common Prayer, and it was certainly foreign to the intentions of the revisers of our Service Books that any music should be employed which would prevent the use of those prayers in common by both choir and congregation. And all tastes too are satisfied, for those parts of the Mass of which the words are invariable (the Ordinary) are set to music which is simple enough for the congregation to join in, while more elaborate melodies are set to the introits, graduals, &c., which change every day in the year, and can therefore only be sung by choirs and religious bodies which are constantly engaged in reciting the Divine Office. The most elaborate of all are set to the versicles to the graduals, which are sung by picked voices out of the choir. The *Ordinary of the Mass*, however, was never intended to be used as a bait to attract people to church, or to compete with Moody and Sankey's nigger melodies, and the many trivialities which we hear both in England and on the Continent. Even the *Gloria in Excelsis* in your hands, which is the most florid form extant, can be readily picked up by a regular congregation. This *Gloria*, I may note, has been traced to the fourth century, being possibly of Greek origin, and I am informed by Dom Pothier that there is strictly no flat to the B, in which case the tonality is almost intolerable to us owing to the continual recurrence of the tritone. If, then, Plainsong be properly rendered, it is truly congregational in the greater portions of the service; and there is much virtue in that "if," for, unfortunately, except in a few, very few places, it is not properly rendered. Even in the Psalm tones, awkward pointing and still more awkward and modern modifications of the tones themselves are usual, while in the Mass itself corrupt versions and incorrect phrasing destroy the original simplicity of the chant. The revival of the art is still in its infancy even on the Continent, and it is possible that more extended study may lead to still further improvements in the singing, even as practised at Solesmes. But the broad outlines of the practice are fairly well established, and I trust that the explanation of its principles and the illustrations which will be given to-day, will at least show you that the music of S. Gregory is not the dull and meaningless assemblage of notes that you have probably hitherto taken it to be.

Nevertheless, we cannot be certain that the proper rendering of the chant, as it was sung in the sixth century, has been restored. Within the last twenty years even, owing to the

corruptions of centuries, we only had its mere loose bones; and though we may fairly consider that they have been built up into a skeleton by the work of Continental musicians, yet we have still to clothe them with flesh. No one can come forward and assert positively that only this or that mode of rendering is correct, and much that I may say to you this evening must not be taken as gospel. Original research is what is needed, and every student may hope to hit upon some fact that may prove the key to the situation. Above all, we must not assume that, even in the Middle Ages, Plainsong was sung as was intended by S. Gregory. The fourteenth century was farther removed from the fifth than from the nineteenth, and there are certain remarkable discrepancies between MSS. of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries which seem to indicate a tendency towards corruptions of the chant that were only fully effected later on. A just appreciation of these tendencies, combined with a right understanding of the origin of the chant itself, would probably be an important factor in its restoration.

Let us now consider how this wonderful system of chant, which has been the use of the Western Church for over 1,200 years, came into being, and how it essentially differs from our modern music. The measured music of the Middle Ages, from which all modern music is derived, originated not in the Church, but in the Chieftain's Hall, and at the Village Festival. It was the vocal accompaniment of lyric poetry, in many instances probably to the regular rhythmic motion of a dance. Plainsong, on the contrary, was the melodious recitation of prose, or of poetry such as the Psalms, which, to our Northern ears, is practically prose. In the earliest times it was probably a recitation in monotone with a slight inflexion before a pause, as in the simpler tones for the Psalms both in the Ambrosian and Gregorian system. The reason for this method of recitation would be, that it was the easiest means of the reader's making himself heard in a large building or in the open air. It is unconsciously adopted by those clergy who think they read the prayers in a natural tone of voice, for on listening attentively you will observe them make regular inflexions in certain places. The inflexions, however, when of their own invention (for they often adopt the recognized forms) are generally unmelodious; those which have been gradually formulated by the Church's musicians are, on the contrary, natural and agreeable to all hearers. As to the date at which this simple mode of recitation gave way to more elaborate forms, we can only guess. The earliest music we have is that of the Ambrosian use of the fourth century, which is so rich in note-groups on single syllables that we are forced to antedate by a considerable time the more simple method. The Ambrosian Psalm tones, however, are so extremely simple, only deflecting from the monotone at the ending, not at the mediation, that, considering how the same style of reading is universal in the East, it is not improbable that some of them may be those to which the Early Christians were accustomed in the services of the Temple. It has also been questioned whether there are not signs that the quarter tones may have been used in the Gregorian system, which would give further grounds for our tracing Plainsong to an Eastern origin, while regarding it at the same time as the latest representative of ancient classic music before that system finally succumbed in Europe to the simpler tonality of the Teutonic tribes. In some support of this theory I may instance the fact, for what it is worth, that in the English Service Books the succession of three notes, D B C or G E F, on one syllable, often appears in Continental MSS. as D C C and G F F, and *vice versâ*. This looks very much as if the middle note might be written on the staff notation either as B or C or as E or F, but that the singer knew by tradition that it was neither one nor the other, but the quarter tone between them.

The process by which an elaborate chant was evolved may be noted in the example before you of the first tone, where you will see how the simple mediation was developed into the solemn form, and how the single notes of the ending generated note-groups. The reciting note, however, remains unaltered through both parts of the tone. It is only the *Tonus Peregrinus* which changes the reciting note in the second part, thus breaking away entirely from the original design of Plainsong. In this it was the forerunner of the Anglican chant, which is nothing more than a corrupt development of the old inflected monotone. The Anglican chant, too, adopted a regular rhythmical mediation and ending, not to speak of the fixed time value gradually given to the reciting note, which made it a melody in regular measure. The Gregorian chant, on the other hand, if the words are properly pointed, according to the old Sarum rules, is pure recitative, and is free from the monotony of the Anglican chant, owing to variations in the force of the accents in the mediation and ending. Properly sung and pointed, the tones, with their broad and massive effects, are eminently suited to modern congregational worship.

But however satisfactory they may be nowadays, they were not all that was needed in the fourth or fifth centuries, when the bulk of the congregation probably could not read and did not know the words of the Psalms. Certain refrains called Antiphons, consisting of passages of Scripture, in which the people could easily join, were accordingly interpolated after every second verse.

[The choir here sang the Antiphon to the Magnificat for Christmas Eve.]

The melodies of these Antiphons were often more elaborate, but they never ceased to be

popular chants. It is important to remember this when considering any theory for the proper rendering of Plainsong. No method of interpretation can possibly be right which does not make the chant singable by a moderately musical congregation. Similar popular melodies were written for the Ordinary of the Mass, and then followed, no doubt, the incidental music, such as introits, graduals, &c., which were finally collected and edited by S. Gregory before his death in 604. In these latter melodies, which mark the zenith of Plainsong, the reciting note is completely hidden in the mass of ornament; but it is always there, and its influence is always felt. The chant does not profess to be a "tune," but is recitation decorated by *fioriture*, which, no doubt, originated in the same feeling which impels singers in Italian Opera to add lengthy cadenzas to the melody as it leaves the composer's hand. But amid all this ornament the law of gravitation ever holds good, and one note of the mode, whether it be dominant or final, is always the centre of the system round which these worlds of notes revolve. The loss of this feeling marks the decadence of chants composed after the thirteenth century, such as Merbecke's and Dumont's Masses, where, though the melody is quite simple, the reciting note has disappeared, and the music has therefore lost one of the chief characteristics of Plainsong.

But, though the authorized edition of the chant was settled by S. Gregory, it was long before it displaced local uses, such as the Ambrosian, the Early Gallican, or the Mozarabic. Here in England the Roman chant was, no doubt, introduced by S. Augustine; and in 747, at the Synod of Cloveshoo, the Roman liturgy and chant became our definite use. The few early English MSS. still extant are remarkable for their correctness, which characteristic marks our Service Books down to the latest date, and is in striking contrast to the corruptions which crept into those of other countries. Until the middle of the eighth century the Gallican was the use of Gaul, but, at the request of Charlemagne, Hadrian I., in 790, sent two singers, Petrus and Romanus, to teach the Roman form. Petrus went on to Metz, and founded, or rather re-energized, the choral school in that city; but Romanus fell sick on the way, and stayed at the Benedictine Abbey of S. Gall, in Switzerland. Here, in the course of his instructions, he seems to have introduced among the pneums certain letters as marks of expression and rhythm, which are the puzzle that students are now engaged in deciphering. The school which he founded became the most influential in Europe, and we find its MSS. in all great libraries. In course of time its professors naturally sought some outlet for their creative faculty, and, as the authorized chant could not be duplicated, they had not much opportunity if they confined themselves to the additions required by the offices for new saints. They accordingly found scope for their talent in lengthening the jubilations at the end of the last Alleluia of the gradual; and in the oldest MSS. we therefore find this extended in the margin at considerable length. But this mere vocalization, which, in the absence of musical instruments, must have had somewhat the effect of an organ interlude, in time grew monotonous. It was reserved for an unknown monk to provide the remedy. About the year 860 a stranger appeared at the abbey gate seeking hospitality, and bringing as his sole possession an antiphoner, with which he had escaped from the Abbey of Jumièges when it was sacked by the Norsemen. This antiphoner solved the difficulty; it contained the lengthy jubilations, but they were set to words. Doubtless they were of small value from a literary point of view, but the idea was a good one, and it was immediately seized on by a young monk, named Notker, who wrote the first known trope, *Psallat Ecclesia mater inlibata*. This form of trope on the jubilation, or *sequentia*, of the Alleluia, afterwards developed into the sequences or proses, of which a rich store is found in mediæval MSS. And Notker had as contemporaries Hartmann, Radpert, and Tutilo, who worked the same mine in other directions. Hartmann and Radpert composed hymns of the class of *Salve Festa dies*, an earlier composition by S. Venantius Fortunatus, who died about A.D. 600. This class of hymn differs from office hymns, in being mostly sung in procession, in having a refrain, and in wanting the doxology.

You will observe that this prose is in elegiac metre, and that this metre has been followed by the choir in the regular measure allotted to the music. This is, no doubt, contrary to what is generally the rule for Plainsong; but I leave it to you to judge whether the balance of probability does not incline to singing metrical words in a metrical manner, rather than to treating them as recitative like the prose words of introits, &c. But *pari passu* with these new hymns by Hartmann and Radpert, their companion Tutilo created a form of composition which was to become the rage of monastic musicians, and, after almost strangling the Plain chant in its parasitic embrace, to die out suddenly, and leave its only trace in the service of the English Church. Whether from the occurrence of pauses due to richness of ritual, or from a desire to make the music as elaborate as possible, which is a not unknown failing in choirmasters of the present day, he conceived the idea of interpolating in the service long sentences of amplification For instance, his best-known composition begins, *Hodie cantandus est Puer, &c., &c.*, for several lines until the introit for Christmas Day commences with *Puer natus est nobis;* then came the interpolation, *absque nascentium ordine procreatus de virgine sine viris semine*, followed by another sentence of the introit, and so on.

The same plan was applied all through the service, so that a Mass must have lasted an inordinate time. To be precise in terms, the interpolations in the Ordinary of the Mass are called greater, and in the introits, &c., lesser tropes. The former are again divided into greater and lesser proses, according as they belong to the *Gloria* or to the *Kyrie*, &c.

The idea of the tropes seemed at once to attract the attention of singers, and, by the beginning of the tenth century, bands of choirmen wandered about offering their services to the churches they visited. In all probability, these singers were unfrocked monks, and they soon showed their true colours by introducing as tropes words of a secular, and even profane character. The following specimen is taken from a MS. at Paris:—*Nutritur ignis osculo Et leni tactu virginis; In suo lucet oculo Lux luminis. Non est in toto sæculo Plus numinis.* The death-warrant of the tropes was sealed by such abuses, and we accordingly find that, by the time of the invention of the staff notation, the lesser tropes had disappeared. The greater still maintained a fitful existence, and the last that showed any vitality were those to the *Kyrie.* The one in which we English must feel most interest was that composed by S. Dunstan, beginning *Rex Splendens;* and it is a curious fact that while on the Continent tropes are practically extinct, we have adopted Tutilo's invention of the ninth century into the English Liturgy in the form of the trope to Kyrie after the commandments.

And now to recapitulate, we have four distinct species of Plainsong:—

(1.) The Psalm tones, and other like simple inflexions to reading in monotone.

(2.) The more elaborate but still congregational chants to the Ordinary of the Mass, &c.

(3.) The extremely florid chants of the introits, graduals, &c., which can, as a rule, only be sung by the choir; and

(4.) We have the hymns which, in my opinion, should be sung in measured time, though with the freedom which marks all ballad music, with which, I believe, they are closely allied.

I have referred above to the movement on the Continent during the last forty years in favour of the systematic study of Plainsong, with a view to the revival of its correct rendering. Let me now explain the need for this movement, and indicate some of the ways in which the co-operation of English students is possible. If you examine the ordinary printed Service Books —even those of the Ratisbon edition, which was authorized by the Roman Pontiff so recently as 1873—you will see that the notes are not grouped together in anything like the form of the specimens now before you. Instead of being in groups of twos or threes, like a well-linked chain, the notes follow one another like a row of marbles. This method of printing has resulted, naturally, in the notes being sung slowly, heavily, and, as it were, "hammered out"; each note standing by itself, and receiving an equal accent. Now, as accent is an essential part of musical expression, all notes must, of necessity, fall into groups of twos or threes, if such a thing as rhythm is to be created. How, then, can melody be evolved from a pneum which contains forty notes to a syllable? The Ratisbon theory is that the highest note is to bear the accent, when the others will naturally group themselves around it. But this explanation only cuts the knot; it does not untie it. And, moreover, the days are passed for mere guesses in scientific research. What we require are facts, and theories deducible from facts. Now, unfortunately, the Ratisbon editors have not shown that critical faculty which is so marked in their countrymen, and have published as the authorized edition of the Service Books, not a copy of a thirteenth century MS., but of the so-called Medicean edition, prepared by Palestrina in the sixteenth century. Palestrina was a very great musician, but he certainly knew less about Plainsong than we do, for in his day it had been utterly corrupted by the cultivation of measured music. You will accordingly see, if you collate the two versions, that his edition is uniform with no MS. in existence, while the MSS. themselves, of all countries and all ages, show a most remarkable likeness. For the purposes of study we must, therefore, turn to the MSS. themselves, or, when that is not possible, to the phototype facsimile of a tenth century gradual, and the printed copy of a thirteenth century MS., published by the monks of Solesmes, under the supervision of Dom Pothier. In the latter we find that the notes are all grouped together in certain cognizable forms, but that beyond this grouping they bear no indications either of accent or time value. We must especially mark that they show no time value, for in the thirteenth century Plainsong notes were not divided, as in Merbecke's day, into longs, breves, and semibreves. If you examine the MSS., you will find that notes with tails are no longer than those without, and that lozenges are only produced by chance by the manner of holding the pen. In fact, very often the tailed notes are lozenge shaped. We may take it, then, that the rhythmic indications of the staff notation are very indefinite, and can certainly show nothing more than where the principal accent falls in a group of notes.

Let us look further back and see if we can find anything in an older notation which may give a definite rhythm to these mere tonal signs. We have no MSS. as old as the time of S. Gregory; our earliest are of the ninth century at most, probably only of the tenth. The notation he employed may have been the alphabetical, which was afterwards used for purposes of instruction, but as the chant was learned by rote it was probably only one that was a sort of

memoria technica. Quite possibly it was that used by the monk Romanus, who at the end of the eighth century instructed the Benedictines of S. Gall, from which abbey came the MS. of which the pneums to the gradual *Sacerdotes* are a transcript. It is most probable that this notation in a simpler form was as old as the sixth century, for in the eighth century we find it used all over Europe, but with differences which are evidently the result of national peculiarities.

Now these pneums (which name is also given to the note-groups themselves) are a mere *memoria technica*, but a very serviceable one for singers who know the melodies by heart, but still require some aid to the memory. They do not show what the notes are, nor the intervals between them, simply that they rise or fall, and how many are to be sung in a group. And they are well deserving of careful study, for similar note-groups in the staff notation appear under different forms in the pneums, from which it is evident that their manner of execution was different, and that, unless tradition had preserved the correct rendering, Plainsong of the thirteenth century must have lost many of the beauties of that of the tenth. Is it then possible to extract the secret of these mysterious pneums, and to reconstruct their rhythmic laws?

If you examine the examples of the pneums you will find that they resolve themselves into two elements, viz., the grave accent, a stroke from left to right, signifying a low note; and the acute accent, from right to left, signifying a high note. These, when combined, give all the pneum forms before you, but you will see that they cannot express any tonal value. They were, in fact, a mere musical shorthand; all that was required of them was to show whether a note was higher or lower than that immediately preceding it, and how many were to be sung in a group somewhat like that of a modern bar. Accordingly, starting with a small dash for the initial note, the rise of the voice was shown by a vertical stroke drawn from below upwards. These joined together formed the *podatus* (Fig. 1) in its various forms. The two notes forming its opposite, the *clivis* (Fig. 2), consisted of the upward stroke for the higher note, and a descending one for the lower. Other note-groups naturally grew out of combinations of these primitive forms.

The hints on the execution of Plainsong given by early writers are of a very meagre description. In those days music was looked upon as a branch of mathematics, and a great part of the treatises deals with theories which are either platitudes of to-day, or have long since passed into the limbo of false science. The standpoint, also, from which these old writers considered the subject was very different from ours, so that we must be careful not to jump to conclusions too readily, even when their instructions are apparently clear and explicit. So far as we can see, they give little or no clue to the accentuation of the note-groups, but deal mainly with what we should call the artistic rendering of the chant. Practically all that the theorists teach us is that the note-groups are to preserve a certain unity in themselves; that the pauses must be well marked, and that there must be a *rallentando* before each pause, varying in degree according to the length of the pause; that the melody must flow easily and without break, so as to allow of the full and expressive pronunciation of the words; and, above all, they give what they call the Golden Rule, viz., "that there must be no pause immediately before a syllable in a word already begun." You will see that these directions are nothing more than instructions in voice management that would be given by any singing master of the present day. There is no information as to the grouping of the notes, or their accentuation and duration. We have, therefore, only the evidence of the MSS. to fall back on, and as the staff notation gives positively no signs of time value, students have to try and discover whether the pneums will be more instructive. It is hoped they will; and so far we have, by their aid, the following basis to work on—

1. We know from the origin of the chant, as well as from mediæval writers, that it is recitative, and, therefore, not subject to strict time; while we also know from the earliest authors that it possessed a very distinct rhythm.

2. We have the identical notes of the chant as fixed by S. Gregory.

3. We have the grouping of the notes of the chant in twos, threes, fours, &c., which must imply that there was some unity in the rendering of the note-group.

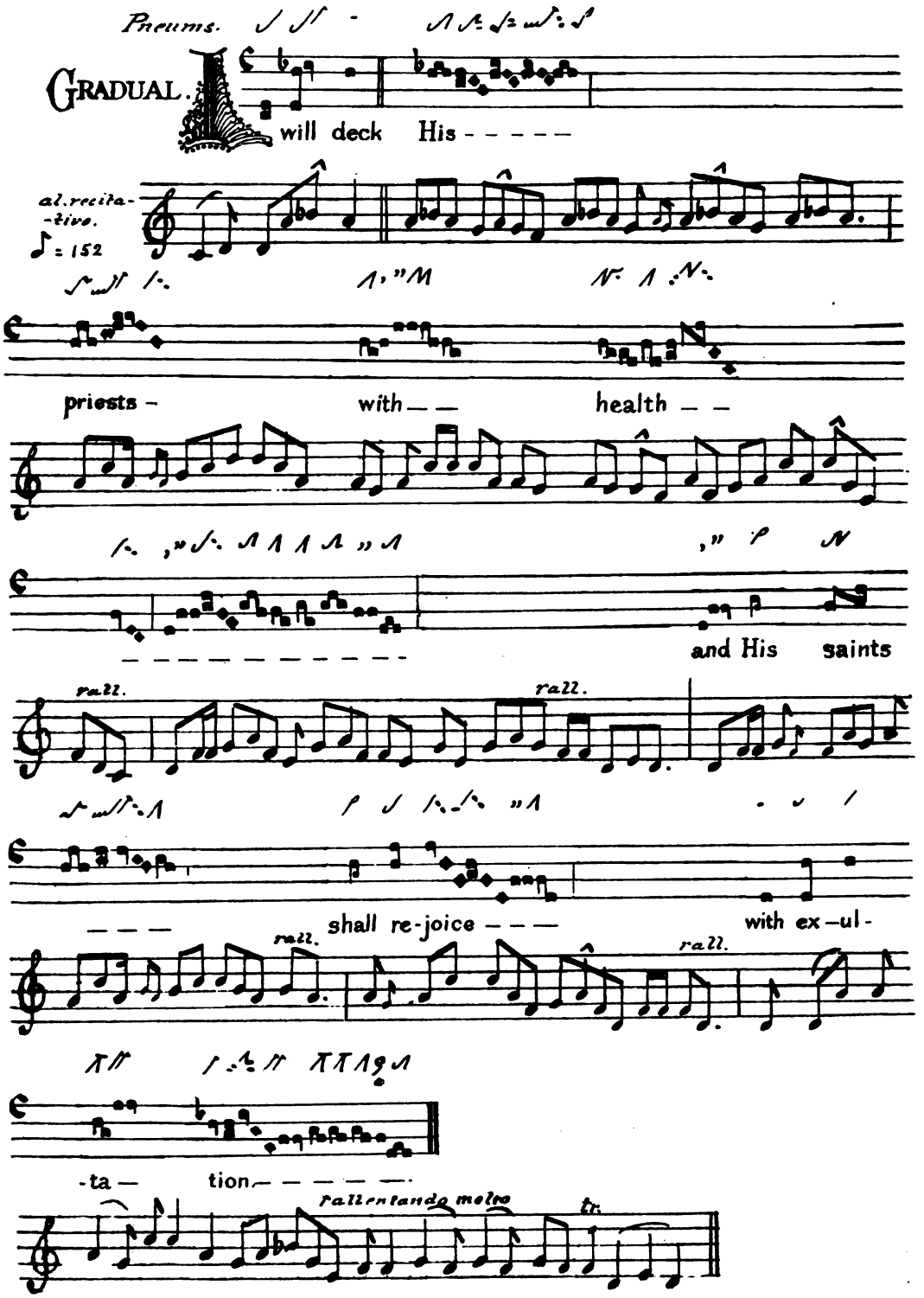
4. We may surmise, on fairly reasonable grounds, that the initial note of a note-group must be accented.

5. In some MSS. there are the Romanian letters, which signified whether certain notes were to be held or sung quickly; and

6. There is a sign consisting of a small dash over certain pneums, which almost certainly means that that note is to be lengthened.

This is all that we know about the music, and forms the basis for the rendering of the Introit and gradual, which the choir will presently give, and which, I hope, will prove pleasing to you. You see we have great difficulties to contend with, as the pneums themselves are still so very obscure. To the original singers they were probably clear enough, and served their purpose admirably, the rudimental pneums, without even the additional signs to which I have called attention, being probably sufficient. And this was owing to the nature of the music itself, which

PART OF GRADUAL FOR A CONFESSOR BISHOP.



Specimens of Pneums.

Fig. 1.
Podatus ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ = any two ascending notes

Fig. 2.
Clivis Λ Π = any two descending notes.

Quilisma ∽ indicates a turn on the first note of the Podatus.

E. & J. BELL PHOTO-LITHO. 6, FINSTIVAL ST. HOLBORN E.C.

even now forces singers into certain modes of phrasing which are not indicated by notation. When properly rendered, Plainsong is like the sough of the wind over a forest, or the distant roll of ocean waves. The melody is vague and indeterminate, but has a very real meaning to ears attuned to its charms. The effect is produced by a *crescendo* of the voice in passing to a higher note, and a *diminuendo* in descending. The *crescendo* causes an apparent misplacement of the accent, and there can be little doubt from variations in the note-groups of the fifteenth century MS. that this was in time intensified, and that the initial accent was almost, if not quite, lost in certain forms. The *diminuendo* in descending and the closing of the note-group necessitated a prolongation of the last and lowest note, while in all cases there was a *rallentando* before a pause. The notes are essentially of equal length, their metronome No. being about 152; but they assume infinite varieties of value according to their position in the chant and the taste of the singer. The chief point to be attended to is that the subsidiary notes should flow easily from the principal notes of each group. Every note-group is in fact slurred, and the whole phrase likewise; otherwise the swing of the chant is completely lost, and all its melody disappears.

There is one more point on which I must touch slightly. It may be asked whether there is no scope for the further development of Plainsong on the ancient lines. There may be, but I doubt the possibility of any composer being able to so cut himself adrift from all modern feeling as to write in the style of twelve centuries since. There is one thing he certainly cannot do, and that is, harmonize the vocal part. It has been often attempted, but has never succeeded, and the reason of the failure is that as the chant is recitative it is impossible for several voices to sing it together, unless the parts move not only in similar motion, but in the same intervals. The gradations of accent are so delicate, and depend so much on the comparative pitch of the notes, that parts in contrary motion cannot possibly keep together unless they be sung in time. Such compositions then as the Ely Confession, Tallis' Responses, and harmonized Litanies are completely contrary to the genius of Plainsong. We must accept the fact that Plainsong is *sui generis*, and cannot be trammelled by the bonds of measured music. It is possible, however, that an opening for musicians lies in the purely modern art of orchestral accompaniment. Speaking generally, and from present experience, Plainsong is best accompanied by simple harmonies to the leading notes of the melody, not note by note; but it is conceivable that such a master as Wagner might create an orchestral part which, while leaving the melody to run its free course, would greatly intensify its effect. We can say nothing definitely on this point; we must first ascertain how the music was rendered in the sixth century, and then we may consider how its beauties can be developed by the more scientific art of the nineteenth.

SOME IMITATIONS OF *TE DEUM.*

BY

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Te Deum is, beyond all doubt, the chief of Christian hymns; and therefore all parts of its history, whether of developement or decadence, deserve to be studied. In this short paper it is proposed to point out some of the imitative forms which the hymn has assumed after it had become crystallised in the shape with which we are all acquainted. In the middle ages there seems to have been no such dislike as now prevails to re-touching a masterpiece. We should look with horror on a rewriting of "Lead, kindly Light"; but in the middle ages every popular hymn had a hundred imitations. The Easter *Victimae paschali* reappears as an adaptation in honour of the Blessed Virgin,[1] and even of Dr. Martin Luther.[2] *Vexilla regis prodeunt* and *Pange lingua*, not to speak of other hymns, may be seen in numerous derivatives in the work of Dreves.[3] The Mass itself was turned into a parody in honour of the God of Love, and called a Venus-Mass.[4] Upon these practices as a matter of taste we are not called to give an opinion: but we have historical evidence to show that the custom of turning hymns, designed, in the first place, for the praises of the Creator, into hymns in honour of a creature, was not confined to the middle ages, nor to any particular community of Christians.

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[1] See two imitations in F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1854. Bd. ii. S. 231. Cf. Gustav Milchsack, *Hymni et Sequentiæ*, Halis Saxonum, 1886. i. 212.

[2] This imitation is given at length by Johann Nass, *Secunda Centuria, das ist das ander hundert der Evangelischen warheit*, Ingolstatt, 1568, durch Alexander und Samuel Weissenhorn, Cap. 62, p. 137, verso. (This book is catalogued in the British Museum under *Nase* as author, and the title is *Das Antipapistich eins und hundert*, press mark 3905. b. 37.) In the midst of the imitation, we find these words inserted: "Vide Silvanum, 1529. An dem Herzog von Sachsen geschriben." We may compare the original (*Missalis Moguntiati hoc presens*, etc., 1507. Spire, Drach. fo. lxxii. in feria ii. pasce.) and the imitation together, thus:

Mentz Missal, 1507.	*Nass.*
Victime pascali laudes immolent christiani.	Invicti Martini laudes intonant Christiani.
Agnus redemit oves christus innocens patri reconciliauit peccatores.	
Mors et vita duello conflixere mirando: dux vite mortuus regnat vivus.	Mors et vita duello conflixere mirando, dux vitae Martinus regnat vivus.
Dic nobis maria quid vidisti in via? Sepulchrum christi viventis et gloriam vidi resurgentis.	Dic nobis Martine verax iuste et pie doctrinam Christi viventis et gloriam vere resurgentis.
Angelicos testes sudarium et vestes.	Angelicos testes Paulum et Evangelistas.
Surrexit christus spes mea precedet suos in galilea.	Surrexit Christus spes mea, sed non credit Romana Iudea.
Credendum est magis soli marie veraci quam iudeorum turbe fallaci.	
Scimus christum surrexisse a mortuis vere tu nobis victor rex miserere.	Scimus Christum surrexisse per Martinum vere, tu nos Martine victor tuere. Alleluia &c.

[3] G. M. Dreves, *Hymni inediti, Liturgische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 23, *et seq.*

[4] See T. F. Simmons, *Lay Folks Mass Book*, Early English Text Society, 1879, p. 389, from MS. Fairfax 16, fo. 314, in Bodley, Oxford. On fol. 184 of the same MS. are: *The x Commaundements of Loue.* Cf. *Te Deum amoris*, line 1401, in the *Court of Love*, a poem attributed to Chaucer. (Ed. Morris. vol. iv. p. 49.)

An inverse process may sometimes be noticed: for instance, the Angelical Salutation has been changed into a prayer to Our Lord, thus: Ave dulcissime Domine Jesu Christe, gratia plena, misericordia tecum. Benedicta sanctissima vita, passio, et mors tua; et benedictus sanguis tuus, quem pro nobis effudisti.*

The three varieties of *Te Deum* printed below are taken from a Vallombrosa Breviary, printed at the end of the 15th century. Its title is: *Breviarium secundum ordinem vallisumbrose.* 8vo., without place or date, though some expressions in the table for the Sunday letter suggest the year 1493. The three hymns follow each other on ff. clxxxviii. clxxxix. and cxc. They are found at the end of the Psalter, among the other canticles of the Breviary. For convenience in exhibiting the similar structure of the three hymns, they are printed in parallel columns. The first is the great hymn, known to all: the second is a variety of the Bonaventuran *Te Deum*, sometimes ascribed to the Seraphic Doctor, of which there are numerous recensions: and the third is a *Te Deum* of the Holy Cross, hitherto quite unknown to me. The Bonaventuran hymn has been collated with a similar text in an edition of Cardinal Quignon's Breviary, published at Lyons in 1543, 4to. Some of the latter editions of this reformed Breviary contain this text of the Bonaventuran hymn at the end of Mattins *de Beata.* The variants of this Quignon are referred to as Q. A collation has also been made with a text in a beautifully printed edition of the Bonaventuran Psalter by Thielman Kerver: *Psalterium intemerate dei genitricis virginis Marie*, Paris, 1509, 8vo., and the variants of this are marked P.†

Hymnus ambrosianus.	*Hymnus in honore beatissime marie virginis.*	*Ad honorem sancte crucis.*
Te deum laudamus te dominum confitemur.	Te matrem dei laudamus te mariam virginem confitemur.	Te crucem dei laudamus te vexillum domini adoramus.
Te eternum patrem: omnis terra veneratur.	Te eterni patris sponsam: omnis terra veneratur.	Te salutis nostre signum omnis terra veneratur.
Tibi omnes angeli: tibi celi et vniuerse potestates.	Tibi omnes angeli et archangeli: tibi omnes principatus humiliter‡ seruiunt.	Tibi omnes angeli: tibi celi et vniuerse potestates.
	Tibi omnes potestates et superne virtutes: tibi[1] celorum[2] dominationes obediunt.	
Tibi cherubin et seraphin: incessabili voce proclamant.	Tibi omnes throni[3] cherubin et seraphin: exultantes[4] assistunt.	Tibi cherubin et seraphin: propter dei filium honorem impendunt.
	Tibi cuncta angelica creatura: delectabili voce proclamat.	
Sanctus: Sanctus: Sanctus dominus deus sabaoth.	Sancta: Sancta: Sancta maria mater dei[5] et virgo.	Sancta: Sancta: Sancta christi sanguine purpurata.
Pleni sunt celi et terra: maiestatis glorie tue.	Pleni sunt celi[6] terra mare[6]: maiestatis glorie fructus ventris tui.	Pleni sunt celi et terra: redemptionis glorie tue
		In te regis eterni filius: mortem nostram moriendo destruxit.
		Tu speculum contemplationis: tu mensa es refectionis.
		Salue: crux gloriosa.
		Salue crux fidelissima: que charitatis thesauros reserasti.

* J. M. Horst, *Paradisus Animæ Christianæ*, Sect. vi. Cap. vi. Mechliniæ, 1875, p. 439.

† Mr. Dewick points out to me also a very similar text in a MS. book of Sarum *Horæ*, circa 1500, belonging to him; it does not appear as part of the service of the hours, but is introduced with this title: *A syngler deuoute prayer to oure blissed lady.*

‡ humiliati: Q.
[1] omnes: *add.* Q.
[2] universe: *add.* P.
[3] tibi: *add.* P.
[4] exultanter: P.
[5] *om.* P.
[6]—[6] et terra: Q. P.

Te gloriosus : apostolorum chorus.	Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus : creatoris matrem collaudat.	Te gloriosus apostolorum chorus.
Te prophetarum : laudabilis numerus.	Te laudabilis numerus prophetarum : virginem deum parituram predixerat.	Te prophetarum laudabilis numerus.
Te martyrum candidatus : laudat exercitus.	Te martyrum cetus beatorum : christi genitricem glorificat.	Te martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.
	Te gloriosus exercitus confessorum : totius trinitatis templum appellat.	
	Te amabilis chorea virginum sanctarum : tue[7] virginitatis et humilitatis exemplum predicat.	
	Te tota celestis curia celorum reginam honorat.	
Te per orbem terrarum : sancta confitetur ecclesia.	Te per vniuersum mundum : [8]sancta ecclesia[8] inuocando celebrat[9]	Te per orbem terrarum crucem sanctam confitetur ecclesia.
Patrem immense maiestatis.	Matrem diuine maiestatis.	Signum redemptionis eterne.
Venerandum tuum verum : et vnicum filium.	Venerandam te veram regis celestis puerperam.	Sanctam iesu christi sanguine consecratam.
Sanctum quoque paraclitum spiritus.	[10] Tu sancta quoque dulcis et pia.[10]	
Tu rex glorie christe.	Tu angelorum domina : tu paradisi ianua.	Tu altare pacificum et electum : in quo agnus dei oblatus est.
Tu patris : sempiternus es filius.	Tu scala regni celestis : tu regis glorie thalamus.	Tu ignis sancti spiritus fornax : vbi effusa sunt viscera charitatis.
	Tu archa pietatis et gratie : tu vena es misericordie.	Tu patris sempiternum filium amplecti meruisti.
	Tu refugium peccatoris : tu es mater saluatoris.	Salue crux gloriosissima que iram dei in misericordiam conuertisti.
		Salue crux pijssima : que pietatis fontem aperuisti.
		Per te facta est via in inuio : ut per te securi transeamus.
		Per te viduata est sponsa regis : ut cum ea ad regales nuptias perducamur.
Tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem : non horruisti virginis vterum.	Tu ad liberandum exulem hominem : [11]dei filium[11] suscepisti in vterum.	Tu ad liberandum hominem electum sustinuisti virginis filium.
Tu deuicto mortis aculeo : aperuisti credentibus regna celorum.	[12] Per te expugnato hoste antiquo : sunt aperta fidelibus regna celorum.[12]	Tu delicta piaculi cautione : aperuisti credentibus regna celorum.
Tu ad dexteram dei sedes : in gloria patris :	Tu cum filio tuo : sedes in gloria[13] patris.	Per te verbum caro transijt ad gloriam dei patris.

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[7] *om.* P.
[8]—[8] ecclesia sancta : P.
[9] concelebrat : P.
[10]—[10] Te sanctam quoque dulcem et piam : Q.
Sanctam quoque : dulcem et piam : P.
[11]—[11] filium dei : P.
[12]—[12] *om.* Q.
[13] gloriam : Q.

Iudex crederis esse venturus.	Tu ipsum[14] pro nobis roga o domina : quia[15] nos[16] ad iudicandum est[17] venturus.	Te cum domino iesu christo ad iudicandum credimus esse venturam.
Te ergo quesumus tuis famulis subueni : quos precioso sanguine reredemisti.*	Te ergo poscimus[18] seruulis tuis[18] subueni : qui precioso [19]sanguine filij tui[19] redempti sumus.	Te ergo quesumus famulis tuis subueni : qui per te precioso christi sanguine sunt redempti.
Eterna fac cum sanctis tuis : gloria munerari.	Eterna fac[20] pia virgo maria[20] cum seruis tuis[21] gloria premiari.	
Saluum fac populum tuum domine : et benedic hereditati tue.	Salua nos populum seruorum tuorum[22] domina : ut[23] simus participes hereditatis tue.	Saluum fac christi populum crux beata que nostri ordinis principem conuertisti.
Et rege eos : et extolle illos vsque in eternum.	Et rege nos et extolle :[24] vsque in eternum.	Et signa eos : et extolle vsque in eternum.
		Tu es vite nostre thalamus : in quo dominus expirauit.
		Tu columna veri regis : in templo sui corporis dedicata.
Per singulos dies : benedicimus te.	Per singulos dies : o[25] maria[26] te salutamus.	Per singulos dies : benedicimus te.
Et laudamus nomen tuum in eternum : et in seculum seculi.	Et laudare te cupimus in eternum : deuota mente et voce.	Et laudamus nomen tuum in eternum : et in seculum seculi.
Dignare domine die isto : sine peccato nos custodire.	Dignare dulcis maria nunc et semper : sine delicto[27] nos conseruare.	Dignare crux sanctissima die isto sine peccato nos custodire.
Miserere nostri domine : miserere nostri.	Miserere nostri[28] pia : miserere nostri.[29]	Miserere nostri domine : qui per crucem sanctam redemisti mundum.
Fiat misericordia tua domine super nos : quemadmodum speruuimus* in te.	Fiat misericordia tua magna nobiscum : quia[30] maria in te[30] confidimus.	Fiat misericordia tua domine super nos : qui vexillum tui sanguinis confitemur.
In te domine speraui non confundar in eternum.	In te dulcis maria speramus vt nos defendas in eternum.[31]	In te domine speraui : non confundar in eternum.

Of the imitative *Te Deum* in honour of Blessed Mary, a text very like this now printed has been published by Roth[1] from a Darmstadt MS. (No. 850), and is also given in a little volume, in my possession, printed at Venice in 1511[2]; but in the later printed copies of the Bonaventuran *Te Deum* the variations are far greater, and they make indeed separate recensions. The text printed in the edition of the Works of St. Bonaventure (*Opera*, Moguntiæ, 1609, t. vi. p. 480) shows a likeness to that given above; but a large number of interpolations already appear in the text, making the hymn nearly twice its original length. Further variations may be noted in

* *Sic.*
[14] illum : P.
[15] qui : Q.
[16] est : *add.* P.
[17] *om.* P.
[18—18] nobis tuis famulis : P.
[19—19] filii tui sanguine : P.
[20—20] virgo pia : P.
[21] in : *add.* P.
[22] o : *add.* P.
[23] scimus : Q.
[24] nos : *add.* Q., P.
[25] domina : *add.* Q.
[26] pia : P.
[27] peccato : P.
[28] *om.* P.
[29] nobis : P.
[30—30] in te maria : P.
[31] Amen : *add.* P.

[1] F. W. E. Roth, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Augsburg, 1888. p. 52. (No. 182.)

[2] *Compendium orationum cum quam plurimis orationibus psalterio sancti augustini*, Venetiis : arte ac sumptibus Domini Bernardini stagnini de tridino montisferati : 1511 Primo Julii.

the three texts printed below; the first is from a Liège Psalter,* written about 1300, which is in Mr. Dewick's possession; a copy of this hymn he has kindly given me; the text is, with variants, that printed by Mone[3] from a 14th century MS. The second is that printed by Gall Morel[4], "ex *Brev. sec. usum Gallic.* Venetiis 1527." This no doubt is a Sicilian breviary, as Iohannes de Iohanne gives the title of the Sicilian massbooks as *Missale Gallicanum*, and tells us that a Sicilian breviary with this hymn was printed at Venice in 1527.[5] The third is that printed by Corner,[6] which he says was sung in processions on pilgrimages in his time.

Liège Psalter, circa 1300.	*Brev. sec. usum. Gallic.* Venetiis, 1527.	*Sung in Pilgrimages in the Seventeenth Century.*
Te matrem laudamus. Te uirginem confitemur.	Te matrem laudamus, te dominam confitemur.	Te Matrem Dei laudamus: te Mariam Virginem confitemur.
Te eterni patris splendor maris stellam illuminat.	Te æterni patris splendor illuminat.	Te æterni Patris sponsam: omnis terra veneratur.
	Te Maria, flos virginum, rex gloriæ gloriosam elegit in virginem	
	De te, Maria, et dei filius nasci dignatus est.	
	Te spiritus sancti virtus obumbravit altissimi.	
Tibi omnes angeli tibi celi et uniuerse potestates.	Tibi Mariæ virgini virgines et omnes mulieres,	Tibi omnes Angeli: tibi cœli et universæ Potestates.
Tibi cherubin et seraphin humili uoce nobiscum proclamant.	tibi Cherubim et Seraphim, Maria dulcis, proclamant:	Tibi Cherubim et Seraphim: incessabili voce proclamant.
Uirgo Uirgo Uirgo. Ante partum et in partu et post partum.	Virgo, virgo, virgo virginum, plena es omni gratia, Maria gloria mulierum.	Sancta Maria; sancta Dei Genitrix; sancta Virgo Virginum: tecum est Dominus Deus Sabaoth.
Pleni sunt celi et terra maiestatis glorie filii tui.		Pleni sunt cœli et terra: majestatis gloriæ Filii tui.
Te gloriosam apostoli predicant.	Te gloriosam apostoli prædicant,	Te gloriosus Apostolorum chorus.
Te nascituram prophete pronuntiant.		Te Prophetarum laudabilis numerus.
Te martires matrem domini sui esse affirmant.	Te martyres sui domini matrem esse testantur.	Te Martyrum candidatus laudat exercitus.
	Te prophetarum, Maria, concinunt lineæ.	
Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur ecclesia.	Te per orbem terrarum Mariam sanctam confitetur ecclesia.	Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur Ecclesia.
Patrem† immense maiestatis.	Matrem immensæ maiestatis,	Matrem Filii immensæ majestatis.
Venerandam dei sponsam maritique nesciam.	Venerandam dei sponsam maritique nesciam.	Venerandam quæ concepisti verum et unicum Dei Filium.
Sanctoque sola (*sic*) gravidamque spiritu.	Sola sancta, sola sine exemplo ante partum, in partu et post partum gravida spiritu.	Sancto obumbrata Paraclito Spiritu.

* This MS. Psalter was written for the use of the Church of S. Mary and S. Lambert, Liège, as shown by the calendar and petition in the Litany (Ut clerum et plebem sancte marie sanctique lamberti conservare digneris). The MS. contains, in addition to the Psalter, some private devotions, and the full choir services for the festivals of the Nativity, Annunciation, Assumption and Purification of B.V.M. In the office of mattins on these days, the Marian *Te Deum* is given instead of *Te Deum* proper.

[3] F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1854. Bd. ii. S. 229.

[4] Gall Morel, *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, Einsiedeln, 1868. S. 116.

[5] Iohannis de Iohanne, *de divinis siculorum officiis tractatus*, Panormi 1736, pp. 97, 100, 151.

[6] David Gregorius Corner, *Magnum Promptuarium Catholicæ Devotionis*, Viennae Austriae, 1672, p. 177.

† *Sic pro* Matrem.

Tu es regina celi. Tu mundi totius es domina.	Tu es regina cœli, Tu mundi totius es domina,	Tu parens Regis gloriæ Christi.
	Tu Maria, quod Eva clauserat aperuisti ostium paradysi.	Tu Mater illius es, qui Patris sempiternus est Filius.
Tu ad liberandum hominem perditum carne uestisti altissimi filium.		Tu ad liberandum exulem hominem præbuisti Filio Dei Virgineum uterum.
Tu uincendo mortis aculeo produxisti credentibus uitam ex utero.	Tu ad retundendum mortis aculeum, Maria, protulisti vitam ex utero.	Tu peperisti Jesum, qui devicto mortis aculeo, aperuit credentibus regna cœlorum.
Tu ad dexteram dei sedentis es mater.	Tu ad dexteram dei patris sedentis es filia mater	Tu ad dexteram Filii tui sedes in gloria Patris.
Iudex uiuorum qui est mortuorum.	Iure crederis esse beata	Filius tuus Jesus Christus Judex creditur esse venturus.
Tu ergo quesumus famulis tuis subueni precioso germine uentris tui redemptis.	Te ergo quæsumus, Maria, servulis tuis subveni preciosissimo ventris tui germine redemtis.	Te ergo quæsumus tuis famulis subveni, quos idem Filius tuus pretioso sanguĩne redemit.
Eterna fac cum sanctis cunctis gloria munerari.	Æterna da regna cum filio tuo, regina gloriosa.	Æternâ fac cum Sanctis omnibus nos gloriâ munerari.
Saluum fac populum tuum domina per te christo hereditare factum.	Salvum fac populum tuum et me famulum tuum, domina, et benedicas eis benedicta.	Salvum faciat populum suum Jesus, et benedicat hæreditati suæ.
Et rege eos et extolle illos usque in eternum.	Et regi demonstra pectus et ubera usque in æternum.	Et reddat nos Salvator noster, et extollat nos usque in æternum.
Per singulos dies benedicimus te.	Per singulos dies benedicimus te benedicta.	Per singulos dies benedicimus te Domina.
	Benedicta tu in mulieribus et benedictus fructus ventris tui.	
Et laudamus nomen altissimi qui te fecit altissimam.	Et laudamus nomen altissimi, qui te fecit esse altissimam.	Et laudabimus sanctum nomen tuum in sæculum, et in sæculum sæculi.
Dignare omni laude dignissima ab indignis laudari.	Dignare, omni laude dignissima, ab indignissimis laudari.	Dignare dulcis Domina die isto, et semper, sine peccato nos tua intercessione custodire.
Miserere nostri domina mater misericordie.	miserere nostri, domina Maria, mater misericordiæ.	Miserere nostri, pia Domina, ora pro nobis, Virgo Maria.
Fiat misericordia filii tui domina super nos ope tua clamamus illi.	Fiat misericordia filii tui, domina, super nos ope tua qua clamavimus ei.	Fiat per te misericordia Dei super nos, quemadmodum speravimus in te.
In te domina speraui non confundar in eternum.	In te, domina, speravi, non confundar in æternum.	In te, Domina, speravi : ora pro me ut non confundar in æternum.

It will show how these recensions sometimes became patriotic if I add one from England in the time of Henry V., to which my attention has been called by the Rev. W. D. Macray. I have copied it from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library. (Rawl. B. 214. ff. 148 verso and 149 recto.) It has been printed before, though from other manuscripts, by Mr. Charles Augustus Cole,[7] who also gives another imitation, attributed to an Englishman, John Bracy, Abbot of Michelney, in Somerset, which resembles the text of the imitation printed below, though it is not identical with it :

De ympno a gente anglorum cantando ad ad (dupliciter) *laudem dei genitricis Marie propter graciosam expedicionem regis henrici quinti et pro succursu regni anglie dotis sue quo* (sic) *cunctas hereses cum heresiarcha Iohannis* (sic) *Oldcastel suis precibus interemit.*

Te *Matrem* laudamus. Te *dominam* confitemur. Te eterni patris preelectam veneramur. Tibi omnes angeli. tibi celi. et vniuerse potestates. Tibi *cherubin* et *seraphin* humili nobiscum voce proclamant. *Aue. Aue. Ave. Maria. virgo. theothocos.* Pleni sunt celi et terra maiestate filii tui. Te gloriosam apostoli predicant. Te graciosam prophete prenunciant. Te preciosam

[7] Charles Augustus Cole, *Memorials of Henry the Fifth*, Rolls Series, 1858. p. 164, and pp. lix. & lxi. of the preface.

martires floribus circumdat. (*sic*) Te per orbem terrarum sancta confitetur ecclesia. Matrem immense maiestatis. Venerandam dei sponsam marisque nesciam. Sanctam quoque solam sancto gravida spiritu. Tv regina es celi. Tv domina es totius mundi. Tv ad liberandum hominem perditum vertisti (*sic*) altissimi filium. Tv vincendo mortis aculeo protulisti clarissimo vitam ex vtero. Tv ad dexteram nati sedes dignitate matris. Te ergo quesumus *Angligenis* subueni quos pro dote propria defendisti. Eterna fac cum sanctis eius gloria munerari. Saluum fac populum tuum *domina* et benedic et a mortis peste dotem tuam libera. Et rege eos et extolle illos usque in eternum. Per singulos dies benedicimus te. Et laudamus nomen tuum in seculum. que cunctas hereses sola interemisti. Dignare *domina* laude digna fide firma. nos custodire. Miserere nostri. *domina.* mater misericordie. Fiat misericordia filii tui *domina* super nos ope tuæ qui clamamus illi. In te *domina* speramus non confundamur in eternum.

Another imitation of *Te Deum*, written in honour of St. Mary Magdalen, was found in *Heures de Talbot*, a 15th century MS., once in the possession of Mr. Quaritch. It has been printed by Mademoiselle Pellechet,[8] from whose book I take it :

TE DEUM MARIAE MAGDALENAE.

Te sanctam Mariam Magdalenam laudamus, Te dominam nostram confitemur. Te reges et populi, te senes et paruuli venerantur. Tibi tui seruitores, qui sunt ueri uiatores. Incessabili uoce proclamant : Sancta, Sancta, Sancta Maria, Maria Magdalena ! Ora pro nobis, tu sponsa regis glorie, Tu exemplum penitencie, Tu lacrimosa et flebilis ad Xristum accessisti, Et cum tuis lacrimis pedes eius lauisti. Et capillis capitis tui extersisti. Te ergo famulis tuis subueni Quos ad seruiendum tuum (?) elegisti. O Magdalena, que amore Xristi fuisti plena, Conserua tuos seruos, domina, Et defende illos usque in eternum. Per singulos dies magnificamus te, Et laudamus nomen tuum sanctum, benedictum et gloriosum. Fiat ergo pietas tua, Domine, super nos, Quemadmodum confidimus in te. In te, Domine, speramus, non confundamur in eternum.

It is possible that the reprinting of these few imitations may suggest to someone with the needful learning and time a wider and perhaps exhaustive research into the mediæval copies of a great hymn. The materials for a study of the Marian *Te Deum* are exceedingly abundant. and the various recensions ought to be broken up into families, and their genealogy traced ; while of the history of other adaptations of *Te Deum* very little indeed seems to be known at present. It may be that this task will be undertaken in the great edition of St. Bonaventure, which, Mr. Edmund Bishop informs me, the Franciscan Friars are now bringing out at Quaracchi, in Italy.

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[8] M. Pellechet, *Notes sur les livres liturgiques des diocèses d'Autun, Chalon, et Macon*, Paris et Autun, 1883. p. 371.

THE BLACK SCARF OF MODERN CHURCH DIGNITARIES AND THE GREY ALMUCE OF MEDIÆVAL CANONS.

BY

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Some of us who attend the services in St. Paul's may have noticed during the last few months that the Canons of our Cathedral Church have begun again to wear round their necks a black silk scarf in many folds, instead of the black stole, to which the scarf bears some distant resemblance; and they may have asked of themselves, or of their friends, the meaning of the change.

The answer to this question is that the black scarf is the representative of a mediæval ornament, which has undergone many changes in shape during the centuries of its existence; that the ornament took its present appearance in the times immediately before the Reformation, and that the return to its use is a return to the use of a vestment which, like the surplice, has been in continuous use in the Church of England for five or six centuries; and the use of which, like that of the long surplice, has been attacked by a certain clique, to whom anything specially English and mediæval, that does not immediately come from across the sea, seems always distasteful.

That the black scarf is a pre-Reformation ornament will, I think, be allowed by all. We see it in the portraits of Warham, Fox, Fisher, and, if my memory serve me well, of Cardinal Pole, so that there cannot be two opinions on this head; but the aim of the present paper is to point out the connexion which appears to exist between this furred black scarf of the pre-Reformation dignitaries (which, deprived of the fur, has come down to our times) and the grey almuce of the mediæval canons.

For this purpose we must consider a little the history of the grey almuce.

When first we meet with the almuce or *almutium* in history, it is a mere cap for protecting the head from the cold. We find the same kind of thing in use amongst the lay folk of both sexes; so that, like most other ecclesiastical ornaments, the origin of the almuce is purely secular.[1] In the Anglican Canons of 1603, we find permission given for the wearing of a *coif* during divine service when the worshipper has an infirmity.[2] In the same way, Alexander III. (1159-81) granted to the monks of St. Germain du Pré the use of the *almutium* during divine service, on account of the troubles which they suffered from the cold when they recited the office with uncovered heads.[3]

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[1] Victor Gay, *Glossaire archéologique*, Paris, 1887, p. 85, sub voce *aumusse*. J. R. Planché, *Cyclopædia of Costume*, London, 1876. Dictionary, p. 7.

[2] *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical*, xviii.: "No man shall cover his Head . . . . except he have some infirmity; in which case, let him wear a Night-cap or Coif."

[3] Edm. Martene, *De Antiquis Monachorum Ritibus*, lib. i., cap. ii., § lxxv. (Bassani. 1788., t. iv., p. 13.)

It will be understood that the almuce is a choir vestment, not a mass vestment; and it must not be confounded with the linen amice, or *amictus*,[1] which the priest should put upon his head when he is about to say mass, and after putting on the chasuble, let fall around his neck. The amice appears to be much older than the almuce, though the amice itself is nothing like so ancient as the chasuble and alb; and to have been a direct imitation, in the ninth or tenth century, of the ephod of the Mosaic priesthood. The amice is of linen, white; the almuce, as far as we can trace it, has generally been black;[2] that is, the outside covering has been black, though the inside has been lined with fur of various colours. The outside was certainly black at St. Paul's in 1356 or 1364, when the minor canons acquired the right of wearing the grey almuce.[3]

An accompanying plate shows the almuce in its earliest shape, as a mere protection for the head. (See Plate A.) The bishop-elect, seated, and holding out his hands, is being vested with his buskins; and his figure shows the grey almuce, in its first stage, as a mere covering for the head. Mr. Thomas Brooke, F.S.A., has, with his usual courtesy, allowed the reproduction to be made from a French Pontifical of great beauty in his well-known collection. The arms of the Chapter of Laon are twelve canons' heads covered with the grey almuce.[4] As a mere covering to the head it seems to be almost unknown in this country. I have been unable, myself, to find an instance of it; nor have I been successful in the inquiries which I have made of others far more experienced in this search than myself.

The almuce now begins a series of changes which bring it from a mere protection to the head into a scarf flung over the arm or even round the neck. As a cap or hood, it becomes larger and creeps down on to the neck and shoulders, and at last covers the arms and chest and back. This latter developement is important; forasmuch as it causes the whole skin of an animal to be used in the making; and thus the fur covering the tail and limbs remains and forms pendants or tags, which hang down from the cape around its lower edge, giving it the appearance shown in the hindermost of the three in Fig. 1,[5] which is a reproduction of a rubbing from a brass of Roger Kingdon, d. 1471, in Quethiock Church, Cornwall. (See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, vol. iv. p. 72.)

Later on, the two strips of fur hanging from the front of the cape became very long, reaching almost to the ground; and it is by means of these long, scarf-like strips, that the presence of the grey almuce can be most readily made out in the monumental brasses and effigies of Church dignitaries. The cape and hood of the grey almuce are often covered by the cope and thus hidden; while the long strips are seen hanging below, on the front of the surplice.

These long strips are seen very well in the reproduction of bas-reliefs from a fifteenth century tomb in the cathedral church of Wells. They show the dress of secular canons, and the strips of the grey almuce hang down in front of the surplice, and in this case it may be noticed that the cape of the almuce is divided, and tied together in front of the breast: an arrangement which would allow of the folding up of the almuce when taken off, and its disposal as a scarf over the arm or neck. (Fig. 2.)

We see this disposal of the grey almuce over the arm in the photograph of a canon from the Holyrood Diptych, which many of us remember in the Stuart Exhibition, and for the

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[1] The word is frequently used by inexact writers to signify any ecclesiastical garment. Stole is used in the same way; in both cases, most likely, there is a reminiscence of *stola* and *amictus*. Good Sir Walter Scott, who must have known better, is a great offender in this article. Cf. *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, canto ii. 19: "A palmer's amice wrapped him round"; and *Lord of the Isles*, canto ii. 23: "His withered cheek and amice white." But on the other hand, in the *Monastery* he speaks of the Abbot's crosier, the modern craze for limiting the term crosier to the archiepiscopal cross not having then set in.

[2] The outside was grey at Sarum. (G. A. Dayman and W. H. Rich Jones, *Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Sarum*, Bath, 1883, p. 29, § iii.) Aug. Barbosa (*Summa apostolicarum Decisionum* xx. num. iv., Venetiis, 1646, p. 20.) records an instance in which the Archbishop of Otranto in 1616 allowed the dignified clergy, the canon presbyters of his metropolitan church, to wear violet almuces, the other, presbyters *collectitii*, were to wear black.

[3] Harl. 4080, British Museum, is an early eighteenth century transcript of a number of documents dealing with St. Paul's, London; on ff. 73b. to 74b. is a copy of a document allowing the minor canons to wear the almuce. "Statuimus et ordinamus ut omnes dicti minores canonici in dicta ecclesia de die et nocte almicias de nigris pellibus Calabre vulgariter nuncupatis exterius confectas et interius cum munitonar (*sic*) furratas . . . . gestent et habeant." It should be noticed that Calabre is here distinctly said to be black.

[4] See A. Bellotte, *Ritus Ecclesiæ Laudunensis redivivi*, Paris, 1662, where the arms are engraved on the first page of the dedicatory epistle. Of these Mr. Everard Green gives me the following blazon: "D'azure, à douze têtes de Chanoines de carnation posez de front, cinq, quatre, et trois, coiffez d'aumusses de sable et habillez d'argent;" and he refers to the following work: Edouard Fleury, *Antiquités et monuments du Departement de l'Aisne*, Paris, 1879, 3e Partie, pp. 211—217. See also the drawing of canons' heads in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, Propyl. ad vii. tomos Maii, between pp. 96 and 97. (Paris. et Romæ, 1868.)

[5] We are indebted to the courtesy of the Society of Antiquaries of London for the use of this illustration.

opportunity of showing it here to-night I am indebted to Mr. Everard Green. Probably this change was made in the summer as a relief from the great warmth of the vestment. In France and elsewhere the almuce was also carried over the left arm, and the breviary was carried in the hood, which had become useless for its original purpose.[1]

Another change takes place. The cape of the almuce disappears, seeming to be rolled up, and put round the neck, thus giving an appearance of greater thickness to the ornament at this place, while the long strips of fur hang down in front as before. This is well seen in Plate B,

Fig. 1.

THE STRIPS AND TAGS OF THE GREY ALMUCE ARE SEEN ON THE THIRD FIGURE.

a representation of a coronation of a King of England, taken from Abbot Litlington's mass-book (1362–1386) by permission of the dean and chapter of Westminster. The archbishop of Canterbury is putting the crown on the King's head; and a chaplain, who stands beside him and carries a cross, wears the grey almuce as a scarf, only with the fur turned outside, so that a grey colour only is seen.

Very like the foregoing arrangement is that seen in the reproduction of a brass almost contemporaneous with the illumination from the Westminster manuscript just quoted. It shows William de Rothewelle, Archdeacon of Essex (1361) in cassock, surplice, grey almuce, and cope. The hood of the grey almuce is very plainly seen above the cope and the long strips of fur hang down low in front of the surplice; but of the cape there is no sign, though there is room enough left bare where the cope falls from the shoulders for the cape to be visible if it existed.[2]

A similar disposition of the almuce was also followed in certain monasteries. Du Cange tells us that the priests amongst the monks, probably at Bec, had the custom of wearing an almuce of a black colour, four fingers wide, hanging round the neck, after the fashion of a stole, as low as the girdle; they were by this sign distinguished from other priests, and showed themselves to be of the community of the monks. And, he adds, the same thing is done in the famous Abbey of St. Bertin, and monasteries of the low countries, the vestment being of

[1] See *planche* ii. opposite p. 250 of t. ii. of Claude de Vert's *Explication . . . . des cérémonies de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1708. for a series of drawings showing the changes undergone by the almuce. The next *planche* shows another series, equally interesting, of the developement of the French birretta from an ordinary skull cap. See also Filippo Bonanni, *La Gerarchia Ecclesiastica*, Roma, 1720, plate 121, opposite p. 439.

[2] J. G. and L. A. B. Waller, *A series of Monumental Brasses*, London, 1864.

like shape and length: but in St. Vedast's, at Arras, it was six inches broad, made out of black skins, and hung from the neck almost to the feet.[1]

Very similar is the disposition of the almuce shown in the figures given by Du Molinet of certain canons regular in Poland and Portugal.[2] The ornament is thrown over the surplice or other vestment around the neck and hangs down in front. In the drawing of the Polish canon

Fig. 2.

A CANON OF WELLS IN GREY ALMUCE.

[1] Du Cange, *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis*, sub voce *almucium* (ed. Favre, Niort, 1884). It runs as follows: Historia Beccensis MS., p. 7: "Hiberno tempore caputium, ut aiunt, consuetum pellicatum, Chaperon de coutume, capiti operiendo adhibebant. At sacerdotibus mos erat deferendi Almutium nigri coloris, latum quatuor circiter digitos; more stolæ e collo pendentis cingulo tenus: ut hoc levi indicio de grege Monachorum se esse profiterentur." Quod quidem in celebri Abbatia S. Bertini Cithiensis et aliis Monasteriis Belgiæ etiamnum defertur, pari forma et longitudine: at in Vedastino sex pollicibus latum est, ex pellibus nigris, et e collo fere pendet ad pedes.

[2] C. Du Molinet, *Figures des differents habits des chanoines reguliers en ce siècle*, Paris, 1666, pp. 101 and 113.

the almuce is plainly furred; in that of the Portuguese, the tags which are seen round the cape in our monuments and effigies are visible enough, but no fur, only a black cloth, is seen. Fig. 3 is a fac-simile of Du Molinet's plate of the Polish canon. J. B. Thiers also speaks of the almuce being worn on the left arm, or over the two shoulders by certain canons regular.[1]

Just before the Reformation in England, the custom of turning the fur in, so that only the black cloth, or other covering of the fur, could be seen, became the rule. This appearance of black, with a very slight edging of fur to the folds of the scarf, may be seen in portraits of pre-Reformation bishops taken during their lifetime: as in that of Bishop Fox, the founder of

Fig. 3.

POLISH CANON IN GREY ALMUCE.

Corpus Christi College, Oxford, which is over the high table in the hall of that college, and a fac-simile of which is given in Plate C. In this likeness the grey almuce has assumed the general appearance of the scarf of chaplains with which we are familiar: though now the fur, being no longer seen, has entirely disappeared; and the scarf has been enriched by the stuff out of which it is made being turned into silk; the colour and general form of the ornament remaining much the same as they were in the days of Wayneflete, Fox, and Warham.[2] This may very well be seen in the monuments of the seventeenth century archbishops in the Lady Chapel and choir aisles of York Minster.[3] Most of these show the numerous folds of the early scarf; though later on, in the monument of Archbishop Musgrave, who died in 1860, the scarf is almost

[1] J. B. Thiers, *Histoire des Perruques*, Paris, 1690, p. 89.

[2] The portrait of Wayneflete, Bishop of Winchester, and ounder of Magdalen College, Oxford, is in the gallery annexed to the Bodleian Library. It shows the black scarf edged with fur. The portrait of Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, the property of Viscount Dillon, shows the fur edging of the black scarf very distinctly. There is a good reproduction of it in Mr. W. H. St. John Hope's admirable series of illustrations to Mr. S. R. Gardiner's *Student's History of England*, Longmans, 1891, vol. ii., p. 376. Cf. pp. 498 and 499.

[3] See also the drawings of the Bishops in the procession at the coronation of James II. (Francis Sandford. *History of the Coronation of . . . . James II.* In the Savoy, Thos. Newcomb, 1687.) Reproduced in Gardiner, vol. ii., p. 642.

flat; probably the sculptor had been influenced in his work by the prevailing view that the scarf was the same thing as a stole.

An objection has been made to the view that the grey almuce and the black scarf are the same, because, it is urged, one vestment ought not to appear during the same century in such widely different forms: sometimes worn as a cape, at another, slung over the arm, or, at a third, round the shoulders. As a matter of fact, the chasuble, the identity of which cannot be denied, appears during the middle ages, at the same time, in a variety of shapes, which are perfectly well known to antiquaries. There is the full, flowing chasuble of antiquity, which appears in effigies contemporaneous with others which show a small, cut-down chasuble which would not disgrace a modern Lyons vestment maker: and there is also the cope-shaped chasuble, to which Father Lockhart has lately drawn attention.[1] And is not the chasuble itself folded up (*planeta plicata*) and worn over the shoulder, like a stole or scarf, by the deacon and sub-deacon,[2] at the very same time that the celebrant wears it in the ordinary manner?

On the continent, the grey almuce has become very rare in any shape. Mr. Everard Green tells me that he has seen it in use by the canons of the basilica of St. Mark at Rome, and of the cathedral church of Amiens: and that he has lately seen it in use in Flanders, where it is allowed to the parish priest as a mark of distinction, and it is worn over the left arm. At Milan it is still worn in the Metropolitan church. I am indebted to the Very Rev. Marco Magistretti, Master of the Ceremonies, and to the Rev. A. Ratti, one of the doctors of the Ambrosian college, for an opportunity of examining one of the grey almuces actually in use. It appears now to be little more than an oblong piece of grey fur with tags at the end; worn over the left arm in summer, and thrown over one shoulder in cold weather. It is worn by members of the lesser chapter at Milan, which corresponds to the college of Minor Canons in our own St. Paul's at London.

There appear to be but few decisions of the sacred congregation of rites at Rome which touch upon the grey almuce. Catalani says that this is the case because the grey almuce cannot be worn with *cappa magna*, or mass vestments.[3] But this is like the statement of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council that the chasuble and alb could not be worn with the surplice.[4] As a matter of fact, in England the grey almuce was worn under the mass vestments at the celebration of mass. It would, of course, be completely hidden from sight by the alb, and therefore the grey almuce can be but rarely detected in the representations of bishops and other dignitaries in their mass vestments.[5] That it was worn at mass, we can have no doubt. In the blank leaves left before an inventory of the vestry of Westminster Abbey, taken in 1388, there are written in an early sixteenth century hand, directions for the vesting of the Abbot of Westminster at High Mass. "Fyrst the westerer shall lay lowest the chesebell. a bove that the dalmatykes and the dalmatyk with the longest slevys uppermost and the other nethermost then hys stole and hys fanane and hys gyrdyll. opon that his albe theropon hys gray Ames a bove that hys Rochett and uppermost hys kerchur with a vestry gyrdyll to tukk up hys cole."[6] The almuce was worn at mass at some of the more conservative churches in France, even to the end of the seventeenth century.[7]

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[1] William Lockhart, *The Chasuble, its genuine form and size*, London, 1891. This is a very interesting pamphlet on account of the source from which it comes. A convert to Rome points out the fact well known to antiquaries, that the early Roman mediæval chasuble (like the Eastern *phelonion*) is extremely like a cope: short in front and touching the ground behind. Here is another point in favour of Edward VI.'s First Prayer Book, which allowed the alternative of cope or chasuble for the mass.

[2] There is a drawing of this in Claude de Vert. (*Explication*, etc., Paris, 1708, t. ii., planche vii. opposite p. 314). There is also a very interesting figure in a folded chasuble in the north side of the façade at Wells, of which an account will be given by Mr. W. H. St. John Hope in the forthcoming volume of *Archæologia*.

[3] Ios. Catalani, *Cæremoniale Episcoporum*, Parisiis, 1860, t. i. p. 587.

[4] "It was not seriously contended that albs or chasubles could, in any reasonable or practical sense, or according to any known usage, be worn, or could be meant to be worn, concurrently with the surplice." Judgement of the Privy Council in Ridsdale *v.* Clifton (*Folkestone Ritual case*, Lond. 1878, p. 713, edited by T. W. Perry). Compare this statement with the direction in the Roman Missal (Mechliniæ, 1874. Ritus servandus § 2), for the priest when about to put on alb and chasuble: "he vests himself, if he be a secular prelate, over his rochet; if a regular prelate, or secular priest, over his surplice."

[5] Mr. W. H. St. John Hope sends me the following notes taken lately at a visit to Hereford: "The effigy attributed to Bishop Stanbury (died 1474), shows the hood of the grey amess hanging out of his amice at the back of the neck." See an engraving of the effigy in *Archæological Journal*, 1877, vol. xxxiv. opposite p. 419. The same thing, he tells me, can be seen in the effigies of Bishop Goldwell at Norwich, and of Bishop Wayneflete at Winchester, and of two priests, apparently members of the chapter, in the north-east transept of the cathedral church of Wells.

[6] *Archæologia*, 1890, vol. lii., p. 214.

[7] Le Sieur de Moleon, [Le brun Desmarettes], *Voyages liturgiques de France*, Paris, 1718, pp. 119, 123, 141. It was also worn at Soissons in 1745 by the deacon in going from the vestry to the altar. (*Missale Suessoniense*, Parisiis, 1745, Rubricæ generales, cap. ii.)

In England the grey almuce was worn not only by canons and chaplains, but by prelates, bishops and abbots. It was a sign of dignity; and as such much valued. The college of minor canons at St. Paul's succeeded in obtaining the grant of this privilege before 1364[1]; and much later, in 1483, certain rectors[2] who are collated to their livings by the Archbishop of Canterbury, had leave to wear the grey almuce. Canterbury, like so many other English cathedral churches, was served by monks: and this seems to have been thought some reason for allowing the clergy named by the archbishop to wear this mark of distinction, as if they had formed his cathedral chapter. The black scarf was worn by chaplains and doctors of divinity in the last century,[3] and continued to be a mark of distinction down into our time;[4] when Mr. Micklethwaite tells us that Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London, invited his clergy generally to wear the black scarf.[5] Some exuberant fancy then discovered that the black scarf was a stole in disguise, and adorned the stole with three crosses, for which three crosses it is very hard to find any English mediæval authority.[6] Thus the stole, which is not a choir vestment, came in our time to be worn on all occasions, and has thus lost all significance. The chasuble, if used in the same way, would lose all the meaning that has been attributed to it. It seems desirable that the scarf should be worn in choir by those who are entitled to its use; and that the stole should be employed only in the administration of the sacraments, and it might then be worn over the black scarf.

It is certainly a matter for regret that the leaders of the ecclesiological movement of 1840, should, without complete knowledge of the history of the black scarf, have done their best to abolish its use. It would seem to be another instance of a blind following of continental customs, and of the mistakes to which such blind following leads. An English ornament, which, beyond doubt, was worn in its present form by the bishops of the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries, and which survived the storm of the Reformation, has been deliberately put aside because it has been lost on the continent, or because its history was not understood. We have seen the same disuse of the bands.[7] They, indeed, are worn on the continent: generally, however, only in a small part of it, in France,[8] and even there efforts are being made to abolish the *rabat*, because it is not worn at Rome.

Another ornament has been introduced from abroad, as an addition to the costume of an order in the Church, which is generally regarded as highly conservative. The pectoral cross, now worn by some English bishops, was unknown in England in the second year of King Edward VI. It cannot be shown as an ornament of the English bishop, pre-Reformation or post-Reformation, until a very few years ago. All pretended mediæval examples of

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[1] See above, p. 42, note 3.

[2] Wilkins, *Concilia*, Londini, 1737, v. iii., p. 615.

[3] *Spectator*, No. DCIX., Oct. 20, 1714.

[4] It was discontinued at St. Paul's in the evil days of Edward VI. "1549. iij day of June . . . . alle the grey ammesse with the calober in Powlles was put down." (*Chronicle of the Grey Friars of London*, Camden Society, 1852, ed. Nichols, p. 59.) Most likely this putting down was illegal and unauthorized, like so many of the things done at St. Paul's at this time.

[5] J. T. Micklethwaite, *Transactions S.P.E.S.*, vol. ii., p. 324.

[6] I hear on good authority that a beautiful English fifteenth century stole, quite perfect, fell into the hands of a Roman Catholic priest in the north of England. The stole, of course, had no crosses on it; but in order to fit it for the modern Roman ceremonial, it was barbarously cut in the midst and a cross inserted, so that the priest might kiss the same before and after putting the stole on. It seems to be thought by some that it is absolutely necessary that a cross should be put upon everything that is intended for use in church; but the cross loses its significance when thus recklessly employed.

[7] The late Dr. Liddon always wore bands at St. Paul's. I may perhaps venture to quote the following amusing attempt to give a mystical significance to the bands, coming as it does from a newspaper supposed to be not altogether favourable to the use of symbolism in religious matters. A barrister, evidently in a mischievous humour, is said to have given the following explanation of the bands to a clergyman, who accepted the same in all seriousness: "They typify the two tables of the law, of which we are the executors and administrators; and you, still more, should have retained them for the same reason." The writer ends by saying, that "the explanation given in both cases commends itself to me as, in all probability, the true one." (*English Churchman*, Aug. 13, 1891, p. 560, col. iii., in a letter by the Rev. Warden F. Stubbs.) In the next number of this entertaining periodical (p. 577, col. iii.) we are told of the interest created by so "instructive an explanation as to the meaning of the sadly disused 'bands.'"

[8] They were indeed formerly worn by ecclesiastics in Germany, as the portraits of the spiritual electors show: and they were made of lawn, not of cloth or linen, like the French. (See the portraits in *Vollständiges Diarium von der höchstbeglückten Erwehlung, u.s.w.* Franckfurt am Mayn, 1746. Part ii.) I have seen ecclesiastics in the streets of Barcelona wearing linen bands with their cassocks and gowns. And in the choir of the church at Luzern, which is said to serve as cathedral to the Bishop of Basel, the clergy wear large linen collars which surround the neck, and are divided in the middle. It is clear that these are the same as the French *rabat*, but have undergone less change.

the pectoral cross in England, as soon as they are examined, resolve themselves into a cruciform arrangement of the orphrey of the chasuble; or the like. By introducing from the continent the custom of wearing a pectoral cross, as part of the episcopal ornaments, English bishops lay themselves open to a charge of romanizing which cannot readily be answered.[1]

It only remains to point out that to the grey almuce, which we have seen had a purely utilitarian origin, a mystical signification has been assigned. St. Charles Borromeo, in the canons of his provincial council, says that the almuce shows that the canons who wear it are mortified in their thoughts, even as the beasts whose skins they put on are dead.[2] Claude Villette that it is a sign of penitence.[3] Bellotte declares it to be a symbol of the pastora office which the canons share with the bishop.[4] But enough of this.

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[1] For the history of the episcopal pectoral cross, its beginning in a box for relics worn round the necks of all Christian folk, and its end in a badge particular to prelates, with a mystical significance of jurisdiction, and we know not what, see Io. Molanus, *De historia SS. Imaginum*, lib. iv., cap. xxix., ed. Paquot, Lovanii, 1771, p. 559 note. Bona, *Rerum Liturgicarum*, lib. i., cap. xxiv., § 10, and especially Sala's edition, ii. 243.

[2] Concil. Mediolan. V. 1579, III. vi., in Labbe and Cossart, *SS. Concilia*, Lut. Paris. 1672, t. xv., col. 672.

[3] Claude Villette, *Les raisons de l'office et cérémonies*, Paris, 1611, p. 150.

[4] Ant. Bellotte, *op. cit.* Observationes, p. 37.

Description of the Plates.

Plate A represents the consecration of a bishop. The three consecrators are in mitres and copes. The bishop-elect sits on a faldstool while three clerks put on his buskins. The grey almuce is on his head. Reproduced from Mr. Thomas Brooke's thirteenth century Pontifical, which is of singular beauty. (See *Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Printed Books collected by Thomas Brooke, F.S.A.* London, 1891. Vol. ii., p. 523.)

Plate B represents the coronation of an English king. The Archbishop of Canterbury is placing the crown upon the king's head; behind the Archbishop is a chaplain carrying a cross and wearing a surplice and a grey almuce disposed like a chaplain's scarf. Reproduced from the Massbook of Abbot Litlington (1362—1386), in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, and now being edited by the Henry Bradshaw Society.

Plate C is the portrait of Richard Fox, an English Bishop from 1487 to 1528, founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the hall of which society this portrait is preserved. There appears to be little doubt that it was by *Joannes Corvus, Flandrus;* and painted during the lifetime of the Bishop. (See *Archæologia*, 1863. Vol. xxxix., p. 47).

In the picture a slight edging of fur may be noticed near the shoulders, though this is not to be seen in the reproduction.

There is no pectoral cross.

PLATE A.

BISHOP-ELECT SITTING WITH GREY ALMUCE AS HEAD COVERING.

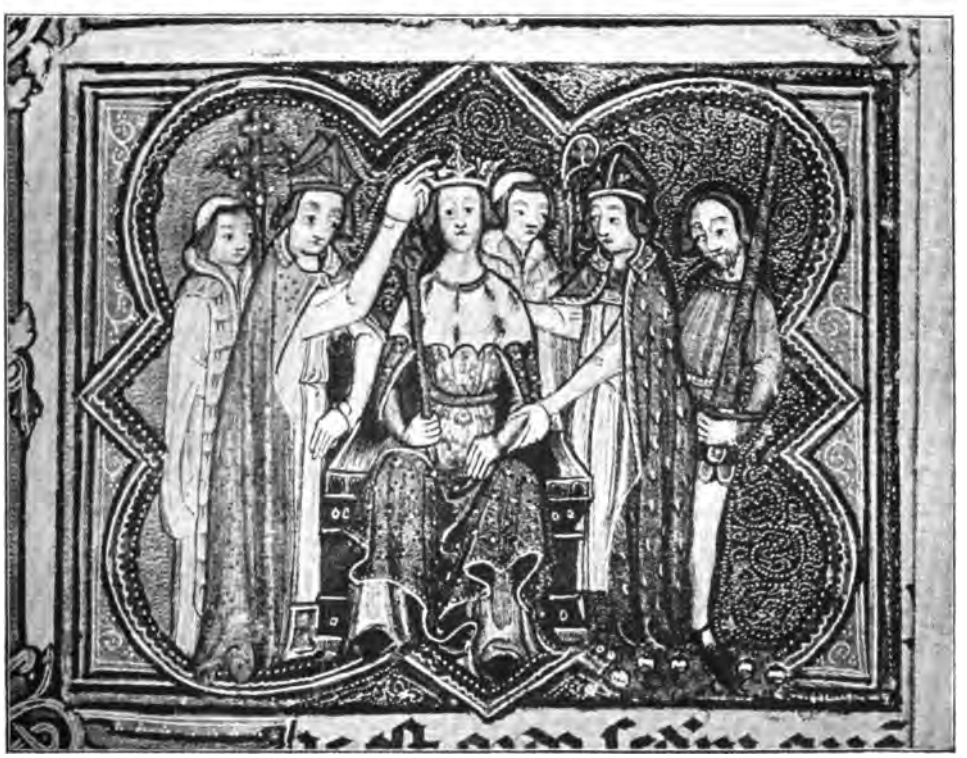

PLATE B.

AN ENGLISH CORONATION, WESTMINSTER.

PLATE C.

RICHARD FOX, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, DIED 1528.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE TIME IN THE CHRISTIAN LITURGY AT WHICH THE ELEMENTS ARE PREPARED AND SET ON THE HOLY TABLE.

BY

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Some eight or ten years ago I was turning over the pages of J. B. Thiers' *Traité des Superstitions;* and in the tenth chapter of the second volume I came across a paragraph in which we were told of a superstitious practice of certain priests in town and country, who, to save time, made the oblation of the bread and wine before they said the gospel and while the choir was singing the grail; or, after the gospel, while the choir was singing the creed. Soon after, I had occasion to travel in Spain; and at Toledo I saw the bread and wine prepared and set on the altar at the very beginning of the service in the Mozarabic Chapel. Like many others in England I daresay, I had knowledge only of liturgies in which the gifts were set on the altar after the expulsion of the catechumens; and an interest was accordingly excited in practices that seemed to me so unusual. I was thereby led to collect evidence from liturgies and uses upon two points: first, the liturgical moment at which the gifts (or symbols as the French ritualists call them) are prepared; and next, the time at which they are set on the altar, or offered.

As a result of these studies, the opinion was formed that in the primitive liturgy the preparation of the bread and the wine took place at some time before the liturgy began; that they were both prepared at the same moment, the preparation of the one not being separated from the preparation of the other; and that the time at which the prepared gifts were set on the altar was immediately before the anaphora and after the expulsion of the catechumens, the setting of the gifts on the altar being also closely connected with the kiss of peace. In much later times this setting of the gifts on the altar went before or followed the recitation of the creed.

A recent lawsuit upon certain ceremonial practices in England has caused, during the last year or two, much discussion of the time in the Christian Liturgy at which the elements are prepared; and it has seemed to me that it might be a useful attempt to digest into a paper, even if imperfect, the notes which I made before this discussion began, upon the time of the preparation of the bread and wine, and of the setting of these upon the altar. The criticisms upon the Lambeth Judgement which appeared early this year showed that in most cases the writers had no idea of the facts of the case, and that elementary information might serve a useful purpose if laid before those who had any desire to learn. These notes, then, make no pretence at a complete or exhaustive examination of the subject; but they represent what may be found in early printed missals, as well as in some of the eastern service books, and the commentators on them. Throughout the work the need of much greater knowledge of the eastern books and of more careful editions of these liturgies has been borne in upon me: with the mediæval missals, the absence of full ceremonial details is very remarkable; and in several cases, the danger of drawing conclusions from the absence of directions has been very well illustrated. In documents contemporaneous with one another the directions omitted in some are given in full in others.

I.—THE EASTERN LITURGIES.

The ceremonies connected with the celebration of the Christian Eucharist are hardly spoken of by the writers of the New Testament. A very early father, however, St. Justin Martyr, gives a clear account, surprisingly full when we consider the circumstances under which it was written, of the main features of the liturgy in the first half of the second century. He speaks of the reading of the prophets and apostles, at the beginning of the Liturgy, followed by instructions; then of the prayers for all men, and the kiss of peace; in close connexion with which last he speaks of bringing into the assembly, to the president of the brethren, bread and a cup of wine mixed with water.[1] This is the first mention in history of the offertory,[2] and it may be noted that as first described the ceremony takes place when the scripture readings and prayers have been finished, and immediately after the kiss of peace. The celebrant himself takes the elements; but the chalice would seem to have been already mixed when it was brought into the assembly of the faithful.

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his well-known lectures to the newly baptized, does not speak of the preparation of the elements, nor of their being offered, unless indeed it be maintained that he does so by implication in quoting St. Matthew v. 23.

Let us next examine the liturgy which has been preserved in the Apostolical Constitutions, and which is usually known by the name of the Clementine. It much resembles in its arrangement the service described by Justin Martyr. We find, after the dismissal of the catechumens and the prayers, a direction in the Greek text as follows: these things being done, let the deacons bring the gifts to the bishop at the altar, and the presbyters stand on his right hand and on his left, like disciples around a master.[3] There is, however, no mention of the preparation of the elements.

In the second book of the Apostolical Constitutions, there is also an account of a liturgy; but in this the setting of the bread and wine before the celebrant, or on the altar, is not described with any clearness.[4] It is even less distinct in the Ethiopic Version,[5] though in the Coptic Version, Dr. Swainson's reading is as follows: "After the salutation and the kiss of peace, the deacons present the offering to the newly-made bishop; he puts his hand upon it with the presbyters, and says the eucharistia."[6]

Then there is the liturgy described by Pseudo-Dionysius. He speaks of the reading of scripture, the expulsion of the catechumens, and the setting of the holy bread and cup of blessing upon the divine altar. He gives no account of the preparation of the elements. It may be noted that, in this liturgy, the kiss of peace follows the setting of the bread and wine on the altar.[7]

There would thus seem to be evidence in the liturgies of the first four or five centuries that the setting of the bread and wine on the altar followed the reading of portions of the scriptures, and the expulsion of the catechumens; that it was closely connected with the kiss of peace; and immediately preceded the more solemn eucharistic prayer or anaphora. In fact, this is the opinion expressed by Renaudot in the dissertation prefixed to his collection of liturgies,[8] and by Sir William Palmer.[9] It would seem, then, that even thus early, the time for setting the elements on the altar is defined, that it was at the beginning of the *missa fidelium* or anaphora; while on the other hand it may be noticed that we have at this period but scanty information concerning the time of the preparation of the elements. In the liturgies which follow, this want is supplied; but a considerable change will be found in one or two families in the time at which the gifts are set upon the altar or holy table.

All liturgical students are aware of the claim to great antiquity which is made on behalf of

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[1] C. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies*, Cambridge, 1884, p. 207.

[2] The word *offertory* may be conveniently limited to the ceremonial setting of the bread and wine on the altar. I am aware that the word is often used only of an anthem, but it has a more extended meaning. "Das Offertorium begreift alle Gebete und Ceremonien, die mit dem Brode und Weine vorgenommen werden, bis man sie von der Prothesis auf den Altar trägt." (Georg Adam Keyser, *Kurzer Abriss der Russischen Kirche*, Erfurt, 1788, p. 97).

[3] *Constitutiones Apostolicæ*, Lib. viii., cap. 12, ed. Guil. Ueltzen, Suerini et Rostochii, 1853, p. 206.

[4] Lib. ii., cap. 57, p. 66.

[5] Thomas Pell Platt, *The Ethiopic Didascalia*, London, 1834. Oriental Translation Fund, p. 96.

[6] Smith and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, Lond. 1880, Vol. ii., p. 1021. Dr. Tattam's translation is different from this in many particulars. (Henry Tattam, *The Apostolical Constitutions . . in Coptic*, London, 1848. Oriental Translation Fund, p. 32).

[7] Pseudo-Dionysius: in Claude de Sainctes, *Liturgiæ, sive Missæ sanctorum Patrum*, Antverpiæ, Chr. Plantin, 1560, fo. 67.

[8] Euseb. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Paris, 1716, t. i., p. vij.

[9] William Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*, London, 1845, 4th Ed., vol. i., p. 13.

the liturgy of St. James. In this service, the gifts are brought in immediately after the expulsion of the catechumens, and therefore, after the reading of the scripture lessons and the intercessory prayer. At this point, all the four texts printed by Dr. Swainson, the earliest being the Messina Roll[1] (A.D. 983), agree that the gifts are brought in and the cherubic hymn is sung; and that after the gifts have been set on the altar or holy table, the priest says a certain prayer, which is common to all the texts. I find nothing in any of the texts which suggests a ceremony like that of the prothesis, or of the great entrance at Constantinople. I hardly feel inclined to agree with Mr. Hammond in his view that this order does not represent the original order of St. James' Liturgy, because the Syriac St. James is different.[2] The præ-anaphoral parts of the Syriac Liturgy have nothing in common with the Greek St. James, nothing beyond the usual liturgical features, and I do not see why the Syriac service should not be later than the Greek.

The elder Assemani has printed a description of St. James' Liturgy, written by James, of Edessa, a Monophysite bishop of the sixth century;[3] but, unhappily, there is in this no account either of the preparation or of the offertory.[4] According to the treatise on the Liturgy of St. James, ascribed to St. John Maro, the founder of the Maronites in the seventh century, but ascribed by modern writers to Dionysius Barsalibæus,[5] the bread and wine are placed on the altar after the reading of the gospel and expulsion of the catechumens. There can be no doubt that the bread was in small cakes, and the wine mixed with water; but at what point the elements were prepared cannot be distinctly inferred.[6]

In the Syriac liturgy of St. James there are two præ-anaphoral forms, and in both the elements are prepared and set on the altar before the beginning of the *missa catechumenorum*. In the first, the priest having laid aside his daily dress, and approached the altar, takes from the deacon the eucharistic bread, signs it, recites a prayer over it, multiplies it as much as may be needful, censes it, and then offers it on the altar. The priest then pours wine into the chalice, and after that a little water, censes the two veils, and then covers with them the chalice and the paten. The mass of the catechumens then begins.[7]

The description of Etheridge would lead one to believe that, in this first præ-anaphoral part, when the priest lays aside his ordinary clothes and washes his hands, he also takes the eucharistic vestments.[8] This is not, however, the case in the second order. Here the priest goes up to the altar and mixes the wine and water in the cup. He then prepares the bread in the paten: then he washes his hands, kisses the oblation, sets it in the paten, and then lifts up the chalice containing the wine and water. Then, after some penitential prayers, the priest lays aside his daily dress, and takes the eucharistic vestments, and the *missa catechumenorum* begins.[9]

In the narrative of the papal envoy in the seventeenth century, the Maronites are very distinctly said to offer the bread and wine before they take the vestments. The word *offer* would imply that the elements are set on the altar at this time. There is no account of the preparation of the bread or of the chalice.[10] Martene, rather strangely, favours the opinion that the Maronites offer the elements after the epistle because, at this point, the priest exclaims: *Ferte oblationes.*[11] It seems, however, that the sentence quoted by Martene is only another version of the 8th and 9th verses of the 95th (Engl. 96th) Psalm.

It must be owned that the history of the office of the prothesis and of the great entrance in the liturgy of Constantinople is sufficiently obscure. That the office of the prothesis existed in the twelfth century, there can be no doubt; for we find it in the version made by Leo Thuscus, though the prayers are much less developed than at the present day.[12] How long before the twelfth century the custom of preparing the bread and wine at the prothesis existed, we cannot exactly say. At the present day, the bread and wine are set on the prothesis, the priest and his ministers vest, and then go to the prothesis, where they prepare the bread by

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[1] C. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies*, Cambridge, 1884, p. 238. Cf. p. xxxv. of Introduction. The original of this part has now disappeared; and for a knowledge of it we are indebted to the notes made by Monaldini for Assemani.

[2] C. E. Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1878, p. 32, note 3.

[3] Smith & Wace, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Lond., 1882, vol. iii., p. 328.

[4] J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Romæ, 1719, t. i. p. 479.

[5] Smith & Wace. *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, Lond., 1882, vol. iii., p. 357.

[6] J. A. Assemani, *Codex Liturgicus Ecclesiæ Universæ*, Romæ, 1752, Lib. iv., pars. ii. t. v. pp. 246 and 267. See capp. vi., xvi., xvii.. xviii. of the Exposition.

[7] Renaudot, *op. cit.*, t. ii., p. 1 *et seq.*

[8] J. W. Etheridge, *The Syrian Churches*, London, 1846, p. 198.

[9] Renaudot, *op. cit.*, t. ii., p. 12.

[10] Jerome Dandini, *Voyage du Mont Liban*, traduit de l' Italien par R. S. P. Ch. xxiv., Paris, 1675. p. 110.

[11] Martene, *de antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, Lib 1., cap. iv., art. iv., §x. Bassani, 1788, t. i., p. 136.

[12] See Claude de Sainctes, *Liturgiæ, sive Missæ SS. Patrum*, Antverpæ, 1560, fo. 49.

cutting up the holy loaf; and afterwards the chalice by pouring wine and water[1] into the cup. The prepared elements are left upon the prothesis until the liturgy be so far advanced that the gospel has been said, and the catechumens expelled. Then the cherubic hymn is sung, and the priest and deacon bring the elements from the prothesis, accompanied by incense and lights. They go round the nave, pass into the bema by the holy doors, and then set the gifts upon the Holy Table.

It may be here particularly noticed that in small churches, or wayside chapels, the Holy Table itself serves as a prothesis. "There is commonly but one poor Altar or Table made up of Brick, or Stone, or Earth (and repair'd against the day, if decay'd, or any part be broken down) and that serves both for a *Prothesis* and a *Holy Table* too. The Priest having first prepared the Elements and *Portions* upon it, and laid them in the Dish, and put the wine and water in the Cup, he carries them in the manner before said, and makes his Procession from that Altar, fetching a Compass among the people to it again."[2] And Mr. D'arcy has pointed out to me that Renaudot, in a passage which may refer to the whole East, speaks of the setting of the bread and cup on the altar before the Εἴσοδος or great entrance as being possible "in pauperrimis ecclesiis."[3]

Of the ceremonies practised in the Armenian Liturgy it is exceedingly troublesome to form any precise opinion owing to the opposing statements made by writers on this subject. From the time of Lebrun to the present moment there has been considerable variation on this head among liturgical writers; and the only point on which they seem to agree is that the Armenians do not mix water with the wine in preparing the elements. According to Mr. S. C. Malan, the gifts are brought by a deacon to a credence table or table of oblation, and prepared after the *Confiteor* and *Judica* which have been introduced into this liturgy under Roman influence, and before the priest approaches the Holy Table. The gifts are left covered on the table of oblation until after the expulsion of the catechumens, and they are brought to the Holy Table at the beginning of the *missa fidelium*, before the kiss of peace,[4] in an elaborate procession after the manner of the great entrance. Much the same account is given by Dr. James Issaverdens; this writer describes the credence as "the Niche on the left of the sanctuary."[5] But in the extract given by Mr. Malan from the *Travels* of Muravieff[6] the chief altar in the cathedral church of Etchmiadzin is spoken of as serving on one occasion at least as the place of preparation. If this be a correct description, it affords an interesting parallel (only in a cathedral church) to the custom in the Constantinopolitan rite described by Covel in poor country places where no prothesis exists.

To the three liturgies called Nestorian there seems to be but one præ-anaphoral form, and in this there is no account of the preparation of the elements, but the liturgy begins at once with the *missa catechumenorum*. For an account of this preparation, I am indebted to the Very Rev. Arthur J. Maclean formerly on the staff of the Archbishop's Mission at Urmi, but now Dean of Argyll. I have drawn both from his printed[7] account of the Customs of the Eastern Syrians, and from a letter which he sent me, with great courtesy, in November, 1887, in answer to an application for information with which I had troubled him. He writes: "There is a preparation in the chamber[8] which is always by the side of the *Kanké* (Sanctuary) in the East Syrian churches of the bread and the wine for the *Kourbana* or Eucharist. It

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[1] There is not the least evidence that the water used in the office of the prothesis is hot. It is hardly credible that anyone could possibly confound the mixing of the chalice, which is part of the preparation of the elements, with the addition of boiling water, that takes place after consecration in the Greek rite. Yet Mr. Malan has done this. "Albeit the Greek and Romish Churches with others of the East, use the mixed chalice, they yet quarrel among themselves, as do the Greek and the Romish, about the quantity and the temperature of water to be mixed with the wine: whether a few or many drops, hot, warm, or cold; while the Armenian Church and the Jacobite Syrians use pure wine of the best sort to be had." (S. C. Malan, *The two holy Sacraments*, London, Nutt, 1881, note ii., pp. 259, and 268.) The statement that the Jacobite Syrians do not use the mixed chalice is admitted by Mr. Malan to be based upon an accusation of a bitter enemy (p. 269), which the Jacobite Syrians themselves indignantly deny. It seems so universally acknowledged at the present day that all communities of Christians, with the exception of the Armenians, have used the mixed chalice, that it is waste of time in this paper to give evidence for a fact so surely established and so widely recognized.

[2] John Covel, *Some account of the present Greek Church*, Cambridge, 1722, p. 34.

[3] Renaudot, *op. cit.*, ii. 56.

[4] S. C. Malan, *The Divine Liturgy of the Armenian Church*, London, 1870, p. 24.

[5] James Issaverdens, *Sacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Armenian Church*, Venice, 1876, p. 48. The writer is an Armenian in communion with Rome.

[6] Vol. ii. p. 77, quoted by Malan, *op. cit.*, p. 4 of introduction. "What is singular enough at that particular time, the chief altar served for a credence table." During this preparation or oblation "a curtain, which extends the whole length of the altar, is drawn."

[7] See *Guardian*, March 7, 1888, p. 342.

[8] Compare the building on the gospel side of the Ethiopian churches used for exactly the same purposes. (Francisco Alvarez, *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia*, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley, Hakluyt Society, 1881, ch. xii., p. 28.)

is before the beginning of the Liturgy. The Priest himself takes the dough, mixes leaven (supposed to be handed down from the Last Supper[1]) salt and olive oil with it, and bakes it in a special oven; then makes it into little cakes, which he stamps with a cross (with a wooden stamp) and puts on the patten. The chalice is then mixed, and the priest and deacon then proceed into the Kanké (Sanctuary). The patten is placed on the north side of the Kanké in a niche, the chalice similarly on the south side. The elements are placed on the altar after the expulsion of the catechumens, but not immediately, as two prayers intervene." The bread is baked, it may be noted, and the chalice mixed at the same time; and they are set in niches hard by the altar before the *missa catechumenorum* begins. All accounts agree in declaring that the elements remain in these niches and are not set on the altar until some time after the gospel. But the authorities differ as to the exact time after the gospel. According to Dr. Badger, the chalice and paten are taken from the prothesis by the priest immediately after the gospel, while the deacon is reciting the ectene; and after saying two prayers, the priest sets the paten and chalice on the altar, and with them it may be allowed to suppose the elements, and then carefully covers them with a napkin.[2] The expulsion of the catechumens takes place after this.[3] I am informed that Dr. Badger's account represents the present Chaldean customs.

In the translation of Renaudot the sexton and deacon (not the priest, as Dr. Badger says) bring the paten and chalice to the altar immediately after the expulsion of the catechumens, and prayers are then said which speak of the gifts; but I do not find in Renaudot,[4] the prayers which Dr. Badger has printed, and to which Mr. Maclean alludes.

The liturgy used by the Malabar Christians, before the Synod of Diamper is not exactly known to us. Mr Hammond tells us that "it was evidently all but identical with the liturgy of SS. Adæus and Maris, of the Nestorians of Mesopotamia."[5] Though this may be true in most points yet the setting of the bread and wine on the altar is in a different place in the "reformed" liturgy, from that of the liturgy of SS. Adæus and Maris, as given by Renaudot and the other witnesses.

In this liturgy the ectene comes very early, as soon as the opening psalm and prayer have been said: and while the deacon recites the ectene (as in Dr. Badger's account of the Syrian Liturgy) the priest, in the middle of the altar, takes the paten and the chalice into his hands. It does not appear where these vessels have been hitherto. Then the chalice is prepared; first, wine is poured into the cup, then water, and again wine. The chalice is then set on the altar towards the south. The priest then goes to the north and takes the bread, which he puts upon the paten, and raising it with both hands goes to the middle of the altar, and takes the prepared chalice in his right hand, and finally sets both elements on the altar. After some versicles, the offerings are covered, and the priest washes his hands. A prayer, in which the gifts are mentioned, is then said, and the expulsion of the catechumens then follows. After the expulsion of the catechumens, the scripture lessons are read with the creed. Immediately before the anaphora begins the elements are uncovered.[6]

In dealing with this strange arrangement of liturgical parts we must not forget the chance that a great dislocation may have taken place when the liturgy was "reformed" about the time of the Synod of Diamper, and that until we succeed in recovering the ancient liturgy, speculation will be more or less fruitless. It may be that the ectene, and with it the offertory, was moved from the place which they once had. In the earlier liturgy they may have had a place as Dr. Badger describes them, but as de Glen and Raulin print them now, they take place early, almost as soon as the liturgy is begun.

In the Alexandrine liturgies, both in the *Codex Rossanensis* (A.D. 1160) and the *Rotulus Vaticanus* (A.D. 1207), printed by Dr. Swainson, the gifts are brought to the altar, very near to the same time as in St. James' liturgy: that is, immediately after the expulsion of the catechumens, and while the cherubic hymn is being sung.[7] But in the *Rotulus Vaticanus* there are three prayers at the beginning of the liturgy, Εὐχὴ τῆς προθέσεως, the first of which is the same as one of those now said in the Constantinopolitan rite, while the priest is dividing the bread; the second is a prayer of incense; and the third contains a distinct allusion to the bread and wine being then present.[8] It would thus appear that at the time in the history of the Alexandrine

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[1] Compare the particle set on the altar from the last Mass in the old Roman Rite. (Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Lut. Paris. 1724, t. ii., p. 41.)

[2] George Percy Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, London, 1852, vol. ii., p. 218.

[3] See p. 220.

[4] Renaudot, *op. cit.*, ii. 586.

[5] C. E. Hammond, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1878. p. xxiii of Introduction.

[6] I. B. de Glen, *La Messe des anciens Chrestiens dicts de S. Thomas*, Bruxelles, Rutger Velpius, 1609. pp. 81-89. Jo. Facundi Raulin, *Historia Ecclesiæ Malabaricæ*, Romæ, 1745. pp. 293-312.

[7] Swainson, *op. cit.*, p. 22 and pp. xviii. and xx. of the Introduction.

[8] Swainson, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

liturgy which corresponds to the *Rotulus Vaticanus*, there was an office of the prothesis, and the *Rotulus Vaticanus* would also seem to represent a text earlier than the date of the manuscript.

In neither of these texts do the rubrics direct a mixing of the chalice, but their directions for the treatment of the holy gifts are very scanty. In the two other texts, *Canon Universalis Aethiopum* and *Liturgia Coptitarum Sancti Basilii*, there are prayers of proposition in which it is implied that the chalice is already mixed: *mistum in hoc calice.*[1]

Somewhat like this last is the present practice of the Copts. Mr. Butler points out as a vital distinction between the Greek and the Coptic Sanctuary that the Greeks have one altar and a prothesis; and the Copts have three altars in each sanctuary and apparently no prothesis.[2] And the absence of a prothesis agrees with their ceremonial. Before the celebration of the liturgy, the altar is made ready; and then several loaves are brought to the priest at the altar; choosing one,[3] he prepares it and kisses it and lays it on the altar; he then examines the wine if it be good, and washes his hands. He then takes the bread in a silken veil, and walks once round the altar with it, preceded by one of the deacons carrying the vessel of wine. Having finished the circuit, and reached the front of the altar, he signs the bread and wine, and puts the bread into the paten, and the wine into the chalice, adding a little water. Then follow the lessons from Scripture, and the prayers for all men: then the kiss of peace, and the anaphora; but before this latter the priest uncovers his head, and removes the great veil from the bread and wine.[4]

In the Æthiopic liturgy, during the sixteenth century at least, the elements appear to have been set on the altar at the outset of the service. After the altar and all things have been prepared, there is a form for the offering of the bread on the altar; then a prayer when wine and water are poured into the chalice by the deacon, and the chalice has then the same form said over it as over the obley. Then begins the liturgy. This is the part marked as *missa catechumenorum* by Mr. Hammond;[5] after a little, the epistles, a lesson from the acts of the apostles, and the gospel are read, followed by the prayers for all men, by the creed and the kiss of peace. But before the preface begin, I can find no other allusion to the elements, even in so rudimentary a form as a direction to uncover them:[6] though this seems to be done immediately before consecration in the account of Francisco Alvarez.[7] He notes the shortness of the service; and indeed a very much longer form of the præ-anaphoral part of the Æthiopic service has been printed by Dr. Swainson from two manuscripts taken at Magdala in 1868. In both, the time of the setting of the bread and wine on the altar has been preserved as in the time of Francisco Alvarez, though one manuscript is of the seventeenth, and the other of the eighteenth, century.[8] In this the cover of the disc is ordered to be taken away directly after the creed.

If we look back over these Eastern liturgies we shall find, without exception where we have information, that the preparation of both elements takes place simultaneously before the *missa catechumenorum* begins. In the Byzantine liturgy the mixing of the chalice and the division of the bread go on together, and are apparently of equal importance. It is the same in the Syriac liturgy of St. James. In the East Syrian the baking of the bread and the mixing of the chalice take place together. Amongst the Copts the bread is prepared and the chalice mixed at the same time. It seems impossible to describe the East Syrian practice as a ceremonial act; and in the other rites we see the preparation in its early and primitive form, a mere preliminary breaking up of the bread, and an adding of water to the wine, before the service began. If one be rigidly ceremonious, the other must be so too.

Now, although the elements are prepared at the beginning of the service, yet they are not

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[1] Swainson, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[2] Alfred J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, Oxford. 1884. Vol. i., p. 32. Mr. Butler's account of the liturgy (ii. pp. 282—288), agrees closely with that of Lord Bute.

[3] Compare the practice when the Pope celebrates pontifically of presenting three hosts, one of which is taken; the others are eaten by the sacrist, as a precaution against poison. (Mabillon, *Musei Italici*, t. ii. Lutet. Paris. 1724. In ordinem romanum commentarius, p. xlvi.)

[4] John, Marquess of Bute, *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day*, 1882, pp. 36, 38, and 77. The rubrics of Renaudot, (*Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, Parisiis, 1716, t. i., pp. 3 and 13), give no account of the procession with the gifts round the altar, nor of the removal of the great veil, with which, however, the gifts have been covered since the prayer of proposition. (p. 3).

[5] Hammond, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

[6] *Missa qua Ethiopes communiter utuntur, quæ etiam canon universalis appellatur, nunc primum ex Lingua Chaldea sive Aethiopica in Latinam conversa*, Romæ, apud Antonium Bladum, 1549. The rubrics in this pamphlet leave no doubt that the elements are set on the altar early in the service, and not elsewhere; in Renaudot, (i. 499), the rubrics are less distinct.

[7] Francisco Alvarez, *Narrative of the Portuguese Embassy to Abyssinia during the years* 1520—1527, ed. Lord Stanley of Alderley, Hakluyt Society, 1881, pp. 24—26.

[8] Swainson, *op. cit.*, pp. 358 and lii.

set on the altar itself until after the expulsion of the catechumens, in the earliest liturgies or accounts of them that have come down to us; yet in the later liturgies, which are derivatives from the earlier, this time of setting the elements on the altar is put forward in the service; and made to take place at the same moment as the preparation. This joining together of two distinct liturgical acts is not particular to the East. We shall see it again in many of the Western uses. It does not seem to be a primitive practice. For at a time when the expulsion of the catechumens was a reality and the division between the *missa catechumenorum* and the *missa fidelium* marked, and the *disciplina arcani* in full force, every care would be taken to hide the prepared elements from the sight of the unbaptized.[1] Even now in the Constantinopolitan rite the preparation of the elements is not seen by the general congregation; the chapel of the prothesis is divided from the nave by a wall. Important in this respect is the account given by Covel[2] of the custom of the Greeks of making the holy table into a prothesis when no prothesis exists, as in country places or wayside chapels, where there is not the usual furniture of a well-prepared church. The Greeks in that case combine the two liturgical acts of preparing the elements and setting them on the altar. It may be that the present custom of the Maronites, Copts, and Ethiopians has arisen from a like stress of circumstances. No prothesis was at hand; and the holy table itself was used as a place of preparation; and then the act first suggested by necessity, crystallized into a custom.

II.—THE WESTERN LITURGIES TO THE END OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

We may now turn to the liturgies of the west, of which there are only two great families: the Gallican, and the Roman.

The Gallican liturgy was used in Gaul and Spain, if not elsewhere: and in Gaul, our chief authorities for the ceremonial of the early Gallican liturgy are the treatise ascribed to St. German of Paris[3] and the collection of allusions to the liturgy made from early writers by Ruinart.[4] Some details may also be found in the canons of councils.

From the treatise of St. German it appears that the dismissal of the catechumens took place before the gifts were brought in; that before the gifts were brought into the church an anthem was sung; that the bread (called *Corpus Domini*, though not yet hallowed) was brought in a vessel like a tower to the altar; and very possibly in the same vessel was the chalice.[5] They were brought to the altar by deacons, and greeted by anticipatory adoration;[6] it would seem that some kind of procession like the great entrance of the eastern rites took place from the door of the church to the altar. Water was mixed with the wine, but I have been unable to find any direct documentary evidence for the time at which the mixing took place. Abbé Duchesne tells us that the gifts were prepared before the celebrant came in:[7] and though he does not give his authority for this statement, it seems to be likely enough in itself.[8] Whatever evidence there is points, in my opinion, to this view: and though each single piece of evidence may not in itself prove much, yet taken together in all, their weight can hardly be neglected. The pax was separated from the offertory by the recitation of the names of the departed (*diptychs*), and followed by *sursum corda* and the rest of the liturgy.

If we compare the account given by St. Isidore of Sevile with the treatise of St. German, we find certain points of resemblance in the two; and there can be no doubt that St. Isidore describes a liturgy which has many features in common with St. German's. The Isidorean account begins with the offertory, and an anthem was sung at this time as in Gaul; but there is nothing said of the gifts until the moment of communion is reached. The mixed cup is here spoken of, but nothing is said about the time or place of mixing,[9] or of the time of setting the

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[1] One of the Canons of the Council of Valentia in Spain, held in the sixth century, would seem to imply that if the gifts be brought in early in the service, the expulsion of the catechumens must also take place early, before the gifts be brought in. See below, part ii., p. 56. In the Armenian service it has been seen that a curtain is drawn before the altar during the preparation of the gifts.

[2] See above. p. 52.

[3] Edm. Martene and Urs. Durand, *Thesaurus novus Anecdotorum*, Lutet. Paris. 1717., t. v., p. 91. It has been often reprinted.

[4] Ruinart, in Martin Bouquet, *Scriptores rer. Gall.* Paris, 1739. ii. 92. A different interpretation may be given to the facts which Ruinart quotes to prove his position that the expulsion of the catechumens took place after the offertory.

[5] Cf. F. J. Mone, *Lateinische und Griechische Messen*, Frankfurt a/M. 1850. p. 5.

[6] Gregory of Tours, *de Gloria Martyrum*, I. 86.

[7] L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1889, p. 195.

[8] See below the account of the Stowe Missal at beginning of Part iv., p. 71.

[9] Beatissimi Isidori quondam Archiepiscopi, *de officiis ecclesiasticis*, lib. i., capp. 14—18. Ed. I. Cochleus, Venice, 1564. This treatise is exceedingly well known to all liturgical students. It is conveniently printed in Hittorp's collection of early tracts.

gifts on the altar. It would seem, however, that before St. Isidore a movement had begun in favour of the practice of setting the gifts on the altar early in the service, a practice which would cause an early expulsion of the catechumens. For a council held at Valentia, in Spain. in the sixth century, orders that the gospel shall be read before the gifts are brought in, so that the catechumens may hear the salutary precepts of the epistle, gospel, and sermon.[1]

From the seventh century to the end of the fifteenth there is little information at hand upon the text of the Spanish liturgy, or its accompanying ceremonies. Cardinal Ximenes published the first edition of the Mozarabic Missal in 1500, and though the manuscripts of this liturgy are no doubt very important, yet hitherto very little has been done for their editing. In discussing the preparation of the gifts in the Mozarabic rite, I am aware that a subject is being dealt with on which varying views have lately been expressed. One cause of difference of opinion has been, I think, a certain unfamiliarity with the rite, which needs some study before its intricate arrangements can be well understood; and there is also the fact that Ximenes and those editors which follow him, print the invariable parts of the service in three different places of the book. A sound opinion can hardly be formed during a hasty examination of one particular edition.

Taking Leslie's edition as the most convenient for reference, we find at the beginning of the book the whole service for the first Sunday of Advent, printed from the *officium* (Roman introit) to the thanksgiving after communion (pp. 1—7, line 75). Then much further on, from p. 217, line 80 to p. 220, line 80, we have all the private prayers of the priest, from the time that he enters the vestry to the end of mass, given in consecutive order.[2] Immediately after the private prayers follow the prayers recited publicly from the *officium* to the end of the service, (p. 220, line 80; to p. 234, line 18), called *Missa omnium offerentium*. There is the division between the two masses marked by *Incipit missa*, (p. 224, line 63), when the mass of the faithful begins. These three parts must be read as if they were printed in parallel columns, one by the side of the other.

It is among the private prayers of the priest that we find the full directions for preparing the elements. After the prayers at vesting, and approaching the altar, *confiteor* and some collects, we have a prayer, *ad extendendum corporalia;* then follow a prayer for wiping the chalice, for pouring wine into the chalice, the blessing of the water, and the setting of the host upon the paten (p. 219, lines 33—67). Then follow prayers to be said before the gospel. Thus far I presume all would be agreed; that in the days of Ximenes the preparation of the elements took place some time between the approach of the priest to the altar, and the reading of the gospel. There is no exact moment for the preparation given in the private prayers. But in the third part (p. 223, line 1) there is a rubric between two of the lessons, directing wine to be poured into the chalice while the epistle is read. From this it has been inferred that the whole preparation always took place at this point in the service. Seeing that in many other western rites the preparation took place between the epistle and gospel it seems a very likely opinion that the Mozarabic preparation, in some cases, took place here. But we must not exclude the evidence given to us by tradition, which places the preparation very much earlier in the service; in fact, following close upon *confiteor*, and as soon as the priest goes up to the altar. I may add the notes which I made during the service at Toledo, in March, 1884. "After *confiteor*, the host was brought; then the priest mixed the wine and water in the chalice, and set the vessels in the middle of the altar; then went to the epistle corner; a chaplain at the eagle afterwards read a lesson, another the epistle, then the altar book was moved to the gospel side to which the celebrant went, etc."

In the Mexican reprint by Lorenzana, the treatise prefixed by him to the *Missa Gothica* plainly contemplates the preparation of the gifts before the beginning of the *Missa omnium offerentium*, as the priest goes up to the altar; and there is no mention of it between the lessons;[3] though in the text of the mass the direction remains. The edition published at Rome, by Azevedo, for Lorenzana, in 1804, speaks in the notes of the preparation before the service only.[4] And in the recent reprint of Lorenzana,[5] the preparation of the elements is

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[1] J. Saenz de Aguirre, *Collectio maxima conciliorum omnium Hispaniæ*, Romæ, 1753. Ed. Catalani, t. iii., p. 175. See also Carl Joseph von Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1873. 2te. Auflage, Bd. ii., S. 709.

[2] It has been known from the time of Pierre le Brun, in 1715, if not earlier, that these private prayers are borrowed from the Romano-Toletan Missal. (*explication de la Messe*, Ve. Dissertation, Art. II. § 1, Paris, 1777, t. iii., p. 301). The ceremonies which they accompany are probably much older than the prayers. Eugenio de Robles who lived only a century after Ximenes, tells us that the Cardinal added to the Mozarabic office confiteor, the prayer to the cross, and the others said before the introit. (Eug. de Robles, *Compendio de la Vida . . . Ximenez de Cisneros*, etc., Toledo, 1604, p. 321.)

[3] *Missa Gothica*, Angelopoli, 1770, pp. 81 and 91.

[4] *Missale Gothicum*, Romæ, 1804. col. 1328.

[5] *Missæ Gothicæ et Officii Muzarabici dilucida expositio a D. D. Francisco Antonio Lorenzana*, editio novissima, Santos ab Arciniega, Toleti, Lopez Fando, 1875, pp. 23 and 27.

plainly directed to take place immediately after *confiteor*; and the service then passes on to the *officium*. The direction to pour wine into the chalice before the gospel is omitted. The tradition at Salamanca is the same,[1] the other remaining Mozarabic centre in Spain. And Du Pin, the author of the well known treatise on the ancient Spanish liturgy, sets down the moment before the *officium* or introit as the place for the mixing of the chalice.[2] So also Pierre le Brun, but with the preparation at the epistle given as an alternative practice.[3]

It would seem plain, then, that in the Mozarabic Rite there are two places at which the preparation of the elements may take place : one, while the epistle is being read; the other, before the service begins. According to Hernandez de Viera, the first is associated with high mass, the second with low mass; and this is not an unlikely statement,[4] for we shall presently see that this distinction between the ceremonies of high and low mass prevailed in several dioceses and monastic orders.

It has been said before that in the sixth century a Spanish Council ordered that the gifts should be brought in after the gospel, and this order could only have been given because a practice of setting the gifts on the altar early in the service had come in. But in Cardinal Ximenes' time it would seem that this custom had become fully established; for, at whatever time the gifts were prepared, whether before the introit, or during the epistle, it seems plain that they were straightway set upon the altar, a direction for unfolding the corporal being printed before the directions for preparing the elements. At the present day the elements are set on the altar at the time of their preparation; but after the gospel there are directions for a verbal offering of the gifts, and the chalice is directed to be then set on the *ara* (p. 223, line 100). In Spanish Latin *ara* is the small square slab on which the elements are consecrated, called in English the portable altar, or super altar. It would seem therefore that at the offertory the paten and chalice were moved up from another part of the altar to the place where the *ara* was. This is still the custom with the Dominican friars, and was a common custom in Spain before the end of the sixteenth century.

It may be as well to mention here a theory that the chalice was mixed after the offertory in the Mozarabic rite, and after it was verbally offered. This view has its foundation in a rubric which is found after the direction for incense at the offertory (p. 224, line 4): *Hic accipiat aquam in manibus.* I cannot but think that this is only the ceremonial washing of the hands. I find that the Mexican edition of Lorenzana adds *ad lavandum manus*[5] to this rubric; and the tradition at Salamanca is the same; at this point in the service the rubric says: *in cornu epistolæ lavet manus.*[6]

So much then for the Mozarabic and Gallican liturgies. We turn now to one of the most important of the living rites, the liturgy of Rome.

The Liturgy which has most influenced Western Europe is beyond doubt that associated with the name of St. Gregory. This is not the place to discuss the origin of this liturgy, if first formed in the neighbourhood of Carthage and thence brought to Rome on the disappearance of the Greek language there; but we know that at Rome and in Africa the kiss of peace was early separated from the offertory, and has been given immediately before communion, in striking contrast to its place in all other liturgies. In like contrast we shall also see a marked difference in the time of the preparation of the chalice, which is made at the offertory, not, as in so many other liturgies, before the service begins.

Of the exact moment at which the gifts were prepared and set on the altar the Gregorian Sacramentary tells us nothing, unless it be implied that they were offered while the offertory was being sung. The earliest detailed account that we have of the ceremonies of the Roman liturgy is in the *Ordo Romanus*, printed first by Cassander,[7] afterwards by Hittorp,[8] later on by

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[1] *Rubricas generales de la Missa Gothica-Muzarabe* . . . por Don Francisco Jacobo Hernandez de Viera, Salamanca, T. G. Honorato de la Cruz, 1772, pp. xxxviii. and xliv.

[2] Ioannes Pinius, *Tractatus Historico-chronologicus de liturgia antiqua hispanica*, Caput ix., § x., 470, in Bianchini's edition of Thomasius. (Romæ, 1741, t. i., p. xcii). The treatise also appears in the Bollandist *Acta*, July 25.

[3] Pierre le Brun, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

[4] "In Missis solemnibus Calix dum *Prophetia* canitur, cum vino, et aqua præparatur, et Hostia in Patena apponitur : at vero in privatis, primum Calix præparatur, et in Patena Hostia collocatur, ac deinceps *Officium* incohatur ad Missam." (F. J. Hernandez de Viera, *Rubricas generales de la Missa Gothica-Muzarabe*, Salamanca, 1772. p. LXLIV.)

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 42.

[6] *Rubricas generales*, p. LII.

[7] Georgius Cassander, *Ordo Romanus de officio missæ*, Coloniæ, hæredes Arnoldi Birckmanni, 1568 in 8°. I owe the opportunity of consulting this edition to the kindness of the Rev. W. Cooke, Canon of Chester.

[8] M. Hittorp, *De divinis Catholicæ Ecclesiæ officiis*, Paris, 1610. Col. I.

Muratori.[1] Many of the *Ordines Romani* have been printed by Mabillon[2]; and it is from his edition that are taken the following details of the first *Ordo*. They are not always perfectly plain, but the ceremonial seems to be much as follows.

The deacon who has read the gospel returns to the altar, where he meets an acolyte with a chalice and corporal over it. The acolyte passes the chalice (*calix*) to his left hand, and gives to the deacon the corporal, which with the help of the second deacon is spread on the altar, and the chalice placed upon it. Apparently it is taken off the altar again by the sub-deacon, who follows the archdeacon with the empty *calix*. It should be noted that three chalices appear to be in use: one, *calix maior*, the larger chalice; another, the *scyphus*, the ministerial chalice; the third, the chalice (*calix*) in which the consecration itself takes place.[3]

The pope next comes down from his throne accompanied by certain officers; and moving about from one part of the church to the other, receives the breads offered by the people. From the pope the regionary sub-deacon takes the breads and gives them to the following sub-deacon, who puts them into a linen cloth which two acolytes hold. After the pope also follows the archdeacon, and he receives the offered wine in cruets or phials, which he pours into the larger chalice which is held by the regionary sub-deacon; whom an acolyte follows with a ministerial chalice upon his chasuble; and as soon as the larger chalice is full, he pours its contents into the ministerial chalice. When the offerings of bread and wine have been collected from the faithful by the pope and the archdeacon, the former returns to his throne and washes his hands; but the archdeacon washes his hands, standing before the altar.

Now the breads which the following sub-deacon had in his hands are brought by the regionary sub-deacons to the archdeacon, and he would appear to set them on the altar. Then the archdeacon takes the cruet of the pope from the oblationary sub-deacon. and pours the wine into what appears to be the chalice (*calix*) through a strainer.[4] Then the sub-deacon receives water from the hands of the archparaphonista and gives it to the archdeacon, who pours it into the chalice, making with the water a cross.

It should be noticed that, as far as we have information, the bread and wine offered by the people remain in the hands of the acolytes and sub-deacons until they be set on the altar. There appears to be no credence, or table of proposition. Each one of the faithful brings his own bread, which appears to have been made by himself or herself, and there is nothing which at all corresponds to the office of the prothesis of the eastern liturgies. Further it should be noticed that there is no account of any preparation of the bread, which is so notable a feature in the Eastern liturgies; nor of the addition of water to any but the one chalice, although it seems plain that two others were used in receiving the offerings of the faithful. There is also no trace of the prayers which form a verbal oblation in the modern service. The archdeacon and his assistants are to set (*componere*) on the altar the offerings, and this action would seem to be taken as more significant than any form of words would be.

The pope then comes down to the altar from his throne and receives certain breads offered by the clergy: then the archdeacon takes the breads offered by the pope from the oblationary sub-deacon and gives them to the pope. When the pope has set these on the altar, the archdeacon takes the chalice from the hands of the regionary sub-deacon, and sets it on the altar next the bread offered by the pope, the handles of the chalice being wound round with the offertory veil.

This ends the ceremonies of the early Roman offertory. When the canon is over, and the lay folk are to be communicated, the archdeacon pours a little of the consecrated chalice into the ministerial chalice (*scyphus*) the contents of which were supplied by the offerings of the faithful. It was a current opinion at that early time that the addition of a small quantity of the consecrated species to another chalice was enough to extend the virtue of consecration to the whole of the contents of the second chalice.[5] Now there is no record of an addition of water to this ministerial chalice at the offertory, or at any other time.[6] It is unlikely that pure wine, to which no water had been added, would be used in the celebration; and the question arises

[1] L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis, 1748. t. ii, col. 973.

[2] I. Mabillon, *Musei Italici*, tomus II. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1724.

[3] *See* Mabillon, *op. cit.*, t. ii., p. 59, note *a*.

[4] There is a description of the strainer in Theophilus *de diversis artibus*, lib. iii., cap. lvii., Lond. 1847, ed. Hendrie, p. 284. There is a drawing of the *colum* in D. Georgii *de Liturgia Romani Pontificis*, Romæ, 1731, t. i. and a chapter on it. (cap. vi. p. lxxiii.)

[5] With this we may compare the practice of adding ordinary water to the water blessed for baptism, and of ordinary olive oil to the cream or holy oil, if either of these should fail. We still find these directions in the modern Roman *Rituale*. (*Rituale Romanum Pauli V.*, etc. De Sacramento Baptismi, Mechliniæ, 1876, pp. 14 & 18.)

[6] Cardinal Bona boldly solves the difficulty by saying that water was in the ministerial chalice before wine was added. Sequitur cum scypho, *continente scilicet aquam*. (*Rerum Liturg.* I. xxv. § 5. Antv. 1739, p. 293.) But I do not know of any ancient instance in which the water was poured into the chalice before the wine, except in the Irish tract of the Stowe missal.

if the wine, when offered by the faithful, had not already received a certain amount of water? and that the water added at the offertory to the papal chalice was merely added to make sure that some water had been added? This suggestion is made by Brett;[1] and some support is given to his view by the direction in *Ordo Romanus VI.* Here as soon as the deacon begins to read the gospel, two acolytes receive the sacred vessels from the keeper of the church in the vestry;[2] and the acolytes carry these into the choir, one bearing the chalice covered with a corporal and already containing wine mixed with water; the other carrying the paten.[3] Now, although further on, there are directions for the straining of the wine before the singing of the anthem of the offertory, and for the receiving of the offerings in kind from the faithful after, yet there is no further direction for the addition of water to the wine. The mixing of the chalice would appear, therefore, to have taken place in the vestry, some time before the gospel was read. In this *Ordo* appears *Veni Sanctificator* said over the gifts, a borrowing, as Micrologus[4] tells us, from Gallican sources, and this *Ordo* would therefore seem to have been subjected to Gallican influences.

In the *Ordines Romani* which follow this first, as printed by Mabillon, II. III. & V. much the same account is given in all the leading particulars of the ceremonies of the offertory, and later, in the account which Innocent III. gives of the celebration of mass, written, no doubt, before his election as pope in 1198, we find that the bread was set on the altar, as in the early rite, after the offertory; and the chalice mixed immediately after; but that the celebrant himself mixed the wine with water,[5] a practice which continued in the time of Durandus,[6] and is prescribed in *Ordo Romanus XIV.*,[7] which is said to have been written by James Caietan, who died when Clement VI. was pope; that is, from 1342 to 1352. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, however, Marcellus tells us that the subdeacon added the water to the chalice from a spoon,[8] and the subdeacon appears to have continued to the present day in this office of making the chalice.

To return to *Ordo Romanus XIV.*, between the early *Ordines* and the *Ordo Romanus XIV.*, there is a great interval of time, and a great difference in ceremonial had sprung up. A ceremony not unlike that of the Greek office of the prothesis is now met with, and a *locus aptus* near the altar which must have had a certain likeness to the modern credence. The collection of the offerings from the people has also entirely disappeared. The following are the directions: After the epistle, if there be no sermon in the mass, the subdeacon washes his fingers and makes ready the chalice in some suitable place near the altar, pouring wine into the chalice, but, it should be well noticed, no water as yet; upon the chalice he sets the paten with the bread, and covers all with a cloth. If there be no suitable place near the altar, the chalice is made ready on the altar itself. Then the subdeacon goes and sits amongst the other ministers. When there is a sermon, this preparation is put off until after the sermon.

In this ceremonial it is clear that we have passed from Caroline times into the full middle ages. It is strange that no traces of an early preparation of the gifts should be met with before in the Roman Liturgy, and even now the preparation is incomplete; for though wine is poured into the chalice, and it may be that the chalice is at once set on the altar, yet water is not added until the time of the verbal offering of the gifts.[9] It may be noticed that the pope himself, and not an inferior minister, puts the water into the chalice with the prayer *Deus qui humanæ*, now first met with.[10]

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[1] Thomas Brett, *Collection of the principal Liturgies*, London, 1720. p. 149. note.

[2] Sacrarium, *Secretarium, Diaconicum, Sacristia:* Ducange. Throughout these *Ordines* the word *sacrarium* nearly always has the meaning of vestry.

[3] Mabillon, *op. cit.*, p. 73. Cf. the second *Ordo Romanus* of Hittorp. (*de divinis catholicæ ecclesiæ officiis*, Parisiis, 1610. p. 8D.)

[4] Micrologus, *de ecclesiasticis observationibus*, cap. xi. apud Hittorp. *de divinis catholicæ ecclesiæ officiis*, Paris, 1610. col. 738.

[5] Innocentii III. *de sacro altaris mysterio*, II. lvii. Sylvæ-Ducum, 1846. p. 167.

[6] Durandus, *Rationale divinorum officiorum*, IIII. xxx. Venetiis, 1586. p. 94. Sicardus, *Mitrale*, lib. iii. cap. vi. Ed. Migne 1855. col. 120. B.

[7] J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Paris, 1724. t. ii., p. 301.

[8] Chr. Marcellus, *Rituum Eccles.* etc. Lib. iii. Venetiis, 1516, fo. cxxvii. The reader may note the extraordinary precautions taken against poison at the offertory. Cf. Dominici Georgii *de Liturgia Romani Pontificis*, Romæ, 1744. t. iii. p. 578. The *Ordo* is said to be of the 14th century.

[9] This ceremonial was preserved almost entire into the sixteenth century by the Canons of St. Augustine. See *Ordinarium Fratrum Canonicorum Regularium Congregationis S. Salvatoris, Ordinis S. Augustini*, Romæ, Ant. Blad. 1549. capp. xxxix. & xli. And in a little Franciscan book, rather private than liturgical (*Liber familiaris clericorum*, Venetiis, P. Liechtenstein, 1550. fo. 225 verso) the ceremonial is very much the same, only the chalice, as soon as the wine is poured into it, is to be set on the altar, and the water added at the verbal offering. This only applies to high mass: at low mass the wine may be poured into the chalice, and then set on the altar before the service or at the verbal oblation, whenever the priest likes.

[10] The Ambrosian ceremonial described by Beroldus (see below, p. 61) may be compared with this. If the Archbishop of Milan were present, he himself made the chalice; if not, the subdeacon put wine and water into the chalice in the vestry.

It is in this *Ordo* also that we first meet with the verbal oblation *Suscipe Sancte Pater*, etc., and the rest of the prayers now said after the offertory, which are not Roman in origin, but appear to come from Gallican sources; of which, besides the external evidence of Micrologus, we have the internal evidence of the prayer *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas*, in which a recitation of the names of the saints takes place, like the recitation of the Gallican diptychs.

We should further note that while in the first six *Ordines* the elements are not set on the altar until after the gospel or creed, in this fourteenth they may be set on the altar itself so early in the service as immediately after the epistle, if there be no suitable place near. This is a distinct swerving from primitive customs, which did not allow of the presentation of the elements on the altar until after the expulsion of the catechumens, and the beginning of the *missa fidelium*. Its appearance here is probably owing to the strong Gallican leanings which the residence of the Popes at Avignon brought in its train.[1]

It is commonly said that private or low mass came first into general use about the time of Charles the Great. By private mass is meant the celebration of the eucharist without deacon and sub-deacon, whether accompanied by music or not makes no difference. There can be no doubt that private mass was well-known throughout the middle ages; but the first account of low mass at Rome that I have met with is in the *Ordo celebrandi missam* of John Burchard[2] of Strassburg, who was master of the ceremonies in the Roman Curia at the end of the fifteenth century. His work has often been reprinted; and from it is descended the *Ritus Servandus* prefixed to the Roman Missal since the time of Pius V. From this account of John Burchard's it is clear that the host or hosts at low mass were set upon the altar at the same time as the vessels, that is, when first the priest went up to the altar. But the chalice was made after the anthem of the offertory and the prayer *Suscipe sancte pater*. It is clear that no wine was in the chalice before, because the priest is bidden to wipe it carefully with the purificator and then to pour in wine, saying nothing; and after, water.

Most of the mediæval writers on ceremonial to whom I have access[3] give an account of the ceremonies of the offertory which is practically the same as that described in the Roman *Ordo:* to wit, that the chalice is made and the elements set on the altar after the anthem of the offertory. It may be noticed that Durandus speaks only of the Roman practice: though as a Dominican friar he must have been well acquainted with the custom of his order, which is to make the chalice, and set the bread and wine on the altar, at low mass, before the service, and at high mass, between the epistle and gospel. The silence of these writers must not then be taken as evidence of a want of knowledge of the existence of other customs.

The Roman customs at the offertory would seem also to prevail at Sienna in 1213,[4] and at Aquileia in 1403, or earlier.[5] At Modena, in the twelfth century, the host and the chalice, perhaps already mixed, were offered directly after the gospel.[6]

For our knowledge of the early Ambrosian mass we are indebted to Dr. Ceriani, the distinguished Prefect of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, "le savant le plus versé dans l' étude de la liturgie milanaise," says Abbé Duchesne.[7] Dr. Ceriani regards the Ambrosian as a sister rite

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[1] Immediately after the gospel or creed, as the case may be, the priest says, and has said from very early times (*Ord. Roman. II.*, in Mabillon, *op. cit.*, ii. 46), *Dominus vobiscum* and *Oremus;* but this is followed immediately by no prayer, only by the anthem of the offertory. An explanation of this is often made by supposing that *Oremus* refers to the *Secreta* collect of the day; but the great interval between the invitation to prayer and the prayer itself, makes such an explanation unlikely. In the early *Ordines*, the whole ceremonies of the offertory, the collection of the offerings of all orders of the people, lay folk and clerks, comes between; and in the modern service there is still a long interval; the setting of the bread and wine on the altar, the preparation of the chalice, the censing of the gifts and the altar, the washing of the hands, *Orate fratres*. Can it be that this *Oremus* after the gospel marks the division between the two masses? That the catechumens being dismissed, the faithful are bidden to begin the more solemn part of the liturgy by the salutation and invitation to prayer?

It may be objected that this *Oremus* is said after the creed, which is a part of the *missa fidelium*. But it should be remembered that the creed is of late introduction into the Roman liturgy, and that sometimes it was sung before the sermon, which is beyond all doubt a part of the *missa catechumenorum*, so that in later times it would not seem that the line of division between the two masses was very well recognized.

There is a good deal of mediæval evidence that *Oremus* before the offertory, was looked upon as the beginning of the *missa fidelium*, but I cannot go further into the matter now. It may also be noticed that an *Oremus* is said after *Judica* and *Confiteor*, as the priest goes up to the altar. It is true that *Aufer a nobis* follows immediately; but this is said secretly, while *Oremus* is said with a loud voice. Is this *Oremus* the ancient beginning of the *missa catechumenorum?*

[2] The Italians are puzzled by the German name which appears as *brocardus* in the Roman *Sacerdotale*, printed at Venice in 1537, by Victor a Rabanis. I quote from this book the *ordo*, beginning at f. 70 of this edition. I have compared it with Cochleus' *Speculum Missæ*, Venetiis, 1572, f. 195.

[3] See Hittorp's collection in his *de divinis catholicæ ecclesiæ officiis*. I have used the edition printed at Paris in 1610. Also Cochleus' *Speculum Missæ*, Venice, 1572. See also Dominico Georgi *de liturgiâ romani pontificis*, Romæ, f. 1744, iii., Appendix monumentorum.

[4] J. C. Trombelli, *Ordo Officiorum Ecclesiæ Senensis*, Bononiæ, 1766, p. 459.

[5] J. F. B. M. de Rubeis, *Dissertationes duæ*, Venetiis, 1754, p. 276.

[6] L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis, 1748, t. i. col. 90.

[7] L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1889, p. 152, note.

to the Roman, while Abbé Duchesne, if I understand him well, would rather look upon Milan as the starting point of the Old-Gallican liturgy. In Dr. Ceriani's edition of the Biasca manuscript there is no information upon the time of the preparation and setting on the altar of the gifts, beyond the position of the prayer *super oblata*, which is equivalent to the Roman *secreta*. The earliest account of the ceremonies of the Ambrosian mass is given by Beroldus, who wrote about A.D. 1130, and there is a certain resemblance, not exact at all points, between the ceremonies of the offertory at Milan, and those of the sixth *Ordo Romanus*. When *parcite fabulis* and *silentium habete* have been proclaimed at the beginning of the gospel, an oblation of bread and wine is received from the hand of the deacon and sub-deacon[1] on certain days by *Custodes*, or sextons. After the gospel, the sub-deacons return to the vestry, and then follow *Dominus vobiscum*, *Kyrie*, and the anthem after the gospel. The prayer *supra sindonem* having been said, the *Cicendelarius hebdomadarius* supplies the hebdomadary sub-deacon[2] with bread and wine from the Archbishop's stores, and also with water. The sub-deacon puts the bread on the paten, and wine and water into the chalice, provided the archbishop be away. But if the archbishop be present, he himself makes the chalice. The sub-deacon then, with great reverence, carries the bread in the paten, and the chalice with the wine from the vestry to the altar; and gives the gifts to the deacon, and the deacon to the archbishop or priest. Then the *Offerenda* is sung. After that the *Vetuli* and *Vetulæ* offer bread to the archbishop or priest (the men only enter the choir; the women remain outside[3]), each offers three breads, which the priest gives to the sub-deacon; they offer wine to the deacon, and one of the lesser *Custodes* takes it from the deacon and pours it into the chalice of oblation, and returns the cruet to the *Vetulus* whose it is. The archbishop or priest then returns to the altar, and washes his hands; the sub-deacon then pours the wine offered by the *Vetuli*, through a strainer into the golden chalice, which the deacon has taken off the altar, and holds in his hands; the deacon then replaces the chalice on the altar, the archbishop makes the sign of the cross, and the gifts are censed. The creed then follows.

In the first printed Ambrosian Missal it would seem plain that the chalice was made after the gospel, after *pacem habete*.[4] There is also in the Ambrosian Library, at Milan, another missal printed in 1522, which has been prepared for the printer, and many of the rubrics struck out. For example after the prayer *rogo te altissime* there comes this rubric, struck out.[5] Hic de dei misericordia confidens: leuet et oculos ad celum et accendens ad altare consecratum et paratum lumine: cruce: mappis. calice cum uino. et aqua et patena cum hostia et syndone: et tersitorio: ac missali et clerico: dicat secrete, &c. On the verso of this leaf comes the following rubric, not struck out: Finita oratione *super syndonem* si calix non fuerit apparatus: hic apparetur ponendo in eo uinum et modicam aque. Et quando uinum imponit, &c.

In these two missals,[6] there are thus allowed two various times for making the chalice; in one, the chalice is already made when carried to the altar with the bread; the other is at the offertory after the gospel: and this leads to the consideration of a book by an Ambrosian ritualist, Casola, who wrote in 1499. He shares with other rubricians of the end of the middle ages an entire indifference to the place in the service at which the chalice might be mixed. The rubrics of churches so widely separated as Milan and Toledo, Augsburg and Agram, agreed in saying that it did not matter when the chalice was made. Thus Casola, the Ambrosian ritualist, speaking of the interval between the epistle and gospel, says: "Sunt nonnulli qui his peractis preparant calicem cum vino et aqua et hoc arbitrarium est quia talis preparatio potest fieri etiam ante inchoationem misse: et etiam ante oblationem: et non refert."[7] It was much the same at Toledo. "Preparatio hostie et calicis potest fieri ante incoeptum officium misse, vel ante Evangelium, vel ante offertorium, quando voluerit sacerdos."[8] And at Augsburg:

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[1] MS. I. 152. (P. inf.) in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, f. xxxviij. I am indebted to the Very Rev. Marco Magistretti, Master of the Ceremonies in the Metropolitan Church, for a copy of a privately printed edition of this MS., and for many acts of courtesy during my visits to Milan.

[2] The Master of the Ceremonies at Milan has pointed out to me that the sub-deacon in the Ambrosian Rite performs functions closely akin to those of the acolyte in the Roman Rite. Until the time of St. Charles Borromeo, the sub-deacon was hardly considered to be in holy orders, and there were no canons sub-deacons.

[3] Last Low Sunday, April, 8, 1891, I saw that this separation of the sexes was still made

[4] *Missale Ambrosianum*, Mediolani per Antonium Zarrottum, 1475, fo. cvi. verso. The rubrics in this printed book are added by hand, and they vary in the two copies in the Ambrosian Library, in their form but not always in their substance.

[5] *Missale secundum morem s. Ambrosii*, Mediolani per I. A. Seinzenzeler, 1522. fo. 127.

[6] The Ambrosian Missal of 1560 follows in its main features the edition 1522. Neither, Dr. Ceriani informs me, is a particularly good edition. It may be useful to note that Martene's reprint of the Ambrosian Ordinary (ed. Antwerp, 1736, t. i. p. 482.) from Ambrosian Missal of 1560 is not quite accurate; gives *præparatus* instead of *apparatus*, leaves out words that are repeated in adding the water to the chalice, and other small changes.

[7] P. Casola, *Rationale Cerimoniarum Misse Ambrosiane*, Mediolani, 1499. fo. 10.b.

[8] *Missale mixtum secundum ordinem alme primatis ecclesie Toletane*, 1561. Toleti, fo. cxiiii.

"Aliqui preparant calicem ante Evangelium: alii post offertorium: alii vero sub minore canone post oblationem panis. Tu vero prepara illum cum volueris."[1] At Agram the priest might, if he liked, make the chalice before the introit, or immediately before the gospel; but in winter, when the weather was very cold, immediately after the offertory.[2] The time at which the mixing was to take place was so unimportant that it might be determined by the weather; if there were a chance, perhaps, of the contents of the chalice becoming frozen. It would even seem to have been thought by some that the wine might be mixed with water while it was still in the cask; for in John de Lapide, whose work was printed so often in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the question is asked if it be enough that the water be added to the wine in the cask. It is replied that it is not enough because the mixture is sacramental, and must not be done before the mysteries be begun, or preparation made for beginning them.[3] Also in an early printed work, *De defectibus occurrentibus in Missa*, there occurs: "non autem sufficit quod aqua apponatur quando vinum adhuc est in dolio quia hoc non significaret aliquid sed oportet quod imminente oblacione apponatur sacramentum."[4]

In the same way, at Paris, leave is given to the priest to prepare the bread on the paten and to mix the chalice as soon as the altar is got ready, and before he vests, if he should so wish: but at least the preparation was to be made before the gospel.[5]

Though the directions of Casola and others show such want of carefulness for the time at which the chalice should be made, yet they indicate the three places at which the mixing is most common. In the first place, *ante inchoationem missæ*, before the service; next, between the epistle and gospel; and last, *ante oblationem*, at the offertory.

These three great times may be divided again; for example, the making of the chalice at the offertory may take place directly after the creed or gospel, before the offering of the bread, or immediately before the chalice itself is offered: and further subdivisions may readily be made, if the reader be so minded.

Let us begin then with a consideration of the meaning of *ante inchoationem missae*. If we look at the Gregorian Sacramentary[6] we see that the introit was anciently the beginning of the public service, even as it really is now: for all that precedes the introit at this day is of the nature of private preparation for the priest. Any time then before the introit may be looked upon as before the service. Or even as far as the collects, according to Amalarius[7] and other mediæval authorities, and Claude de Vert,[8] more in our own time: for *Kyrie* is only the end of the Litany which once preceded the Mass, and *Gloria in excelsis* is really an intrusion from the divine service into the eucharistic office.[9]

We may take then the period *ante inceptionem missæ* as extending from the time at which the priest first washes his hands on coming into church to the saying of the collects. When the chalice is mixed before the service, or at any point before the collects, it sometimes happens that the elements are also then set on the altar, which becomes a kind of prothesis, the elements being later on moved from the end where they are first set to the middle part of the altar.

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[1] *Missale secundum ritum augustensis ecclesie*, Dilinge, Sebald Mayer, 1555, fo. 147 verso. It would seem from F. A. Hoeynck (*Geschichte der kirchlichen Liturgie des Bisthums Augsburg*, Augsburg, 1889. p. 70.) that this rubric makes its first appearance at Augsburg in this edition.

[2] *Missale secundum chorum almi episcopatus Zagrabiensis*, Venetiis, Liechtenstein, 1500 + *x*. Ordo in divinis. Mr. Weale gives the date as 1511. (See his *Catologus Missalium*, Lond., 1886, p. 219.)

[3] Ioan. de Lapide, *Resolutorium Dubiorum*, Cap vii. Art. iv. § 12. Venetiis, 1559. fo. 26 verso.

[4] The book is in the University Library, at Basel, without date, place, or printer's name. On the cover there is written a reference to Hain, *Repertor. bibliograph.* Stuttgart. et Paris. 1826. Vol. I., pars i. *6072.

[5] *Missale ad usum ecclesie Parisiensis*, Th. Kerver, 1501. The same directions run through the editions of 1541, 1543, and 1559. Pierre Lebrun says the practice continued until 1615. (*Explication . . . . de la Messe*, Paris, 1777, t. iii., p. 306.)

[6] L. A. Muratori, *Liturgia Romana Vetus*, Venetiis, 1748, t. ii. col. 1. Or C. E. Hammond, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1878, p. 364.

[7] Amalarius, *De eccles. offic.*, ii. 5 (in Hittorp's Collection). "Officium quod vocatur introitus Missæ, habet initium a prima antiphona quæ dicitur introitus, et finitur in oratione, quæ a sacerdote dicitur ante lectionem." See in the same collection, Rupert of Deutz, *de divinis officiis*, I. 31, de collecta. "Hucusque Missae initium, quod dicitur Introitus." As late as 1745 at Soissons, where the chalice was made during *Kyrie* or *Gloria*, the time of preparation is spoken of as before Mass (Calix paratur in Credentiâ ante Missam, *Missale Suessionense*, Parisiis, 1745. Rubricæ generales, cap. vi., p. 23).

[8] Claude de Vert, *Explication*, &c., *des Cérémonies*, Paris, 1713, t. iii., p. 86. He points out that at Florence and Chartres the ringing for Mass only stops during *Gloria in excelsis*. Just as in the ordinary Roman rite on Shire Thursday and Easter Even, the bells ring during *Gloria* to call the people to Mass. This writer holds that bells are only rung to call the faithful to church. The ringing at the consecration or *Agnus* is to call the people to Sext, None, or Vespers, whichever of these offices immediately follows: at *Magnificat*, to Compline: at *Te Deum*, to Lauds.

[9] See also L. Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, Paris, 1889, p. 156. "Chants préliminaires."

PLATE I.

To face p. 63.

THE MASS OF SAINT GREGORY,

AFTER RAFFAELINO DEL GARBO, DATED 1501.

(From the original in the possession of Mr. R. H. Benson.)

An illustration of this may be seen in Plate I. which represents a pope at the moment of the elevation of the host, showing it to the people. Nevertheless the cruets remain on the south side of the altar, with the incense boat, showing that this end of the altar serves the purposes of a credence table.[1]

We may quote as an example of this, one of the earliest instances that we have: a book of *Consuetudines* of the Cistercian monks, written at the end of the twelfth century and thus very soon after the foundation of the order, directs the deacon, after saying *Confiteor*, to spread the corporal on the altar; and after rinsing the chalice with water, to minister bread upon the paten and wine in the chalice, the sub-deacon helping him. Whoever it be that does it, whether deacon or sub-deacon, wine is first to be poured into the chalice, and then the cruet containing water is given to the priest when he is ready for it; and the priest pours water into the chalice. Then the paten being set on the chalice and covered with the offertory veil, he comes down below the step of the altar on the right hand.[2]

The time, however, at which the bread and wine are to be ministered by the deacon to the priest would seem to be not very strictly enjoined, provided that it be about the time when the priest first goes up to the altar. For example: if, while the deacon is ministering, the priest begins to say *Gloria in excelsis Deo* or *Dominus vobiscum*, the deacon must leave off ministering, and say after the priest.

Much the same practice must have continued throughout the middle ages, for these directions are also found in a Cistercian book printed in 1531,[3] but the book published in 1617, shows only the usual modern Roman customs.[4]

This Cistercian practice we may take as a typical instance of setting the bread and wine on the altar, and mixing the chalice before the beginning of the service. It would also seem that the bread and wine were not set on the middle of the altar but at one of its ends, for after the gospel or creed the deacon moves them to a corporal on the middle of the altar.[5]

This Cistercian custom probably represents one of the earliest forms of the practice *ante inceptionem missæ*; for it takes place as the priest goes up to the altar, where the ancient service began with introit or collect.

When, however, we have to deal with setting the elements on the altar or mixing the chalice before *Judica* and *Confiteor*, such as we see in the Dominican low mass, it may be said that they come from a time when *Judica* and *Confiteor* had already been put in front of the ancient service. Supposing this objection to be allowed, which seems doubtful, it cannot be made to the preparation of the chalice before or during vesting, for this practice may be as old as the custom of wearing any special vestment at all for mass.

In order to give at more length an instance of the preparation of the elements before vesting, the following directions from a Verdun missal may be quoted. The priest, having prepared himself by washing and drying his hands and saying, kneeling before the altar, *Veni sancte spiritus* with *Da nobis quesumus*, prepares the elements: "Deinde extendat corporalia super altare accipiatque calicem ac tergat cum sudario, panem ad celebrandum super patenam calicis ponat, vinum deinde fundat in calicem. Et benedicat cum signo crucis dicendo ea que sequuntur. *Dominus te benedicat de cuius latere exivit*, &c. Benedicat aquam *Et aqua baptismatis in remissionem peccatorum in nomine . . . +Amen.* Quo facto, ponat patenam super calicem cum pane: et cooperiat eum corporalibus. Deinde premisso signo crucis, ponat amictum super caput suum dicendo que sequuntur *Pone domine, &c.*"[6]

The same direction to mix the chalice before vesting is given in a little tract frequently printed in France before 1550, *Alphabetum (seu Instructio) Sacerdotum*, which André du Saussay tells us contains the order for saying mass according to the custom of the Gallican

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[1] Plate I. is a reproduction of a painting by Raffaelino del Garbo, the original of which is in the possession of Mr. R. H. Benson, at 16, South Street, Park Lane. It is dated 1501, and represents a very favourite subject of that time, the Mass of St. Gregory. It is valuable to us because it shows the Italian furniture and customs of the early sixteenth century, which we may contrast with those now in vogue. There are only two lights on the altar, and there are no flowers; the mass-book is supported by a cushion in accordance with the present rubric; the altar is vested with an embroidered antependium. The gradin or shelf which supports the candlesticks is the earliest instance that I have met with anywhere of such an addition to the altar. The shape of the vestments may be profitably contrasted with that of the modern ornaments now worn at Rome.

[2] Ph. Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne*, Dijon, 1878, p. 142. Consuetudines, written between 1173—1191.

[3] *Liber usuum Cisterciensis Ordinis*, Paris, Engelbert de Marnet, 1531.

[4] *Missale ad usum sacri ordinis Cisterciensis*, Lutetiæ Parisiorum, Sebastian Cramoisy, 1617.

[5] Guignard, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[6] *Missale secundum usum . . . insignis ecclesie et diocesis Virdunensis*, Parisiis, Gul. Merlin. 1554, fo. cxxxj.

Church.[1] The practices indicated by this *Alphabetum* were no doubt followed over the greater part of France, especially in the north.[2]

This practice of making the chalice after washing hands and before beginning to take the mass vestments, is prescribed in the ritual books of thirteen churches and orders (See the *Table showing the Liturgical Moment of the making of the chalice* annexed to this paper). There are also four churches and orders where the chalice was to be made while the priest was vesting, after taking the stole and before taking the chasuble.

Then, to pass on to the practice of making the chalice after vesting: there are directions for this in the treatise *de expositione misse*, by William of Gouda. Not following the rubrics of his own order,[3] he directs the priest to make the chalice directly he has finished vesting, and apparently some time before he says *confiteor*.[4] It would seem that the local practice of *Germania inferior* is being described, though the friars minor have been always known for their devotion to the ceremonial of the Roman Church. In the annexed Table, the number of cases where this practice is clearly ordered is but small. It shows, however, a number of rites in which the chalice was made early in the service; from the time of approaching the altar to the end of the collects, forming a cluster which cannot so conveniently be thrown under one heading as the preceding groups.

The next great time for the mixing of the chalice, is the interval between the epistle and gospel. When the chalice is mixed at this point in the service, there is no fixed moment at which the elements may be set on the altar; they might be taken to the altar as soon as the chalice was mixed; or remain on the credence until after the gospel or creed, when they were then carried to the altar.

An early instance of this preparation of the chalice between the epistle and gospel, may be found in a ritual book of Soissons, written between 1175 and 1207, by order of Nivelon de Cherisy, bishop of that church. The little objection to making an altar into a credence may be noted again: "Post epistolam . . . super quoddam altare retro magnum ministret[5] subdiaconus diacono panem et vinum et aquam." Then after the creed the deacon washes his hands, "eatque ad mensam propositionis, ubi proposuit ea que ad opus sacrificii preparavit. Tunc cum summo honore offerat ea, cereo preferente usque ad sacrosanctum altare, offeratque ea sacerdoti manum illius deosculans.[6]

At Soissons, then, in the twelfth century, the elements were prepared at some place apart from the altar, and kept there until the creed, when they were taken to the altar, with a certain amount of pomp, a candle being carried before them. It will be seen later on, in Part III., that this sort of great entrance survived at Soissons into the middle of the eighteenth century.

In other rites, the elements as soon as prepared were set on the altar, but only at one end, as at Pallencia in Spain, where the chalice, as soon as made, and the paten with the host were put on the altar, though *extra aram*,[7] that is, not on the consecrated altar stone.

There are twenty-six churches and orders in the annexed *Table*, in which the chalice is made between the epistle and gospel.

The third great time for the preparation of the chalice is after the gospel or creed; and of this the Roman Liturgy, from the earliest times known, is the great example. But even in those rites in which the making of the chalice comes after the gospel, it does not follow that it will take place after the offering of the bread on the altar. The chalice may be made before the bread is set on the altar, or its verbal oblation. At Rhemes, the gospel being ended, wine and

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[1] Andreas du Saussay, *Panoplia sacerdotalis*, Lutet. Paris. 1653, p. 271. Pars I., lib. viii., cap. xx., artic. v.

[2] Monsieur Léopold Delisle has enabled me to examine three different editions in the National Library at Paris, and he has also given me notes of three others, one of which was printed at Rouen, the other at Caen. (*Essai sur l'imprimerie et la librairie à Caen de* 1480 *à* 1550, par Léopold Delisle, Caen, 1891, p. 41. Reprinted from *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, t. xv.) Another title for the tract is *Instructio seu Alphabetum sacerdotum*, but *Instructio virorum ecclesiasticorum*, which is also attributed to Amelius, is a different work. No edition of the *Alphabetum* that I have seen is dated; most of them appear to be Parisian, from 1520 to 1550: but Hain (*Repertorium bibliographicum*, Stuttgartiæ et Paris. 1826, vol. I., pars i., p. 93, *865) gives an edition by Georgius Mittelhus who printed from 1484 to 1500.

[3] See the rubrics at the offertory in *Missale secundam morem romane ecclesie per fratres minores de observantiâ accurate revisum*, Nurmberge, 1501, the priest is there bidden to make the chalice after the creed, in the Roman fashion.

[4] *Tractatus de expositione misse editus a fratre Guilhelmo de Gouda ordinis minorum de observantia*, Colonie, per Henricum Quentell. The tract has no date, but Quentell is said to have printed only between 1498 and 1500.

[5] *Rituale seu Mandatum insignis Ecclesiæ Suessionensis*, ed. Poquet, Suessione, 1856, p. 172. See also Edm. Martene, *de antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*, Lib. i., Cap. iv., Art. xii., Ordo xxii.

[6] *Ministrare* or *Administrare* in mediæval Latin means to prepare the elements for the celebration of mass, not merely to deliver them in the holy communion. This can be shown by numerous quotations, if desired, from the rubrics, references to which are given in the Table annexed to this paper. I note this interpretation because I do not find it in Ducange.

[7] *Missale Pallantinum*, etc., 1568, f. cccli.

water were poured into the chalice, and the offertory then said. The chalice was next taken and lifted up; immediately after, the host was laid upon the corporal.[1] Very much the same was practised at Bremen,[2] and some other dioceses. The monks of the Charterhouse apparently made ready the elements during the creed; but the water was added to the chalice during the singing of the offertory anthem, and immediately after this, both elements were set on the altar.[3]

At Seville, the chalice was made after the deacon had received his blessing for the gospel, probably therefore after the gospel itself, but before the corporal was spread on the altar and before the host was offered.[4] At Cambray, the priest washed his hands after the offertory anthem, and then mixed the chalice, after this the corporals were spread on the altar and the gifts offered.[5] Much the same was done at Eichstadt.[6] Other instances may be noted in the Table annexed to this paper.

In this Table there are thirty-eight instances in which the chalice is made after the gospel, against fifty-eight in which the chalice is made at some time before the gospel. Besides these I have examined some forty mass books in which I could discover no certain indication of the time at which the chalice was made.

It may well be asked: how did they arise, these three particular moments in the liturgy for the preparation of the gifts? and why did the setting on the altar of the gifts by anticipation so often immediately follow their preparation? If the reason given for the anticipation of the offertory in some Eastern liturgies be accepted, viz., the want of a proper vestry or place of proposition in which to prepare the elements, the same reason would well apply in the Western rites. A place of preparation would not be at hand in many mediæval churches and chapels, and the altar would suggest itself as convenient for making the preparation; and as soon as the prepared gifts were once set on the altar, their oblation was made: because it is the act of setting the gifts on the altar, not the words said over them later on, which is the act of offering. In former times, too, the mass vestments were often spread on the altar and taken thence at the beginning of mass, bishops retaining to this day the right to such a practice. The Archbishop of Canterbury at a coronation still has his cope laid for him on the altar at Westminster.

Then the interval between the epistle and gospel comes next as a place of preparation and offering. The reason for choosing this moment for this purpose seems exceedingly obscure. It is peculiar to the Western rites; with the exception of the Maronites, it has not even been suggested that the practice is known in the East; and in the case of the Maronites, it seems very clear that Martene misunderstood the words *Ferte oblationes*.[7] And in the Western rites it would seem to be found where Gallican influences were strong. In the early Roman ceremonial of *Ordo Romanus I.*, for example, the gifts are both set on the altar after the gospel, and no words of offering are said over them. But in *Ordo Romanus VI.* the mixture takes place in the vestry, and the gifts are brought into the choir by acolytes as soon as the deacon begins to read the gospel. In this *Ordo* we find also for the first time *Veni Sanctificator* said over the gifts, a mark of strong Gallican influence.[8] And further, in *Ordo Romanus XIV.*, written most likely under Avignonese popes, when Gallican tendencies might be expected to prevail, we find the gifts might be set on the altar as early in the service as after the epistle, and that verbal oblations after the gospel, a custom foreign to the pure Roman liturgy, and the recitation of prayers during the mixing of the chalice, had come into use.

In the Irish tract which accompanies the Stowe missal there are some Gallican customs enjoined, such as the elaborate fraction of the host at the end of the canon; and in the Stowe missal itself, the diptychs are ordered to be recited before the preface.[9] Side by side with these undoubtedly Gallican ceremonies, we find others which we may suspect to be of like origin: the preparation of the gifts and the setting them on the altar before the service began; and also curious practice of lifting the veil from the chalice in the interval between the epistle and the gospel.[10] The lifting of the veil at this moment from the prepared gifts was the practice in England just before the Reformation, in the diocese of Coutances in Normandy, and St. Pol de Leon in Brittany. It is also directed in the little tract *Alphabetum Sacerdotum*, which was

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[1] *Missale secundum usum . . . ecclesie Remensis*, Paris, 1542, f. xcvii., verso.
[2] *Missale secundum ritum ecclesie Bremensis*, Argent, 1511.
[3] *Repertorium Statutorum Ordinis Cartusiensis*, Basileæ, 1510, I pars. statut. antiq., ca. xliii., § 22.
[4] *Missale secundum usum alme ecclesie hyspalensis*, Hispale, Jacob Cronberger, 1507, and later edition Alfonso Mauriques, 1534, f. cxl.
[5] *Missale parvum secundum usum venerabilis ecclesie Cameracensis*, 1507, f. cxxxj.
[6] *Missale secundum chorum et ritum Eystetensis ecclesie*, Nurnberg, 1517.
[7] See above, Part I., p. 51.
[8] See above, Part II., p. 59.
[9] F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881. pp. 233 & 257.
[10] See below, Part IV., p. 71.

approached the altar he says *confiteor* with its followings, and a prayer *Deus qui non mortem.* After this come directions for prayers over the host, and at pouring wine and water into the chalice. A blessing for the deacon before saying the gospel follows.[1]

The next Lyons missal, that of 1737, claims to be the first book in which the ceremonies of the Church of Lyons were printed; and there is but little change in these ceremonies in the later editions of 1771, 1825, and 1866. The edition of 1866 is that now in use in the diocese of Lyons, and it bears an augmented title: *Missale Romano-Lugdunense*, with the approval of the holy see. At the end of the book is the old Lyonese *Ritus in Missa solemni servandus.* The ceremonies of the preparation and offertory[2] are contained chiefly in capp. v. and vi.

At high mass, in the churches of the diocese of Lyons, the epistle[3] and grail being said, the deacon and sub-deacon go to the credence; there the deacon laying his hand on the bread placed in the paten, says a certain prayer; he then pours wine into the chalice, and the sub-deacon water, without any blessing, only saying the words prescribed in the ordinary; this done the sub-deacon spreads the corporal on the altar, and the deacon proceeds to sing the gospel.

This ceremony with the deacon and sub-deacon takes place only outside the cathedral church, where the sacrist (*chori matricularius*), not the deacon, prepares the gifts at the credence; and the sacrist thence takes them to the altar of St. Spiratus, while the gospel is sung.[4] The same officer forthwith takes the corporal with the purificator to the high altar.

It is certainly remarkable that an inferior officer, who might be a mere layman,[5] should at the high mass in the cathedral church of Lyons be directed to prepare the elements. This circumstance does not favour the views uttered of late in certain quarters upon the "rigidly ceremonious" nature of the mixing of the chalice; and some may also notice that the Lyonnese practice has now received whatever authority may be given to it by an approbation of the see of Rome.

The bread and the wine mixed with water at the offertory during Lent, and then presented to and blessed by the celebrant, do not seem to be used for the celebration of the eucharist, and need not therefore be further considered here.[6]

At Auxerre, the ceremonies of preparation and of offering on the altar were exceedingly interesting and curious. The following account is taken from the Missal of 1738,[7] which is the only eighteenth century edition noted in Mr. Weale's *Bibliographia Liturgica.*

Directly after the chief sub-deacon has sung the epistle, he goes to the credence, and there takes away the veil from the chalice, setting the paten and the host on one side. He then takes the chalice by the knot, wipes it with the purificator, and pours into the chalice the wine from the cruet, which the secondary sub-deacon ministers to him. The chief sub-deacon then puts the chalice on the paten with the host, and fixing both vessels with his left hand, and accompanied by his assistants, the first of whom bears the water cruet, he carries them to the celebrant. He and the deacon have been sitting in the two easternmost sedilia to hear the epistle; they now rise; and in winter throw back the amice, in summer uncover their heads, and the celebrant blesses the water; which done, the chief sub-deacon pours a little of the water into the chalice. The sub-deacon and his assistants then return to the credence, where the chalice is put down, covered with the paten and host, and the palla or small corporal laid over it. The sub-deacon then immediately spreads the corporal on the altar.

It should be noticed that both elements are taken to the priest, as in the Dominican rite, although the bread is not inspected as it is by the friars. The water is poured into the chalice,

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[1] *Missale Lugdunense*, 1510, f. lcxii. The two editions of 1556, spoken of by Mr. Weale, appear to be only one. The colophon runs: excudebat Lugduni Cornelius a Septemgrangiis expensis heredum Jacobi Giuntæ.

[2] *Missale Romano-Lugdunense*, Parisiis et Lugduni, 1866, p. 79.* In this edition the variables have undergone immense changes; but the ordinary of the mass remains much the same.

[3] It may be noticed that at Lyons the epistle is read by the sub-deacon, sitting in his stall, and everyone else also has to sit, "Dicto *Amen* post ultimam Collectam, sub-diaconus sedens in erecto stallo, distincta et elevata voce cantat Epistolam, sedentibus omnibus, stallis sine fragore demissis," p. 78,* cap. iii., § 19.

[4] This altar appears to be behind the high altar: "Durant que le diacre chant l'évangile au jubé, on prepare la matiere du sacrifice derriere l'autel." (Martene and Durand, *Voyage litteraire*, Paris, 1717, p. 1, p. 238.)

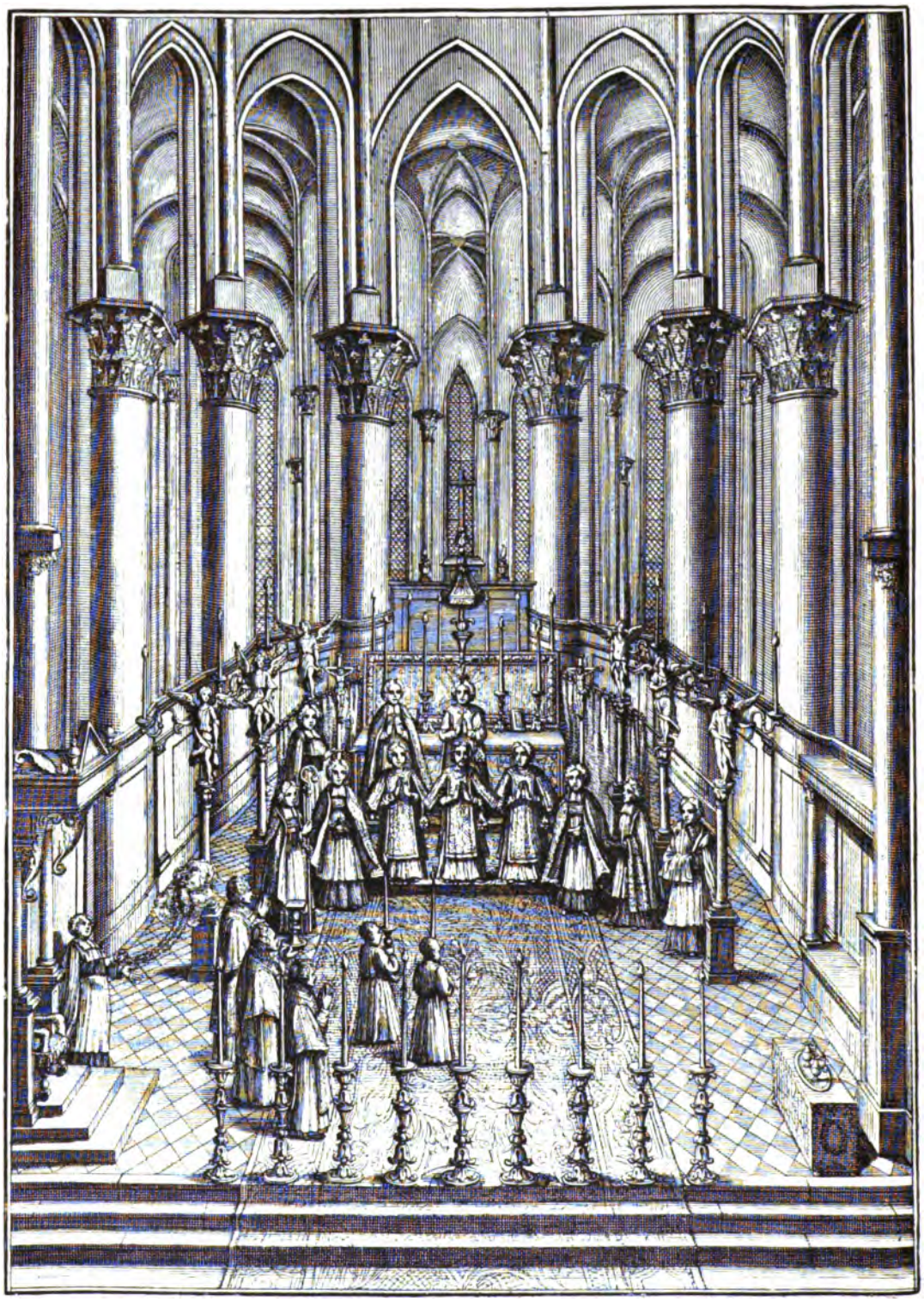
[5] See Ducange, *Glossarium*, sub v. "Matricularii in Ecclesiis Cathedralibus et Collegialibus ex ordine Clericorum et Laicorum erant."

[6] *Op. cit.*, f. 81,* cap. vi., § ii. At Bourges, certain breads and unmixed wine were also brought in at the beginning of the epistle, followed by incense bearers censing continually; but these offerings do not seem to have been used for the Eucharist. (*Missale Bituricense*, Avarici Biturigam, 1741, Ritus in missa servandus, Cap. v., p. xiii.). The offering of bread and wine during the Eucharist for other purposes than that of its celebration, is a very interesting study; but this paper is already too long to allow of such a subject being dealt with at the present moment. Nor can I deal with ceremonies like those at Rouen, in 1759, when between the epistle and gospel, the sub-deacon brought in the breads, and the acolyte, the cruets; and, if there were no credence, the unprepared gifts were immediately set on the altar (*Missale Ecclesie Rotomagensis*, Rotomagi, 1759, Rubricæ generales, p. 13).

[7] *Missale sanctæ Autissiodorensis Ecclesiæ*, Trecis, apud Viduam Petri Michelin, 1738, Ritus Missæ majoris in Ecclesia cathedrali, p. 16.

PLATE II.

To face p. 69.



RITUS DEFERENDI OBLATA.

(*Reproduced from the frontispiece of the Auxerre Missal of* 1738.)

not at the credence, but while the chalice is in the hands of the sub-deacon, standing before the celebrant and deacon, at the sedilia, which, as the accompanying illustration shows, are a little to the east of the credence, but on the same side of the church.

We may pass now to the ceremonies of the offertory, which preserve a most interesting resemblance to the great entrance of Constantinople. As soon as the celebrant says *Oremus*, the three sub-deacons go to the credence, where the chief sub-deacon takes the chalice and the host; and then, carrying the sacred vessels on a level with his face, he passes round the back to the front of the altar; the two secondary sub-deacons on his right hand and left, two candle-bearers before him, and a censer bearer following him, censing continually until the gifts be placed on the altar.[1] (See Plate II.)

The celebrant and deacon turn round to receive the gifts, which are given to the deacon by the sub-deacon. The celebrant takes the chalice from the deacon and turns to the altar, setting the the chalice first outside the corporal. The candle-bearers then go back to the credence, and put down their lights on it, and the censer-bearer retires to the right horn of the altar. Then the deacon gives the paten and host to the celebrant, and after that the chalice, and they are then set on the corporal with certain prayers.

At Soissons, in 1745, there appears to have been a ceremony not unlike that at Auxerre. While *Kyrie* is being said (or if not during *Kyrie* at some time before the gospel) the deacon makes the chalice at the credence himself, saying a prayer over the water and pouring it into the chalice. If there be no credence, this is done at the altar. At the offertory the deacon brings the gifts to the altar, and he is preceded by two candle-bearers and two incense-bearers, these last two walking backwards, and censing the gifts until they be set on the altar. All ministers at the altar, including the "curati cardinales," turn their face to the gifts. If, however, the gifts be prepared at the altar before mass, there is no such ceremonious procession; the deacon merely presents the gifts to the priest.[2]

At Le Mans, as late as 1835, the chalice was mixed at high mass by the sub-deacon between the epistle and gospel.[3] At Narbonne, the deacon poured the wine into the chalice at this moment, but the water was not added until the offertory.[4]

In the diocese of Laon, during the eighteenth century, the preparation and offertory seemed to have been much as follows.[5] While the celebrant is saying *Kyrie* the deacon makes the altar ready, and the sub-deacon brings from the credence the chalice and purificator, the paten with the bread, covered with the pall, veil, and burse; the deacon then sets the vessels on the left side of the altar (*i.e.*, the left of the crucifix on it): then, having spread the corporal in the middle, he puts the vessels covered with the veil upon it, and returns to his place.

The collects having been sung, the deacon uncovers the chalice, and puts the paten with the bread on it at the edge of the corporal; wine and water being brought by a clerk, the deacon then pours wine into the chalice, as much as the celebrant wishes; the clerk then asks the celebrant (who is standing all this time at the epistle corner) to bless the water, and then the water is poured into the chalice by the deacon. The deacon then sets the chalice on the corporal, and covers it with the pall.

In the cathedral church there was a more elaborate ceremony. While the epistle was being sung, the senior boy brought in the chalice and paten, covered with a silk veil; the boy next in age, the bread, contained in a box carried on a rod; and the third in age, the cruets of wine and water: the deacon, standing at the steps of the altar, took the bread from the boy, mixed the chalice, and then immediately set both bread and chalice on the altar.

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[1] The plate shows the celebrant, a bishop, standing in the middle of the altar, and turned to the people; in front of him are the three deacons, and on the step below are the two cross-bearers in copes; below them on the gospel side is the crocer; opposite to him a canon in surplice, with a grey almuce over his left arm; and a clerk carrying the mitre. All the ecclesiastics in copes wear bands.

Advancing towards the altar, is the procession with the gifts, which has come from the credence-table round the back of the altar.

In this illustration, there is also an opportunity of comparing the furniture of an eighteenth century altar with that of a modern altar. In the first place, it may be noticed that there is a real reredos, not an enormous erection behind the altar, throwing the last into insignificance. Then there is no tabernacle on the altar, but a hanging pyx over it; there is no gradine; no flowers; and the candles actually on the altar are only four in number, and of no very great height. There is plainly an embroidered frontal, which is therefore most likely of silk; at all events, the altar is not left naked. There are two *textus* on the altar, just as we can remember in the cathedral churches of our youth, but which the restorers have banished. There are riddells partly drawn, at the ends of the altar.

[2] *Missale Suessionense*, Parisiis, 1745, Rubricæ generales, capp. iii. and vi., pp. 16 and 23.

[3] *Missale Cenomanense*, Cenomani, 1835, p. 356.

[4] *Missale Narbonense*, Narbonæ, 1778. Rubricæ generales, p. 9.

[5] The account is taken from rubrics of the *Ritus in missa servandus* prefixed to the Laon Missals, published in 1702 and 1773. These two accounts are practically the same; but it is only right to add that Antoine Bellotte, in his well known book on the rites of Laon, gives a different account, and makes the preparation of the chalice and setting of the gifts on the altar to take place after the offertory (*In ritus Laudunensis . . . observationes*, pars iii., § 19. Parisiis, 1662, p. 101).

It has been seen (see table annexed to this paper) that at Verdun, in 1554, the chalice was made before vesting. In 1699 the chalice is made at the offertory at low mass; but at the high mass there are ceremonies which may be ancient, and are certainly noteworthy.[1] When the collects are finished the deacon goes up to the altar, and carries the mass-book and its cushion to the gospel end. Then he puts the chalice at the epistle end, spreads the corporal, and puts upon the altar the paten with the bread, then mixes the wine and water in the chalice (the water having been just blessed by the priest in his sedile, and having been brought by an acolyte), and sets the chalice on the corporal in the midst of the altar; the paten with the bread on the chalice and the palla upon all, and then returns to his own sedile on the left of the celebrant.

In the missal of 1829 the mixing takes place at the offertory both at high and low mass.

At Tours, when the archbishop was present, the chalice was brought to him by the deacon as soon as the priest had gone up to the altar. The archbishop then himself poured the wine and water into the chalice, but we are not told whether the chalice is then set on the altar or on a credence.[2]

At Noyon, while *Kyrie* was being said,[3] the sub-deacon takes the chalice to the deacon, who is saying *Kyrie* at the altar on the right of the priest, and the deacon then pours in wine; and after the water has been blessed by the celebrant, the sub-deacon pours some of it into the chalice, which is then taken away to the credence until the offertory; though from a rubric later on[4] the chalice may, in some cases, at once have been set on the altar.[5]

Like this was the practice described by Martene at St. Wast in the Low Countries, where the acolytes set down their candlesticks during *Kyrie* and then go to the altar to prepare the matter of the sacrifice; obleys for those who are to communicate, and they then pour the wine into the chalice, which done, they carry it at once behind the altar.[6] At the abbey of St. James at Liège the deacon and sub-deacon prepared the matter of the sacrifice at the credence during *Kyrie*.[7]

This ceremony at the abbeys of the Low Countries brings us to the religious orders. Though here and there at places like St. Wast, these ancient customs may have held their ground, yet in the greater number of the religious houses which accepted the *missale monasticum* of Paul V.[8] the Roman ceremonies of preparation and of oblation must have been adopted as well; that is, at low mass, where in monasteries the preparation of the host and chalice in the vestry were so often combined, the preparation of the two species was now separated, one being made in the vestry, the other at the altar after the offertory.

The Dominicans, however, have held their old customs to this day. At low mass they still continue to mix the chalice as soon as they approach the altar and before they have said the preliminary prayers before the introit. At high mass, after the epistle, the elements are brought by the sub-deacon to the priest and deacon sitting in their seats near to the altar; the host is first looked at, and then put on the paten; wine and water are then poured into the chalice, in the hands of the sub-deacon, who then carries the vessels to the epistle end of the altar, where they remain covered with a silk veil until after the offertory anthem; then they are moved to the midst of the altar. These ceremonies can be seen readily enough by anyone who will take the pains to attend a high mass in a chapel attached to a Dominican convent, and secure a favourable place for witnessing what is done. They correspond with those described in a Dominican missal published at Rome in 1705, and with what I myself have witnessed at Rome many times in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva.

The Carmelites or White friars had a liturgy very like that of the Dominicans, and their ceremonies were also closely akin. At low mass the preparation and offering of the elements

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[1] *Missale Virdunense*, Virduni, 1699. Ritus servandus, cap. vi., in missa maiori. In 1717 Martene and Durand describe the making of the chalice as at the beginning of mass (*Voyage litteraire*, Paris, 1717. Partie ii., p. 94), and that this was also retained at the collegiate church of St. Mary Magdalene. Verdun was the home of ancient customs at the time of their visit.

[2] [Le Brun des Marettes] *Voyages liturgiques de France . . . par le sieur de Moleon*, Paris, 1718, p. 115. The cruets were of silver, and each held a pint a-piece. Compare those in use at the high altar at Durham before the Reformation: "Two great Crewets of Silver, containing a Quart a-piece, Parcel-gilt, and engraven all over." (*Antiquities of the Abbey or Cathedral Church of Durham*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1767, p. 12. Edited also by Surtees Society.)

[3] *Missale Noviomense* (de Broglie episcopo), 1770. Ritus in missa maiori. Pars iii., cap. iii.

[4] See cap. vii. de offertorio, p. xliii.

[5] I have examined the Missal of 1631, but do not find directions for the mixing at any time; the elements would seem to be ready prepared when the anthem of the offertory is sung.

[6] Martene & Durand, *Voyage litteraire de deux religieux benedictins*, Paris, 1724. Second voyage, partie iii. p. 68.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 174.

[8] According to Mr. Weale's *Bibliographia liturgica*, the first edition of this missal appeared in 1615. I quote from an edition published at Venice in 1754. (typ. Balleoniana.)

before service took place just as in the Dominican rite; at high mass, the ceremonies were also very much the same; only the celebrant appears to have stood at the altar while the chalice was mixed, and the elements, as soon as prepared, were set on the middle of the altar. These ceremonies were retained into the middle of the seventeenth century;[1] there seems to be some evidence that in 1678 these ceremonies had disappeared.[2] It is certain that they are now no longer practised.

IV.—ENGLISH LITURGIES.

The penitential formerly put forward as the work of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury from 669 to 690, which contains a direction that in the Eucharist wine shall be mixed with water, does not seem now to be allowed by scholars as genuine,[3] though it is no doubt of great age. Even if admitted as the work of Theodore, it teaches nothing about the time in the liturgy at which the chalice was mixed; and the same remark applies to the laws published under the name of King Edgar and Aelfric.[4]

These documents give us no sort of hint of the time at which the chalice was made. In the Irish tract on the Mass which accompanies the Stowe missal there is indeed very important information about the time of the mixing of the chalice, and of the time at which the gifts were set on the altar. Earlier commentators on the Stowe missal seem to have formed the opinion that the mixed chalice was not used because they found no directions therefor in the Latin text. But Dr. Whitley Stokes' translation of the Irish tract,[5] which accompanies the Latin text, has made it very clear that the mixed chalice was used, and that the time of mixing was before the service. I will give the words of the Irish tract in Dr. Whitley Stokes' version. It is a mystical explanation of the Mass, and, after speaking of the altar, the tract reads :—

"Water, first, into the chalice, and this is chanted thereat: *Peto te Pater, deprecor te Fili, obsecro te Spiritus Sancte*, to wit, the figure of the people that was poured forth into the church.

"The Host, then, upon the altar, to wit, the turtle dove. This is chanted thereat, to wit, *Jesus Christus, Alpha et Omega, hoc est principium et finis.* A figure of Christ's Body which was set in the linen sheet of Mary's womb.

"Wine then for water into the chalice,[6] to wit, Christ's Godhead for his Manhood and for the people at the time of [his] begetting: this is chanted hereat: *Remittit Pater, indulget Filius, miseretur Spiritus Sanctus.*

"What is chanted of the Mass thereafter, both introit and prayers and addition, as far as the lesson of the Apostles [the epistle] and the psalm of degrees [the gradual] that is a figure of the law of nature," etc.

It is clear enough, then, that the chalice was made before the introit was sung; and all will notice the singular manner in which the mixing is made: first, water is poured into the chalice, and, as another Irish tract tells us,[7] in three portions, with the invocation of the three persons of the Holy Trinity. Then the bread is set on the altar; and, last of all, the wine, also in three portions, is poured into the chalice with a like invocation. It seems clear that the gifts were set on the altar before the beginning of the service.

By the text of the Stowe missal we know that between the epistle and gospel there was a partial uncovering of the chalice. There is also a Latin rubric: *Hic elevatur lintiamen de calice.*[8] This ceremony should be borne in mind, for we shall meet with the same custom in England and elsewhere just before the Reformation.

There is no doubt that the Stowe missal contains a Roman canon; one of those early recensions that may be found before the text of the canon had become crystallized. But at the end of this canon a fraction takes place, which at once recalls the Mozarabic fraction, though

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[1] *Missale Ordinis Fratrum Beatissimæ Dei Genitricis Mariæ de Monte Carmelo*, Romæ, 1640. An approbation by Gregory XIII., dated 1583, is prefixed.

[2] *Ordinarium seu Caeremoniale Fratrum Discalceatorum B. Virginis Mariæ de Monte Carmelo*, Bruxellis, 1678, Cap. iv., § iii., p. 107.

[3] A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, Oxford, vol. iii., p. 173.

[4] B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Record Commission, 1840, pp. 304, 398, 471.

[5] Whitley Stokes, *The Irish Passages in the Stowe Missal*, published in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, Berlin, 1882, Bd. xxvi., pp. 497-519. in English. This tract was also privately printed at Calcutta. See also Charles Plummer, in the same Journal, 1884, Bd. xxvii., pp. 441-448, for important comments on the Irish fraction. For these references I am indebted to Dr. Whitley Stokes. There is also an important paper by the Rev. Dr. MacCarthy, in the *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin, Vol. xxvii., p. 245. The interpretation of the Irish tracts given by Dr. MacCarthy is, from a liturgical point of view, identical with that of Dr. Whitley Stokes.

[6] Dr. MacCarthy translates: "Wine afterwards upon water in the chalice." (p. 246.)

[7] Whitley Stokes, *op. cit.*, p. 511, translation of *Lebar Brecc*. I have not heard of any other ancient rite in which the water is first poured into the chalice.

[8] See F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881, p. 230.

the Mozarabic is indeed much simpler. It may be that in Ireland, or perhaps in Britain, the Gregorian canon was inserted into Hispano-Gallican rites and ceremonies, as we know was the case with the Gallican liturgy shortly before its abolition.[1] The missal itself contains such a well-known Hispano-Gallican formula as *vere Sanctus* ending in *Qui pridie*, which introduces the consecration. Dr. Whitley Stokes has rendered a signal service to liturgy by his translation of these two Irish tracts, and by bringing out the existence of Gallican customs in Ireland, where they have been long suspected. The preparation of the gifts before the beginning of the service corresponds with Abbé Duchesne's account of the Gallican Mass.

With these Irish practices of preparing the gifts and setting them on the altar before the service, and of uncovering them between the epistle and gospel, we may very well compare similar customs elsewhere. Thomas Becon, a profane and obscene writer indeed, describes the English low Mass before the Reformation, but in his book he gives information which cannot be had elsewhere: "Ye come unto the altare with your mass-booke, corporasse, chalice and bread, with such other trynckettes."[2] Now this makes it certain that one of the gifts, the bread, was set on the altar at the beginning of the service; and it is highly probable that the chalice also contained, at the time that it was brought to the altar, the necessary mixture of wine and water; for after the epistle this writer says: "Ye go to ye other ende of ye altare to rede ye gospel. But first of all ye uncover the chalice, and looke whether youre drynke be there or no, lest ye should chaunce to be deceaved when the tyme of your repast come."[3] This is the precise moment of the half-uncovering of the Stowe missal. And it is plain also that the "drynke," which the honey-tongued Becon calls "a sponeful of wyne mingled with water,"[4] was in the chalice before the uncovering took place.

Becon's words run almost like a translation of a rubric from the Coutances missal of 1557. The priest, in this rite, prepares the bread and makes the chalice before vesting, and it would seem that he takes the gifts with him to the altar when he begins the service; for after the epistle the rubric begins to speak of "Evangelium. Quod lecturus deferat librum ad sinistram partem altaris. Et visitet an sit vinum et aqua in calice, discoperiendo (*sic*) calicem et levando patenam et panem super positum et respiciendo intra calicem," etc.[5]

There was a like uncovering of the chalice in a Breton rite, that of St. Pol de Leon, an episcopal town on the north coast of Brittany. But it does not appear certain that the chalice had been prepared. "Amoto corporali desuper calicem, antequam incipiat evangelium."[6]

In the important little French tract, *Alphabetum Sacerdotum*,[7] the same visitation of the chalice before the gospel is ordered.

Thus in the North of France, in England, and in Ireland, this uncovering of the chalice between the epistle and gospel takes place; and it would seem to bring with it as an almost necessary consequence the preparation and setting of the elements on the altar before the service.

To turn back again from the time just before the Reformation to the introduction of the Norman liturgies into England, which took place soon after the Conquest. There is evidence, for example, that the diocese of Lincoln adopted the liturgical books of Rouen,[8] and there is a persistent tradition that in the reform attributed to St. Osmund the ceremonies of Rouen were adopted at Sarum. Other Norman dioceses are also thought to have influenced the English rites. Mr. Henry Bradshaw thought the Bayeux ceremonies exceedingly important;[9] and we have just had an instance of the conformity of one of the ceremonies of the diocese of Coutances with an English practice. But immediately after the Conquest there is no direct evidence of the time of the mixing of the chalice in England; though, as to the time of setting the gifts on the altar, it would appear, from the Constitutions of Lanfranc, that they were put on the altar after the gospel, and the wine was then in all likelihood already mixed with water before it was given to the priest;[10] water certainly was mixed with the wine, for it was the duty of the sexton daily to

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[1] Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, Lut. Paris, 1724, t. i., p. 279.

[2] Thomas Becon, *The Displayeng of the Popysh Masse*, contained in collected edition of his *Works*, 1563, part iii., fol. xxxviii, verso. When Becon gets beyond his own matters of observation, the following passage on the same page will show how trustworthy he is: "The Grekes . . . use also wyne onely in their cuppe, whereas the Latin Chirch customably mingle water."

[3] Fo. xxxix., verso.

[4] Fo. xl., verso.

[5] *Missale cunctis sacerdotibus iuxta Constantien. diocesis etc.* Impressum Rothomagi, 1557, fo.

[6] Ex ms. missali A. de Longeuil episcopi Lioniensis, in Martene, *de antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. i., cap. iv. Art. xii. Ordo xxxiv. Bassani, 1788. t. i. p. 238. Antoine de Longueil was bishop of St. Pol de Leon from 1484 to 1500. (Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, Ratisbonæ, 1873, p. 622.)

[7] See above, Part ii., p. 63.

[8] *Statuta Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Lincolniensis*, Londini, 1873. Edidit Christophorus [Wordsworth] divina permissione Episcopus Lincolniensis, p. 3.

[9] G. W. Prothero, *A Memoir of Henry Bradshaw*, London, 1888, p. 283.

[10] Wilkins, *Concilia*, Lond., t. i., p. 355.

prepare wine and water for the mass.[1] Lanfranc himself must have known the use of Bec; and at Bec it was the custom to mix the water with the wine before the priest vested for mass.[2] The same custom prevailed at Rouen.[3] At Bec it is not certain that this was the practice at high mass; but at Rouen it is clear that the ceremonies of high mass are being described, as the deacon, the clerks, and incense are spoken of. At Bayeux, the mixing took place between the epistle and gospel at high mass.[4] At Avranches, in the eleventh century, the mixing certainly took place after the gospel at high mass; at the same time as the setting of the bread and wine on the altar.[5]

In Normandy, then, we find all the three places usual for making the chalice; before mass, between the epistle and gospel, and after the offertory. It would be interesting if we could make out which of these was the most common in England in the centuries before the Reformation; but it is not easy.

At the Sarum high mass the elements were brought into the church after the introit, and put in the place assigned for them. A credence, or table of proposition, is not expressly named. The chalice was brought in during the epistle, and taken to the place of administration,[6] and the corporals spread on the altar by the acolyte. The epistle over, the subdeacon, after washing his hands, made ready the bread and wine, with the aid of the acolyte, in the place of administration. Up to this point the Consuetudinary[7] is our authority, but the Missal adds that the subdeacon makes ready the bread, wine, and water, after the grail and other liturgical formulæ have been said privately by the priest, the water being first blessed by the priest, apparently while he is sitting in the sedilia.[8] After the anthem of the offertory, the elements are given to the priest, who places them in the middle of the altar, according to the Missal.

It thus seems that the rubrics of Sarum may be explained on either hypothesis: that the *locus administrationis* was a modern credence table; or some part of the altar, the south end of which would be most convenient.

At Wells the customs would seem to have been identical with those at Sarum in the preparation of the elements at the *locus ministrationis;* but there appears to be no mention of the exact moment of the mixing of the chalice; the Wells *Ordinale* follows almost word for word in this matter the Sarum Consuetudinary, which is also silent.[9]

At York there are no means in the Missal for forming a decided opinion. It would seem not unlikely, however, that the elements were ready on the altar when the priest said the anthem of the offertory.[10]

At Hereford, after the anthem of the offertory, the things needful for the Sacrament were ministered to the priest; and apparently at this place the water was mixed with the wine in the chalice.[11] These directions rather favour the view that at Hereford the setting of the bread and wine on the altar did not take place until after the anthem of the offertory.

Much more is known about the ceremonies of Lincoln, especially since the publication of Messrs. Wordsworth and Reynolds' edition of the ceremonial portion (*consuetudines circa divinum officium*) of the *Liber Niger*, written about the middle of the thirteenth century. The Mass has gone so far that the priest has said the collects, epistle, gradual, alleluia, and sequence, and is now in his *sedile*, saying certain prayers:—

Lecta epistola in pulpito, *recedet subdiaconus* [these two words over an erasure] principalis ex sinistra parte chori, socio suo prenotato precedente et librum portante,

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[1] Wilkins, *Ibid.* p. 349.

[2] Edm. Martene, *De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus.* Lib. i., cap. iv., art. xii. Ordo xxxvi. Bassani, 1788, t. i., p. 242.

[3] Idem. Ordo xxvi., p. 228.

[4] Idem. Ordo xxiv., p. 225. Cf. *Instructiones perutiles* of the Missal of 1545.

[5] Ioannes Abrincensis episcopus, *liber de officiis ecclesiasticis*, § 66. Migne's ed. col. 35.

[6] The place of administration I take to be simply the place of preparation, be it altar or credence. (See above, Part ii., p. 64, note 6.)

[7] *The Register of S. Osmund*, edited by W. H. Rich Jones, Rolls Series, Lond. 1883. Vol. i., pp. 148–52. A scientific edition of the Consuetudinary is greatly needed.

[8] *Missale ad usum insignis et præclaræ Ecclesiæ Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861–83. Ed. F. H. Dickinson, coll. 587, 589, 593. The rubric in a manuscript Sarum missal of the first third of the fifteenth century (British Museum. Harl. 3866, fo. 135) is as follows: Lecta uero epistola cantetur graduale et *Alleluia* uel tractus uel Sequencia. et interim illis dictis: a sacerdote cum suis ministris. diaconus abluens manus corporalia in altare inferat. apponens panem. uinum et aquam in calicem infundens. ministrante sibi subdiacono. benedictione aque prius a sacerdote petita hoc modo *Benedicite* . . . . Sacerdos uero interim sedeat in sua sede. The variation between the manuscript and the printed missals is thus marked; and the same direction that the deacon shall prepare the chalice is found in several other manuscripts, but they do not always add that the subdeacon is to help him. In a Bodleian MS. (Rawl. Liturg. c. 2, fo. 111. b.) it is "acolito sibi ministrante."

[9] Herbert Edward Reynolds, *Wells Cathedral*, 1881. Ordinale et Statuta, Lambeth MS., 729, p. 36.

[10] *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Eboracensis*, Surtees Society, 1874. Ed. Henderson, vol. i., p. 171.

[11] *Missale Helford.* Rothomag. 1502. See also Dr. Henderson's edition of 1874, p. 117.

et cum venerit ad hostium chori obuiabit eis turiferarius, accipiendo librum et diacono portando.

Eant tunc in vestiarium et ibi dabitur eis calix cum corporali et pane per manus Sacriste, siue sui clerici, et tunc secundarius mundabit calicem ab omni sorde

et dabit principali suo calicem predictam in manibus,

et sic portabunt cum sudario quodam

et ille secundarius portabit corporale cum sudario quodam: et sic eant coniunctim ad altare: Et cum venerint ad gradum superiorem altaris, ibi genubus flexis dicant. *Aue Maria* et cetera,

et surgant, et ponent calicem super altare.

Deinde portabit principalis subdiaconus calicem sacerdoti, [et] secundarius phiolas cum vino et aqua:

Et ibi infundet sacerdos primo vinum; secundo aquam modicam; tamen quod stet per substanciam et colorem vini. Deinde portabit calicem retro altare aliquo loco ydoneo et decente.

et displicet diaconus secundarius corporale super altare predictum.[1]

After the creed, there is, strange to say, no mention of the chalice and host being brought to the priest, but there is a direction to cense the chalice and corporal immediately after the Creed. The corporal is said to be spread on the altar. Where was, then, the chalice *retro altare?* Is the fit and proper place, *retro altare*, on the altar itself?

So much for the mediæval diocesan customs of England that are known to us. But the monastic uses may not be neglected, especially as each considerable monastery had a use of its own, which may throw much light upon that of the diocese in which it was. We may take Westminster first, as one of the chief English convents; and its mass book, written between 1362 and 1386, has been preserved in the library of the Dean and Chapter.

The mixing at Westminster took place at a very noteworthy moment, between the taking of the stole and the chasuble; and the evidence of the kind of service is as much in favour of high mass as of low mass. After washing his hands, the priest about to celebrate puts on the mass vestments, the alb, girdle, maniple and stole; then comes this direction: *Quando miscendo vino aquam fundit in calicem hostia prius super patenam decenter prelocata.* Deus qui humane substancie.[2] It will be noted that a sort of preparation of the bread takes place at the mixing of the cup, in accordance with a sound tradition that the bread and cup should be prepared at the same time.[3] It is possible also that the prepared gifts were not set on the altar until after the offertory; for before the single prayer of the oblation, which was only to be said if the priest liked, he is to set the chalice and host on the corporals.[4] It may of course be that the elements were only moved from one part of the altar to another.

I am indebted to Mr. Edmund Bishop, who, with Dom Aidan Gasquet, is editing the Consuetudinary of St. Mary's Abbey, York, for the information that at high mass there the chalice was made after the offertory, but at low mass before the service.

The Black Canons, at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire, made the chalice at high mass between the epistle and gospel. It was the business of the sub-deacon to make ready the obleys, the wine and water, and the corporals; and of the deacon to choose the obleys and give the chalice with the wine and water to the priest, if he pleased.[5]

Thus far only liturgical books have been quoted. We may now turn to evidence offered by writers on liturgical subjects, among whom it has already been necessary to mention Thomas Becon. Unpleasant as it is to bring such a witness to the notice of decent folk, yet his evidence is most important, and the ceremonies which he describes may hardly be explained except on the theory that in the English mass the chalice was made in the vestry, or before the service, and brought with the bread and set on the altar when the priest came up to say mass.

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[1] *Consuetudinarium de Divinis Officiis Ecclesie Lincolniensis*, tempore Richardi de Gravesend Episcopi (A.D. 1258-1279). Ed. Chr. Wordsworth and H. E. Reynolds, 1885; no place, p. 13. Mr. Wordsworth has, with his usual kindness, compared the above with Mr. Henry Bradshaw's transcript from the original "Black Book," so that I am able to give exactly the spelling of the earliest extant copy (cir. 1400).

[2] *Missale ad usum Ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, MS. in the Chapter Library, fo. 147. It is now being printed by the Henry Bradshaw Society, fasc. ii. col. 488.

[3] The Westminster books in all likelihood have preserved for us something of the usages of the diocese of London; for religious societies were accustomed on their foundation to adopt the rites and ceremonies of the diocese in which they found themselves. There is a notable instance in the case of the Dominicans in Lombardy who, not many years after their establishment, must have thrown aside their own liturgy, which is that of mediæval Paris or Toulouse, and adopted the Ambrosian because they found themselves in the diocese of Milan. The Franciscans at Milan had also to abandon their Romàn liturgy for the Ambrosian. (Pietro Mazzuchelli, *Osservazione . . . sopra il rito ambrosiano*, Milano, 1828, p. 139.)

[4] Fo. 151. (in printed ed. fasc. ii. col. 500.)

[5] Harl. M.S. 3601 fo. 202 verso: Now being edited by Mr. J. W. Clark, Registrary of the University of Cambridge.

It seems quite reasonable to hold that Becon describes the common practice at low mass all over England.[1]

With *The book of Ceremonies* the period of reform is clearly reached, although still of a conservative reform. In this the chalice is mixed after the offertory. "Then followeth the Offertory . . . at which tyme the Mynyster laying the brede upon ye aulter, maketh the chalice, myxyng the water with the wyne."[2]

What is the exact value of this book as an exponent of mediæval practice? Most likely it is not very great; it is rather the first attempt at reform, suggestions for the future more than descriptions of the present.

This future came about in Edward VI.'s time, when a liturgy for the whole Church of England was first published, and with the title: The Supper of the Lord and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass. One great reform was made in this liturgy; all anticipation of the offertory was forbidden, and accordingly all verbal oblation became unnecessary, and the Gallican prayers which are still retained in the Roman missal disappeared. But apparently it was not yet possible to separate the idea of oblation from preparation, and accordingly the chalice was directed to be made at the same time that the elements were to be set on the altar.[3]

With the second book, published at the most shameful period of English history, all directions for preparing the elements or even for setting them on the altar disappeared. Whether by design or accident, there is certainly a resemblance between the arrangement of parts in the Mozarabic service and the Old-Gallican, and the second Prayer Book of Edward VI, and in one of these two ancient liturgies there seems, as I have said, much evidence that the preparation of the elements, and their setting on the altar, took place before the service began.

With the death of Edward VI. England breathed again. With Queen Mary came a return of the mediæval service books; and with them, no doubt, the preparation of the gifts before the service, and anticipation of the offertory. In this matter things were hardly mended under Queen Elizabeth, for in her book no directions were inserted for the preparation of the gifts or for the time at which they should be set on the altar. In all likelihood they were, in most cases, set on the altar before the service began, as in the mediæval service. We have mainly negative evidence as to the preparation. Thomas Bilson, writing in Queen Elizabeth's time, says, "We forbid no man to temper his wine with water if hee find either himselfe annoied with the use of meere wine, or the wine of it selfe to bee heady and strong."[4] It will be seen that this writer can hardly be quoted in support of a ceremonial mixture being practised in his day.

With King James I. an improvement visibly sets in. He was the first of the English sovereigns to be crowned with a vernacular service, which, it may be noted, is little more than a translation from the old Latin. In this order, after the offertory, the King offers the bread and wine for his communion and a mark of gold; then four prayers are said in the place of the ancient Secrets; one being made up of two *secretæ* from the Latin service,[5] forming a very distinct epiclesis. It seems likely that the mixing of the chalice was an ordinary custom in the Chapel Royal of this king. Lancelot Andrewes was appointed Dean of the Chapel Royal in 1619, and it is asserted that "the practice of *Mingling Wine and Water* in the *Chalice* had place in His *Majesties Chappel Royal* all the time that Bishop *Andrews* was Dean."[6] Furthermore, on the eve of the departure of the Prince of Wales for Madrid, the King gave, amongst others, these instructions to the chaplains that attended him: "That the communion be

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[1] Mr. Christopher Wordsworth has pointed out to me that *The Storie of the Masse* in Caxton's *Golden Legend* contains a passage which distinctly describes the making of the chalice after the host has been offered. "The hoost . . . . offreth it to god the fader, sayeng suscipe sancte pater . . . . after the preest makyth comyxcyon of wyne and water to gyder" (fo. ccccxxxvii., "Westmestre, 1483, by me Wyllyam Caxton.") But although the *Storie* is in English, yet the prayers of the offertory are not to be found in any English rite that I know of as yet; and one comes to the opinion that Caxton is merely giving a translation of a description of a foreign rite, probably the Roman.

[2] Cotton MSS., British Museum. Cleopatra, E. 5., fo. 280. (John Strype, *Eccles. Memorials*, Oxford, 1822, vol. I., part ii., p. 422.)

[3] Up to this date each diocese had its own liturgy, appointed by the Bishop with the consent of the Chapter, and in several dioceses the Bishop and Chapter had agreed to the use of Sarum. But there was no liturgy for the Church of England. The first liturgy of the Church of England was Edward VI.'s first book. I am aware that in Henry VIII.'s time the convocation of Canterbury had ordered its clergy to recite the Sarum Breviary; but it should be noticed that this was only the breviary, and apparently the order only concerned the private recitation of Divine service.

[4] Thomas Bilson, Warden of Winchester College, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. *The true difference between Christian subjection and unchristian rebellion*, Oxford, 1585. p. 666.

[5] *The Ceremonies, Form of Prayer, and Services used in Westminster Abbey at the Coronation of King James the First*, London, Randal Taylor, 1685, folio, p. 10.

[6] *The Primitive Rule of Reformation according to the First Liturgy of K. Edward VI.* London, Mary Thompson, 1688. p. 20.

celebrated in due form, with an Oblation of every Communicant, and admixing Water with the Wine, the Communion to be as often used as it shall please the Prince to set down: Smooth Wafers to be used for the Bread."[1]

Though a mixed cup was to be used, yet no information is given us when it was mixed. But there can be no doubt that the time at which Bishop Andrewes mixed the cup was in the interval between the prayer of humble access and the prayer of consecration. The bread was also prepared at the same moment as the cup. But it is not clear when the elements were set on the holy table. They may have been put on the altar before the prayer for the church militant, but a separation was clearly not made until just before the prayer of consecration.[2] That this was the case is rendered more likely by the directions for the consecration at Abbey Dore. The bread and wine were in this service offered after "Let your light"; then other oblations were presented and the prayer for the church militant said: but in the interval before the prayer of consecration the bread was laid on the paten, and the wine poured into the chalice and a little water added.[3] Archbishop Laud, we know, used a credence, for it was confessed at his trial:[4] and Brett tells us that he restored the use of the mixed chalice at All Hallows, Barking, where it has continued ever since, that is up to 1720.[5]

Laud's influence upon the Scottish book of 1637 may perhaps have been overrated; but it it should be noticed that in this book we first find directions for setting the bread and wine on the altar at the offertory in words which clearly foreshadow the rubric of 1662. Nothing is said, however, about the mixed chalice.

With the Restoration of King Charles II. came the revision of the liturgy, and a direction to set the bread and wine on the holy table at the offertory was now added. But nothing is said about the preparation of the gifts; and though there is evidence that the mixed chalice continued in use, yet we have singularly little evidence of the time at which it was mixed. Bishop Wilson, in the edition of *Sacra Privata* which has been restored according to the manuscript in the bishop's own hand, gives private devotions "Upon placing the bread and wine and water upon the altar."[6] Nothing however is said of the time at which the chalice was mixed; a regret is expressed later on that the rubric in the Prayer Book is so rarely observed, and it may be feared that, if a plain direction like this were not observed, a practice even of venerable antiquity like the mixed chalice would hardly become very general. Brett speaks of it as done in the Church of England, but as if there were but few who did it. "It may perhaps be said that the Church of *England* has not prohibited a mixed cup; she has only not enjoyned it; that in some of the publick Parish Churches the Priest does put Water into the Sacramental Wine, and that we do not find any have been censured for it."[7] The priests who used the mixed cup seem to have been few in number. A controversial writer speaks of "the few Clergy who have followed this Practice";[8] and John Johnson, favourably disposed towards it as he may have been, says, "All learned Charitable Christians will judge favourably of the Church of *England* for using none";[9] that is, no water in the sacred cup. If, then, according to Bishop Wilson, there were but few who followed the plain direction of the Prayer Book to set the bread and wine on the altar at a particular moment of the service, it is likely enough that there were but few who would follow a custom less distinctly commanded than the former.

But these few were no doubt increased in number after the controversy raised by the Nonjurors on this point, and which controversy passed from mere discussion into practice on

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[1] Jeremy Collier, *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, London, 1714, vol. ii. (Part ii. Book viii.) p. 726.

[2] Lancelot Andrewes, *The Form of Consecration of a Church or Chappel*, etc. London, T. Garthwait, 1659. p. 83. "Lotisque manibus, pane fracto, vino in Calicem effuso, et aqua admista, stans ait Almighty God our Heavenly Father." See also Andrewes' Works in *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* (Oxford 1854, p. 157). Before prayer of consecration, but after that of humble access: "Postea panes e canistro in patinam ponit: dein vinum e doliolo [dolio: MS. B.M.] adinstar Sanguinis erumpentis [dirumpens: MS. B.M. erumpens: MS. Lambeth.] in calicem haurit; tum aquam e Triconali [triclinari: MS. BM.] scypho [cypho MS. BM.] immiscet," etc.

[3] John Fuller Russell, *The Form and Order of the consecration of the parish church of Abbey Dore*, London, 1874. pp. 27—30.

[4] William Laud, *Works*, vol. iv. p. 210, 1854 (*Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*). Dr. Haywood confessed (as it was urged) "that he fetched the elements from the credential (a little side table as they called it), and set them reverently upon the communion table."

[5] Thomas Brett, *A Collection of the Principal Liturgies*, London, 1720. Dissertation, § 41, p. 357.

[6] Thomas Wilson, Bishop of Sodor and Man, Keble's Edition in *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*, vol. v., p. 74.

[7] Thomas Brett, *A Collection of the Principal Liturgies*, London, 1720. Dissertation concerning the preceding Liturgies, § 26, p. 225.

[8] *No Necessity to alter the Common Prayers*, London, John Morphew, 1718. p. 3.

[9] John Johnson, *The Unbloody Sacrifice*, London, 1718. Part ii. (chap i., sect. iv.), p. 59.

the publication of the Nonjurors' liturgy in 1718.[1] In this order the chalice is directed to be mixed at the offertory, with an addition that I have never seen in any other liturgy before 1718: "putting thereto, *in the view of the People*, a little pure and clean water." The same particular direction may be found in the liturgy[2] attributed to Thomas Deacon, who was a bishop among the Nonjurors: "The Priest [or Deacon, p. 318] . . . . shall mix the Wine and Water openly in the view of the People," immediately before the gifts are set on the altar at the offertory, notwithstanding that an opportunity of preparing the elements at "the prothesis" before the liturgy is given, as the deacon is ordered to set bread, wine, and water on "the prothesis" before the introit. It seems to have been thought of considerable importance that the water should be added to the wine in the sight of the people, and at the offertory, when the *missa fidelium* was beginning. It may perhaps be thought that this is evidence that some in the Church of England from which the Nonjurors had seceded mixed the cup not in the sight of the people. In our time we have met with a feeling like this; and no less a ritualist than Mr. Maskell has given expression to it. He says: "If this mixture be not public as of old, and explained to the people, the purpose of it must be lost."[3] Mr. Maskell, when he wrote, can hardly have been aware of the number of rites "of old" in which the mixture was not in the sight of the people; and if the meaning of this mixture be not explained to them, whose fault is that?

The influence of the Nonjurors upon the disestablished Church of Scotland is well known, and it is very likely due to the liturgy of 1718 that in the Church of Scotland the preparation of the gifts was, after the middle of the last century, deferred to the time when they were about to be set on the altar at the offertory. Before and after the revolution it would appear from an important memorandum, drawn up by Bishop Rattray, and lately printed by the Bishop of Edinburgh, "that it was the custom in many places to mix a little pure and clean water with the Sacramental Wine, not indeed at the Altar, but in preparing the elements before. This custom was almost universal throughout the North, perhaps from the very time of the Reformation."[4] For this last suggestion I can find no indication of the time of mixing in the Scottish missals that have come down to us,[5] except, of course, in the Stowe missal, the directions of which may have been known to the Irish missionaries who preached the gospel in Caledonia, and retained when St. Margaret made so many other changes.

The close connexion of the American Church with the disestablished Scottish Church is well known. Bishop Seabury reprinted, for the use of his own diocese in Connecticut, an edition of the Scottish Communion Office, in which one of the few changes made was a direction to mix the chalice at the offertory, but this is not ordered to be in the sight of the people.[6] In the American Common Prayer Book, which appeared in the year following after Bishop Seabury's publication, there is no direction to mix the chalice at all; the rubric is simply a reproduction of that of the English book of 1662.

With his wonted kindness, Mr. Blew has allowed me the freest use of his great library of mediæval missals, and much of the information given in this paper has been derived from his books. Mr. Brightman, Librarian of the Pusey House, Oxford, has read the paper, both in manuscript and in proof, and I am much indebted to him for the pains that he has taken in supplying several suggestions and important corrections. I must also express my warmest thanks to Mr. George K. Fortescue for the ready help that he has so often given me in the troublesome task of tracing books in the catalogue of the British Museum. Without his aid I should have been unable to verify many of the quotations which I have now been fortunate enough to give from the original documents.

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[1] *A Communion Office taken partly from Primitive Liturgies and partly from the First English Reformed Common Prayer Book*, &c. London, James Bettenham, 1718, 8vo., no pagination. There is no direction for the mixed chalice in the earlier attempt: *The Liturgy of the Ancients represented as near as well may be in English Forms.* London, 1696, privately printed, p. 13.

[2] *A compleat Collection of Devotions, both publick and private.* London, 1734, pp. 74, 85, 318.

[3] William Maskell, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England.* Second edition, London, 1846. Preface p. cxxxv. It is the second, not any later edition, that must be consulted.

[4] John Dowden, *an historical account of the Scottish Communion Office*, Edinburgh, 1884, pp. 53, 326.

[5] The Arbuthnott Missal, edited in 1864, at the Pitsligo Press, Burntisland, by the late Dr. Alexander Forbes, Bp. of Brechin.

[6] *Bishop Seabury's Communion Office*, 1786, p. 8; reproduced in fac-simile by the Rev. Samuel Hart, New York, 1883, second ed. I am indebted to the courtesy of the learned editor for a copy of this most interesting work.

A TABLE SHOWING THE LITURGICAL MOMENT OF THE MAKING OF THE CHALICE IN CERTAIN WESTERN RITES BEFORE 1570.

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Angers.	*Missale ad usum insignis ecclesie Andegavensis*, Rothomagi, 1523, fo. cxxii.	After washing hands and before vesting.	P ?
Coutances.	*Missale cunctis sacerdotibus iuxta Constantiensis diocesis* etc., Rothomagi, 1557.	,,	P ?
Autun.	*Sacrorum codex* (*vulgo Missale nuncupatus*) *iuxta ritum ecclesie Heduensis*, Hedue, 1556, fo. cxxxix.	,,	P ?
Auxerre.	Ex antiquo missali ecclesiae Autissiodorensis. (Edm. Martene, *de antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. i. § xiii.)	,,	?
Monks of Bec.	Ex ms. codice Beccensis monasterii. (*Ibid.*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. Ord. xxxvi.)	,,	?
Monks of Cluny.	[Marguard Hergott] *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, 1726. Const. Cluniac. I. lxxii, p. 263.	,,	P.
Monks of Hirschau.	*Ibid.* p. 454.	,,	P.
Verdun.	*Missale secundum usum ..... insignis ecclesie et diocesis Virdunensis*, Paris, 1544, fo. cxxxj.	,,	?
Geneva.	*Missale secundum usum Gebennens.* Lugd. Gul. Huyon, 1521. Scibile ac Promptuarium sacerdotibus necessarium.	,,	?
Paris.	*Missale ad usum ecclesie Parisiensis*, Th. Kerver, 1501.	After washing hands and before vesting; or at least before gospel.	?
,,	Idem, 1541, fo. clxxii, verso.	,,	
,,	Idem, 1543.	,,	
,,	Idem, 1559.	,,	
Beauvais.	*Missale ad usum Insignis ecclesie Beluacensis*, Paris and Beauvais,-G. de Pré and Charles Fabre, 1538, fo. cxlviii, verso.	,,	
Rouen.	MS. *Ordo* of 13th century (Martene, *de antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, lib. i. cap. iv. art. xii. ordo xxvi. Bassani, 1788, l. i. p. 228.)	After taking rochet and washing hands, but before taking mass vestments.	S.

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Rouen.	*Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Rothomagensis*, 1499.	After taking rochet and washing hands, but before taking mass vestments.	?
Orleans.	*Breviarium diocesis Aurelianenis*, Parisiis, J. Kaerbriand; Aurelii, Martinet, 1542. 8°. pars hyemalis.	"	? P.
Monks of Westminster.	Abbot Litlington's Missal, in Chapter Library, written between 1362 and 1386, fo. 147 b. (Now being edited by Henry Bradshaw Society, fasc. ii. col. 488.)	During vesting, between stole and chasuble.	?
Monks of Ainay, Lyons.	*Missale secundum usum monasterii Sancti Martini Athanaci*, 1531.	"	?
Macon.	*Missale secundum usum insignis ecclesie Matisconensis*, Lugduni, 1532, fo. cxxxix.	"	
Chalons-sur-Marne.	*Missale ad usum ecclesie Cathalaunensis*, Parisiis, 1489, fo. ccli.	During vesting, between stole and chasuble; or at least before gospel.	
"	Ed. 1543. At end of book: Modus celebrandi fo. xxxii, verso.	Before vesting with amice.	
German Benedictines.	*Missale denuo diligentissime castigatum et revisum O. S. B. nigrorum monachorum per Germaniam*, Hagenoie, 1517, fo. cxxxiii.	Between vesting and *Judica*.	
Pallanza.	*Missale Pallantinum* 1568, fo. ccclj.	Before mass begins.	P.
Milan.	*Missale Ambrosianum* 1560, fo. 154 recto.	"	P.
Canons of St. Victor, at Paris.	*Missale Canonicorum regularium O. S. A. secundum ritum insignis ecclesie Sancti Victoris ad muros Parisiensis*, Paris, Prevost. 1529.	Between *Judica* and *confiteor*.	?
Chartres.	*Missale.....Carnotense* 1534. John Kerbriant, alias Huguelin, fo. cxliiii. recto.	After *confiteor* and kissing of *textus*, and before gospel.	S.
Astorga.	*Missale Asturicensis Ecclesie*, Astrucie, 1564.	After *Aufer a nobis* and kissing of altar; or better after epistle.	?

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Calagorra.	*Missale secundum consuetudinem Calagurritanensis et Calciatensis ecclesiarum*, 1554, fo. cxlvi.	After *confiteor* but before introit.	P.
Cistercian Monks.	*Consuetudines*, written between 1173 and 1191. (Ed. by Ph. Guignard, *Les monuments primitifs de la règle cistercienne*, Dijon, 1878, p. 142.)	After *confiteor*, and if possible before priest says *Dominus vobiscum*.	S.
,,	*Liber usuum Cisterciensis Ordinis*, Paris, Engelbert de Marnet, 1531.	,,	S.
Canons Regular of St. Denis at Rhemes.	*Constitutiones particulares Monasterii canonicorum regularium Sancti Dionysii Remensis*. (Edm. Martene, *op. cit.* appendix ad *antiquos ecclesiæ ritus*, t. iii. p. 298.)	At *Dominus vobiscum*.	S.
Sicily.	*Missale Gallicanum ad consuetudinem Ecclesiarum Siculorum et precipue Messanensis accommodatum*, Venetiis apud Iuntas, 1568. f. 99 recto.	After beginning introit and spreading corporal.	?
Agram.	*Missale secundum chorum almi episcopatus Zagrabiensis*, Venetiis, Liechtenstein 1511?	Before introit, if priest so please: or immediately before gospel; or in cold weather, after offertory.	?
Siguenza.	*Missale ad usum ecclesie Seguntine*, Seguntie, 1552, f. cxix.	Before introit.	P.
St. Ouen, Rouen.	Ex veteri Breviario ad usum Rotomagensis S. Audoeni monasterio edito. (Edm. Martene, *de antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, lib. i, cap. iv, art. xii, ordo xxxvii.)	After censing altar at introit and before gospel.	S.
Carcassonne.	Missal, fo. 182 b. MS. 5698 in Bibliothèque de la Ville, Carcassonne, dated 1472.	After introit and before gospel.	
Colen.	*Missale Diocesis Coloniense*, Parrhisiis, Nicolas Prevost & Arnold Byrckman, 1525. Preparamenta sacerdotum ad missam, pp. 2 and 3. The writer of *Die Liturgie der Erzdiöcese Köln*, Köln, 1868, p. 27, gives this as custom from 1494 to 1626, and considers that the mixing took place before *Kyrie*.	After introit and before gospel.	
Toledo.	*Missale Toletanum*, Burgis, 1512. Regule sacerdotales, fo. cxviii.	Between approaching altar and reading the gospel, or before the deacon sings the respond.	S.

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Bursfeld Benedictines.	*Ceremoniæ nigrorum monachorum O. S. B. de observantia Bursfeldensi.....A.D.* 1502. *Kal. Ianuarii.* Paris, 1610, cap. xlii, p. 114.	Between *Kyrie* and *Gloria.*	S.
Cordova.	*Missale Cordubensis ecclesie*, Cordube, Simon Carpintero, 1561, fo. clxxiii, and *ordinarium missae*, fo. 2. at end of book.	After gradual and before gospel.	S. & P.
Pallanza.	*Missale Pallantinum*, 1568, fo. cccli.	During gradual.	S.
Hieronymite Friars.	*Missale Romanum secundum consuetudinem fratrum ordinis sancti Hieronymi*, Caesaraug. Georg. Cocus, 1510.	"	P.
Freising.	*Directorium seu Index divinorum officiorum : secundum ritum ecclesie et diocesis Frisingensis*, Venetiis, P. Liechtenstein, 1516. At end of this is *Ordo secundum rubricam frisingen.* Not paged. Directions on verso of fo. 2.	After gradual.	P.
Plasencia (Spain).	*Missale secundum consuetudinem alme ecclesie Placentine*, Venetiis, Spinelli, 1554, fo. xiii.	"	
Carmelite Friars.	*Missale ad usum Carmelitarum*, Lugduni, 1516, Rubrica xli.	"	S.
Dominican Friars.	*Missale predicatorum*, Venetiis, Giunta, 1504. De officio ministrorum altaris.	"	S.
Bourdeaux.	*Missale insignis ecclesie Burdigalensis*, 1543. Stephen Tholouze and Lodovic Rostelin.	Between epistle and gospel.	S.
Braga.	Letter from Mr. E. A. Allen, Director of Public Library at Oporto. (Practice continued to end of seventeenth century.)	"	S.
Burgo de Osma.	*Missale mixtum ad usum et consuetudinem sancte ecclesie Oxomensis*, Burgo Osmensi, Didacus a Corduba, 1561, Fo. Ordinarium Misse.	"	P. & S.
Soissons.	*Rituale seu Mandatum insignis ecclesiæ Suessionensis*, ed. Poquet, Suessione. 1856, p. 172. (Written in time of Nivelon de Cherisy, Bishop from 1175 to 1207.)	"	S.
Chalons-sur-Saone.	Ex ordinario MS. insignis ecclesiæ cabilonensis. Edm. Martene, *de antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, Lib. i, cap. iv, art. xii. Ordo xxix.	"	S.
Amiens.	Edm. Martene, *op. cit.*, lib. i, cap. iv, art. v, § x.	"	S.
Regensburg.	*Ordo misse secundum morem ecclesie Ratisponensis.* (Early 16th century? British Museum, 3366, c. 30.)	"	?

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Bayeux.	Ex MS. ordinario insignis ecclesiæ Baiocensis. (Ed. Martene, *ibid.*, ordo xxiv.)	Between epistle and gospel.	S.
,,	*Ordo missalis secundum consuetudinem ecclesie Baiocensis*, 1545, Instructiones perutiles, after calendar.	Between *gloria in excelsis* and gospel.	P ?
Sarum.	*Missale ad usum insignis et præclaræ ecclesiæ Sarum*, Burntisland, 1861. Ed. Dickinson. Col. 587.	Between epistle and gospel.	S.
Lincoln.	*Consuetudinarium ecclesie Lincolniensis, temp. R. de Gravesend epi.* (1258-1279.) Ed. Chr. Wordsworth, 1885.	,,	S.
Wells.	*Ordinale et Statuta*, p 36. (Ed. by H. E. Reynolds, in *Wells Cathedral*, &c. 1881.)	,,	S.
Black Canons of Barnwell, Cambridgeshire.	*Libellus de observanciis regularibus canonicorum regularium de Barnwelle*, xxiii. Harleian MS., 3601, fo. 202. Now being edited by Mr. J. W. Clark.	Between epistle and gospel at high mass : at *missa matutinalis* during collects.	S.
Lyons.	*Missale sub ritu et usu dicte ecclesie lugdunensis*, Lugduni, Io. Alemann de Magontia, 1487, fo. cxxvi.	Before gospel.	S. & P.
,,	Do. 1510, fo. lcxii.	,,	S.
,,	Do. 1556, fo. cii.	,,	
Siguenza.	*Missale ad usum ecclesie Seguntine*, Seguntie, 1552.	,,	S.
Calagorra.	*Missale secundum consuetudinem Calagurritanensis et Calciatensis ecclesiarum*, 1554, fo. cxlvi.	,,	S.
Meaux.	*Missale opus ecclesie Meldensis*, Lutetie, Jo. Bonhomme, 1556, fo. clvi, verso.	Before gospel.	
Monks of Casale.	Edm. Martene, *de antiquis monachorum ritibus*, lib. ii. cap. iv. § ii. art. xxi. and lib. ii. cap. vi. art. xxxvii.	,,	S. & P.
Gran.	*Missale secundum chorum alme ecclesie Strigoniensis*, 1501, p. lxxxvi.	,,	S. & P.
Friars of St. Paul.	*Missale novum : iuxta ritum modumque sacri ordinis fratrum eremitarum Divi Pauli*, Venetiis, Iunta, 1537.	,,	?
Cambray.	*Missale parvum secundum usum venerabilis ecclesie Cameracensis*, 1507, fo. cxxxj.	After *offertorium*, but before spreading corporal and setting host on altar.	? P

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Eichstadt.	*Missale Eystetense*, Eichstadt, 1486. Michael Keyser, fo. clvi, verso.	After creed, but before setting host on altar.	
"	*Missale secundum chorum et ritum Eystetensis ecclesie*, 1517, Nurnberg, Hieronymus Holtzel, fo clv.	"	
Rheims.	*Missale secundum usum ..... ecclesie Remensis*, Paris, 1542, fo. xcvii, verso.	After gospel, but before *offertorium*.	S.
?	*Sacrificale itinerantium subnotata tenens Oppenheim*, in officina Iacobi Koebel, 1521.	"	P.
Amiens.	Victor de Beauville, and Hector Josse, *Pontifical d'Amiens publié d'après un MS. original du xie siècle*, Amiens, 1885, p. 7.	After gospel.	S.
Bremen.	*Missale secundum ritum ecclesie Bremensis*, Strassburg, 1511.	After creed, but before *offertorium*.	?
Seville.	*Missale secundum ordinem alme ecclesie Hispalensis*, Hispali, 1507.	Probably after gospel, but before spreading corporal on altar.	S.
"	Idem, Hispali, Varela, 1534, fo. cxl, verso.	"	S.
Premonstratensian Canons.	*Missale candidissimi ordinis premonstratensium ad unguem recognitum*. Parisiis, 1530, fo. cxv, verso.	Before offering host.	
"	*Missale secundum ritum et ordinem sacri ordinis Præmonstratensium*, Paris, J. Keruer, 1578, fo. 136.	"	
Lund.	*Missale Lundense*, Paris, 1514.	After gospel.	?
Toul.	Ex missali Tullensi annorum circiter 3co. (Edm. Martene, *de antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. i, cap. iv, art. xii, ordo xxxi.)	"	
"	*Missale Tullense*, 1551.	After creed.	?
Monks of the Charterhouse.	*Repertorium Statutorum Ordinis Cartusiensis*, Basileæ, 1510. I pars stat. ant. cap. xliii, § 22.	During singing of offertory.	S.
"	*Missale secundum ordinem Carthusiensium*, Venetiis, L. A. Giunta, 15c9, fo. ciiii.	After gospel, but before offering host.	?
"	*Missale Carthusiense*, Th. Keruer, 1541, fo. lxxiiii.	"	?

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Monks of the Charterhouse.	*Missale secundum ordinem Cartusiensium*, ex officina Carthusiæ papiensis, 1562, fo. 99.	After gospel, but before offering host.	?
S. Gatianus at Tours.	Ex MS. Codice insignis ecclesiæ S. Gatiani Turonensis annorum circiter 800. (Edm. Martene, *de antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. i, cap. iv, art. xii, ordo vii.)	After gospel, but before offertory.	S.
Monks of Moysac.	Ex MS. lib. Sacramentorum Moysacensis monasterii. (Edm. Martene, *ibid.*, ordo viii.)	Before offertory.	S.
Gregorsmünster in Alsatia.	Ex MS. Monasterii Sancti Gregorii in Valle Gregoriana diocesis Basileensis annorum circiter 300. (Edm. Martene, *ibid.*, ordo xxxii.)	"	S.
Jumièges.	Ex MS. missali Gemmeticensi, secundum usum ecclesiæ Ebroicensis, ante anno 300, exarta. (Edm. Martene, *ibid.*, ordo xxviii.	"	
Monks of Cluny.	[Marquard Hergott.] *Vetus Disciplina Monastica*, 1726, p. 220. See also Luc d'Achery, *Spicelegium*, Paris, 1723, t. i. p. 679.	After gospel.	S.
Monks of Hirschau.	*Ibid.*, p. 451.	"	S.
Valence in Gaul.	*Missale ad usum ecclesie Valentinensis*, Valentie per Iohannem Belon. 1504, fo. ci.	After creed.	
Narbonne.	*Missale secundum usum sanctæ Narbonensis ecclesiæ*, Lugduni, Const. Fradin, 1528, fo. cliii.	"	
Arras.	*Missale ad usum ecclesie Atrebatensis*, Jean Duprè, 1491. fo. cxiii.	After offertory.	?
Camaldulese Monks.	*Missale Monasticum secundum ordinem Camaldulensem novissime impressum*, Venetiis, Liechtenstein, 1567. fo. lxvii.	"	
Aquileia.	*Missale Aquileyensis Ecclesie*, Venetiis, Liechtenstein, 1517. fo. 81 verso.	"	
Tarrazona.	*Missale secundum ritum ac consuetudinem insignis ecclesie Tirassonensis*, Cæsaraugust. Georgii Coci, 1529.	"	
Flaccus Illyricus.	*Missa Latina quæ olim ante Romanam, etc.* Argentinæ, Mylius, 1537, p. 53.	"	S.
Salzburg.	Ex MS. Pontificali Salisbergensi. (Edm. Martene, *de antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, lib. i, cap. iv, art. xii, ord. xiii.)	"	S.
Stablo.	Ex MS. Stabulensis monasterii. (Edm. Martene, *ibid.* ordo xv).	"	S.

Name of Church or Order.	Authority.	Time in Liturgy.	Whether at Solemn or Private Mass.
Lyons.	Ex antiquo Ordinario ecclesiæ Lugdunensis ante annos 400. manu exarato. (Edm. Martene, *ibid.* lib. i, cap. iv, art. xii, ordo. xx.)	After offertory.	S.
Monks of Monte Cassino.	*Missale Monasticum secundum morem et ritum Casinensis congregationis alias sancte Iustine*, Venetiis, de Giuntis, 1515.	"	
Regular Canons of the Congregation of St. Saviour, Order of St. Augustine.	*Ordinarium Fratrum Canonicorum Regularium Congregationis S. Salvatoris Ordinis S. Augustini*, Romæ, Ant. Bladium, 1549. Capp. xxxix & xli.	"	S.
Vienne in Gaul.	Ex MS. ordinario insignis ecclesiæ Viennensis in Gallia. (Ed. Martene, *op. cit.* Lib. i, cap. iv, art. xii, ord. xxx.)	"	
Friars Minor de Observantia.	*Missale secundum morem romane ecclesie per fratres minores de observantiâ accurate revisum*, Nurmberge, Ioh. Meurl, 1501, fo.	"	S.
Aix-en-Provence.	*Missale secundum usum Metropolitane ecclesiæ Aquensis*, Lugduni, D. de Harsy 1527, fo. cli.	"	
Marseilles.	*Missale secundum usum ecclesie cathedralis Massiliensis nunquam ante impressum*, Lugduni, D. de Harsy, 1530, fo. ci.	"	
Arles.	*Missale secundum usum et consuetudinem sancte Arelatensis ecclesie*, (? 1530 Lugd. D. de Harsy) fo. xciii b.	"	
Saragossa.	*Missale secundum consuetudinem metropolitane Ecclesie Cesaraugustane*, 1522. Geo. Cocus, 4°. fo. cciii.	"	
Gerona.	*Missale secundum laudabilem consuetudinem diocesis Gerundensis*, Lugduni, heredes de Septemgrangiis, 1557, 4°. ordo servandus; de offertorio cap. viii.	"	
Spires.	*Missale Spirense*, Spire, Pet. Drach, 1500. Fo. cxxiii verso.	"	
Milan.	*Missale Ambrosianum*, Mediolani. per Antonium Zarottum, 1475.	After *pacem habete*, and before offering host.	

ON SOME EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE ENGLISH BIBLE.

BY

J. R. DORE.

It would be as easy to write the history of Europe on a post card, as to give a full account of the various versions and editions of the English Bible in an hour. I shall therefore mainly confine my remarks to editions of which no account has hitherto appeared in print.

It is not surprising that copies of the English Bible and Testament printed in the second quarter of the sixteenth century are now very rare, when we consider the reception they met with from friends and foes.

Most early Testaments were issued in 12mo or in 8vo size. Those by whom they were prized carried them about in their pocket and read them by day and night, so that they were soon worn out by constant use. The paper on which they were printed was generally of poor quality—very different to the stout, parchment-like paper employed by Guttenberg, Fust, Schoeffer, Eggestyn, Coberger, and other fifteenth century printers—and, therefore, they were ill able to withstand the constant use to which they were subject.

Those who disapproved of an English translation made short work of any copies that came into their possession, no doubt more irritated by the notes and glosses than by the text itself. One of the first acts of the people of the North, during the Pilgrimage of Grace, was to go into Durham Cathedral and destroy the English Bible that had recently been placed there. The men of Devonshire and Cornwall, who took arms about the same time under Sir Thomas Arundel, complained most bitterly that the English Bible was forced upon them. We cannot, then, wonder that whole editions have entirely perished, and that of other editions only a few copies remain.

Of the first New Testament, translated by William Tyndale, and printed at Worms by Peter Schoeffer in 1525, two imperfect copies exist: one at Bristol, the other in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral. Subsequent editions are still more rare. Of one we have only a trace, from a record in the archives of the Town House, at Antwerp, of a law suit in the year 1531, when John Silverlinke sued the representatives of Francis Birckmann for the balance of £25 10s., due for an English edition of the New Testament, consisting of 2,025 copies, for which £3 7s. 3d. had been paid on account. Every vestige of this edition has disappeared, and of the issue of 1532 nothing is left but one title-page.

I recently had the good fortune to pick up, in Wales, a copy of a hitherto totally unknown edition. Noticing that it had a different number of lines on a full page to any recorded Tyndale, it was at once forwarded to the British Museum, and Dr. Garnett reported as follows:

"This imperfect copy of an unknown edition of Tyndale's last revision contains some of the identical woodcuts and initial letters used in printing the G.H. edition of 1534-5."

The book is small octavo size—the printed matter measures 3⅝ by 2⅛ inches. There are thirty-four lines on a full page of the Gospels. The order of the books corresponds with that of 1534-5, Hebrews coming after St. Peter and the three Epistles of St. John. The text is printed in small black letter, but the prologues are in Gothic type. The marginal notes and references are in slightly larger type than the text, but similar to it in the Gospels; in the Epistles they are printed in type like that used in the prologues. The chapters are not divided into verses—the letters A, B, C, D are placed down the sides.

Unfortunately, this solitary remnant of a very early edition is imperfect, beginning at St. Matthew, chap. iv., and ending just before the Revelation.

As it has no title-page or colophon, its exact date can only be fixed by internal evidence; but there can be little doubt that the book was printed at Antwerp by Marten Emperowr, and published by Godfried van der Haghen, in the year 1535, just before Coverdale's first complete Bible was finished.

In most places the text reads with the last revision of Tyndale—the few words that vary are evidently printers' alterations; for example, the 1 St. Peter, chap. ii. D, here has: "Which, when he was reuyled, reuyled not agayne; whē he buffeted he threatened not." Tyndale's reading is, "When he suffered he threatened not."

St. Matthew, chap. xviii. D.: "Sir, geue me respite, and I will pay it euery with."

"Philippyās," chap. iii. C.: "I forget that which is behynde, and stretche my selfe vnto that which is before, and preache vnto that marke apoynted." "Preache" for "press."

The book is not paged, but each leaf is numbered—the last leaf is "Fol. cccxxviii." The signatures are in eights—four blank and four numbered. This copy ends on verso of R. 8.

Many curious readings might be quoted, but two or three shall suffice:

St. Luke, chap. xii. D.: "But God said vnto him, thou fole, this nyght will they fetch awaye thy soule agayne from the."

St. Mark, chap. vi.: "And they toke vp twelue baskettes full of the gobettes, and of the fisshes."

St. Luke, chap. xviii. A.: "And ther was a certayne wedowe in the same cyte, which come to him sayinge, auenge me of myne aduersary. And he wolde not for a whyle. But afterwarde he sayde to him selfe: though I feare not God nor care for mā, yet because this wedowe troubleth me, I wyll auenge her lest at the last she come and hagge on me."

A curious feature, peculiar to this Testament, is that the type used presents numerous instances of double letters, cast in one piece of metal, as if a survival of block-printing; this renders the spacing very irregular.

Coverdale's 12mo New Testament of 1539, printed by Matthew Crom, at Antwerp, is also a rare book. A copy was discovered in a secret drawer of an old carved oak cabinet, where it had lain undisturbed for more than three hundred years. The person who purchased the cabinet in a market overt, finding the back to be very much worm-holed, had the panels removed; this disclosed a secret drawer containing the Testament, which is now in my possession. After the title-page follow a calendar, printed in red and black, a prologue to the Testament, a woodcut of St. Matthew, and a short prologue to the Gospel, filling, altogether, fourteen pages. On Sig. A is the summary of the first chapter: "The genealogye of Christ, and maryage of hys mother Marye. The Angell satysfyeth Josephs mynde." Then come three rows of portraits, commencing with Abraham and ending with our Lord, the middle row all wearing crowns. At the end of the book are thirty pages of chapters from the Old Testament, to be read in the Church in place of Epistles on certain days of the year, a page of "Fautes escaped in the pryntyng," and nine pages of tables, ending with the colophon, "At Antwerp, by Matthew Crom. MDXXXIX." The leaves are not numbered. The woodcuts are very numerous—some of them occupy the entire page. Those in the "Apocalipsys" appear to have been intended for a larger-sized book. Williams Tyndale's celebrated prologue to the Epistle to the Romans is inserted in this book in small type, and fills twenty-seven pages. It has separate signatures, and at the end is a woodcut, representing Faith, Hope, and Love.

The glosses are doubtless Myles Coverdale's own composition. They are not so bitter and uncharitable as those that disfigure most early English versions: they may have been prepared for insertion in the "Great" Bible, three editions of which had pointing hands in the margins of the passages which Coverdale considered "dark," but to which he was not allowed to append notes, although he promised his patron, Thomas Cromwell, that he would avoid "any pryuate opynion, or contencious wordes, and offre the annotacions first to my sayde Lorde of Herdforde" (Bishop Bonner). Certainly, the glosses in this book are not "contencious."

Many instances might be given of words being used, at the time this translation was made, in a different sense to that now understood. St. Luke, chap. viii., has "Whyle he yet spake, there came one frō the ruler of the Synagoges house, and sayde vnto hym, thy doughter is dead, dysease not the master."

The reply of the man who asked his friend for a loaf of bread is thus given:

"Disquyete me not, the dore is shut already. and my children are with me in the chamber, I can not ryse and give the, I saye vnto you that though he wolde not aryse and giue him, because he is hys friende, yet because of his vnshame faste beggynge he wolde aryse and giue him as many as he needed."

Acts, chap. xi.: "The dyseyples cōcluded (euery one accordynge to his abilite) to sende an hand reachyng vnto the brethren which were in Jewry: whych they also dyd and sent it vnto the Elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul."

Tyndale's translation of this passage is "purposed to send socour to the brethren."

Coverdale had Tyndale's Testament in his hands eight or nine years before he commenced the work of translation; the above example shows that his emendations were not always improvements. Coverdale employed many ecclesiastical words that Tyndale always purposely avoided, such as "church" for "congregation," and "penance" for "repentance."

In St. Luke, chap. x., Coverdale's Testament reads:

"Wo vnto the Chorazyn, wo vnto the Bethsayda: for yf tue myracles whyche haue bene among you, had bene done at Tyre and Sydon, they had done penance lōge ago, syttinge in sackclothe and ashes."

The most interesting event that has occurred for a long time in the bibliographical world is my recent discovery of an edition of Coverdale's version of the Sacred Scriptures in 16mo, before entirely unknown.

Unfortunately, the fragment consists of thirty-two pages only, the rest of the book having perished; and only a portion of the Book of Proverbs remains to prove that such an edition ever existed.

These leaves were found in the lining of the cover of a quarto copy of a book, printed early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, intitled "An Abstract of the Penal Statues, collected by Ferdinando Palton, of Lincolnes Inne, gentleman," and printed by Christopher Barker, who held the patent for Bible printing.

In this pocket edition of Coverdale's Bible there are twenty-three lines to a full page, not counting headings nor catch-words. The type used is English black-letter, similar to the fonts of James Nicholson, of Southwark, who published the first English Bible of 1535. The running titles are in italic, and the chapter divisions in Roman type. The pages measure $3\frac{7}{8}$ by $2\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch; the wire lines go across the pages.

The fragment was first identified as a portion of a Coverdale's Bible by noticing that in Proverbs, chap. xiii, were the words, "He that beleeueth in the Lord loueth mercy," no other version containing this interpolation. It has been examined by the experts at the British Museum, and pronounced "to be undoubtedly Coverdale's."

Probably it was originally published in five separate volumes, as several other very small Bibles were, notably Daye & Seres' edition of Taverner's version in 1549. This particular volume must have commenced with the Psalms of David, as Proverbs, chap. xii., is on Sig. D, Of course, there is no positive proof that the other four volumes were issued.

The last I shall mention of the little Testaments of Tyndale's translation is the 12mo printed by Day & Seres in 1548. Until the last week or two the Windsor copy was considered unique, but another copy has turned up. The title-page reads:

"The Newe Testament of our Sauiour Christ, newly set forth after the beste copie of Wyllyam Tindale's translation. Whervnto are added the notes of Thomas Matthewe, wyth other healpynge verie much to the vnderstandynge of the text. Imprinted at London by Iohn Daye and William Seres, dwelling in Sepulchres parish, at the sign of the Resurrection a little aboue Holbourn cōduit. Anno MD.XLVIII, the XXVII day of October. Cvm gratia and priuilegio ad imprimendum solum."

Both printers must have changed their residence about this time, for in 1549 we find "Jhon Daye dwelling at Aldersgate, and William Seres in Peter College."

The "Bug" Bible of 1549 has always been supposed to be an original production; but so far as the New Testament is concerned, it is merely a reprint of the 1548 issue—even every note is the same, including the curious one in 1 St. Peter, chap. iii.:

"He dwelleth wyth his wyfe according to knowledge that taketh her as a necessarye healper, and not as a bonde slaue. And yf she be not obedient and healpfull vnto hym endeuoureth to beate the fear of God into her heade, that ther by she may be compelled to learn her dutie, and to do it."

The Kalendar presents some remarkable features, including a table of Gospels and Epistles, from which several of the feasts prescribed by the Prayer-book of 1549 are omitted, as well as the second and third Communion on Christmas Day. Before this Kalendar come the printer's preface and an Almanack for twenty-nine years, a table for finding Easter, and it is followed by Tyndale's long preface to the New Testament. The most interesting part of the book is the end, which contains a large number of chapters from the Old Testament. These are all independent translations from the Vulgate, excepting one chapter in Exodus, which is taken from Tyndale's Pentateuch, published in 1530; none of them follow any Bible ever printed. In this respect they are like the Decalogue in the Book of Common Prayer, which is not copied from any Bible.

At the end of the lecture Mr. Dore exhibited the following rare editions selected from his library:

A copy of an unknown edition Tyndale's N. T., 1535.
Tyndale's New Testament in 12mo printed by Daye and Seres, 1548.
A portion of a 16mo edition of Coverdale's Bible circa 1537.
The Bishop's Bible in 8vo 1577.
The Bishop's New Testament with chapters of the Old Testament "read after the use of Sarum" from Coverdale's Bible of 1535 and glosses from Jugges Tyndale 1552.
A copy of his work on "Old Bibles" illustrated with a genuine leaf of every known version.

ENAMELS IN CONNECTION WITH ECCLESIASTICAL ART.

BY

J. STARKIE GARDNER, F.L.S., F.G.S.

The history of enamelling and of ecclesiastical art are completely interwoven. The vast bulk of the early enamels were produced in the service of religion, and few objects or utensils in metal used by the Church were unembellished by enamel in the centuries preceding the sixteenth. Down to the eleventh century enamels were used and set exactly as jewels: a crystal, a cameo, or an enamel was taken almost indiscriminately, and used as a gem on the gold or silver field. The enamels might have been swept together, as sapphires, garnets, and emeralds were, from every and any country that could produce them. From the twelfth century the objects themselves began to be enamelled, and, down to the fourteenth century, the greater, or at least a considerable part of the metal was concealed from view beneath its enamel coating. Towards the fourteenth century the effect of the metal began again to be merely heightened by enamel, but, with this difference, that the enamel was almost invariably an incrustation of the object and not a separate production applied as a gem.

There are several well-marked varieties of enamel, but all consist of a coating of glass fused on to the metal. Owing to the fact that glass and metal have such different properties and degrees of expansion and contraction, some precautions had to be taken in uniting them, and the necessity for these may have had a good deal to do with the lines on which the art has developed. Enamels fall into two great groups: the cellular and the glazy. The cellular produces the richest effect, is the safer of the two, and was always adopted in the earlier periods of the art; it is advisable, if not absolutely indispensable, to use it when the metal to be enamelled is thick. It can be subdivided into two lesser groups; that in which the cells are added to the surface of the metal, as it were a filigree pattern of wire soldered on to the surface—called the *cloisonné* process; and that in which the cells are scooped or dug out, or indented in the surface itself—called the *champlevé*. These are distinguished from the glazy enamels by the cell walls, which appear as thin fillets of gilt metal which meander through them, like the leads of a painted window. The glazy enamels, on the other hand, are coated all over, both back and front, with a smooth glassy envelope. The cellular enamels may be compared to floating ice, since they undoubtedly yield to the movements of expansion and contraction of the metal; while the glazy enamels answer to a fast frozen surface, which binds and overcomes any slight movements of the thin metal plate within.

The term enamel is really alone applicable to the glass which coats the metal, but it is used as a generic name to designate the complete object. The coating is simply a more or less fusible glass, which is transparent until mixed with tin, which immediately renders it opaque. The colours used are such as will withstand great heat, and are practically all oxides of various metals. The range of colour is almost unlimited. The glass was probably always fused under the blow-pipe in the cellular enamels, and in a muffle for the glazy enamels.

The history of enamelling down to the Christian era is obscure and negative and does not concern us now. The Romans appear to have been unacquainted with it until they came into contact with the Briton, and as all British enamels are stanniferous, the art was probably indigenous to the country. These enamels were cellular, the pattern being apparently cast in the bronze. They are all necessarily opaque, since even if they were applied in a transparent condition, the tin in the heated bronze would have surged up and rendered them cloudy. The objects enamelled by the British previous to the advent of the Romans, were probably confined to the trappings of man or beast. The horse trappings have been described by a Roman writer as brilliant, and a horse's bit in the British Museum enamelled in blue and red is still very vivid. After the Roman settlement vases and amphoræ of considerable artistic excellence, were made and exported. These are either found decorated all over with an arabesque, or they are banded all over with ornament, in which the well-known classic laurel wreath often appears, and various treatments of ivy foliage predominate. Many of these have been found in England, and many abroad, but their general likeness is such that they must have had one common

centre of origin. Nevertheless, small enamelled jewels were evidently made in Gaul under the Romans, and bastard enamels were produced there and in Italy, by inlaying objects with "*millefiori*" and other glasses, and melting them just sufficiently to adhere to the metal settings.

Being, as we have said, in all probability a purely native art in Britain, enamelling was not lost when the Romans evacuated the country. This is almost perfectly clear if we study the purely Celtic objects found in England, Ireland, and Scotland. We may instance the shield and helmet found in the London reaches of the Thames, which are enriched with cloisonné enamels of a blood red colour. These, and many other objects into which the cloisonné process enters, are peculiarly interesting, because they betray no foreign influence, at least no influence coming from the Greek or Roman Empires, while yet they exhibit the peculiar geometric cloisonné enamelling seen in shrines, chalices, and other ecclesiastical objects belonging to the Irish Christian Church, going far to prove that these delicate and beautiful processes were of native inception, and were perfected without extraneous aid. We, in fact, find in our native work, several kinds of cloisonné, which, so far as we know, were never practised out of these Isles.

Fig. 1. THE ARDAGH CHALICE.*

There are some grounds, therefore, for hazarding two propositions that should become very important landmarks in the history of enamelling: namely, that the art originated spontaneously in England; and that it was first applied to ecclesiastical purposes in Ireland. Prominent among the venerable relics of the Irish Church is the Ardagh Chalice (Fig. 1), of imperfectly determined age, but, probably, belonging to the seventh or eighth centuries. This chalice is a noble two-handled bowl of silver, enriched with gold filigree bands and bosses studded with cloisonné enamels of most intricate design. It appears to have inspired the form and decoration of other chalices found on the continent, as that of St. Remigius. Most of the exquisitely delicate enamels used in its decoration, being applied to silver, instead of to bronze, are no longer necessarily turgid, but clear as emerald or sapphire. This chalice is one of the earliest perhaps of the great group of shrines, reliquaries, missal covers, croziers, and crosses, similarly decorated, in which enamels, both cloisonné and champlevé, figure as gems.

There is a remarkable silver enamelled chalice preserved at Kremsmünster in Lower Austria, inscribed with the names of Duke Tassilo and his wife Luitpirc-Luitberga, fixing its date between 757 and 781 (see Fig 2). In Miss Stokes' *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, the author points out the distinctly Irish character of the traceries on the chalice, and its exceptional character compared with other contemporary continental metal work: she further points out that several Irish missionaries were settled in the district from the eighth to the eleventh centuries. The origin of this chalice is of some importance, as it is one of the earliest authentically dated objects of metal work introducing figure subjects.

Fig. 2. THE TASSILO CHALICE.†

* From *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, by Margaret Stokes (S. K. Museum Art Handbook). We are indebted to the Science and Art Department for permission to use this illustration.

† From *Gold and Silver Smiths' Work* (Sampson Low & Co.). For the use of this illustration, and also for Figs. 3, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, from the same work, we desire to express our indebtedness to Messrs. Richard Clay and Sons.

Returning to England, after the departure of the Roman legions and so soon as the Saxon and Frisian conquerors—who certainly brought no art of enamelling with them—had settled down among the inhabitants, the art of enamelling re-appears. A curious brooch of blue enamel, with a bird swallowing a fish, found in a barrow at Cambon, Durham, shows the new influence very plainly; while the ring of Ethelwulf, found at Laverstock, in Hampshire, enamelled in blue and green champlevé on gold, and inscribed with his name, shows enamelling completely incorporated into English art.

While the purely Celtic work suffices to prove that no foreign influence was needed for the production of either cloisonné or champlevé enamel, the portraits or half figures that are so conspicuous on two of our well-known Anglo-Saxon jewels—that of Alfred, found at Athelney (Fig. 3), and that ascribed to Alfred or his father, found on Dowgate Hill—may have been either due to a purely native development of art, or to objects seen by those princes on their journey to Rome. Contemporary objects, such as seals, coins, and above all, illuminated missals, show, however, that England was fully capable of producing such works. The pear-shaped jewel, with its somewhat lop-sided ornaments is thoroughly Anglo-Saxon in feeling, and the inscription "Aelfred mec heht gewurcan" tells its own tale. It is a gold cloisonné, with translucent blue and green, only the flesh being in opaque enamel. Far more delicate is the Dowgate Hill brooch (Fig. 4), with its filigree setting, enriched with pearls and rosettes of black enamel. Reposing by its side in the gem-room of the British Museum, is the Hamilton brooch, rumoured to have been found in Scotland. This is of even more delicate workmanship, yet enamelled, it would almost seem, by the same hands, since a peculiar opaque yellow is sparingly floated on the same emerald sea, with a precisely similar feeling in both.

Fig. 3. KING ALFRED'S JEWEL.

The English origin of all these gems is now generally admitted, and no further evidence is required to prove that the art of enamelling gems had reached with us the highest point of perfection of which it is capable, by the second half of the ninth century. We may look in vain, I believe, for any similar proof that the art of enamelling was flourishing on the continent of Europe at this early date; either from existing objects, or unequivocal documentary evidence. It would be most interesting from this point of view to examine the enamels set in the early reliquaries and missal covers, such as those existing at Sion and St. Maurice in Switzerland, St. Gauzelin, and Herford, as well as those in the crowns of Monza and of Charlemagne, with the gloves, sword-hilt, and other such objects dating from before the close of the tenth century. It would, probably, however, be very difficult to establish the English or Irish origin of any of them, in face of the prejudice that appears to prevent any object, with a doubtful pedigree, but artistic merit, from being recognized as of British art. In treatises on enamelling, especially, it is rare to find the slightest recognition extended to us. On the other hand, it has certainly been suggested that the Paliotto, or golden altar front of S. Ambrogio, at Milan, with enamelled borders, made by one Wolvinus in 835, may be of English production. It is clearly not a Greek work, and the name, and more especially the habit of inscribing their work, is characteristic of the English, while we are unable to point with certainty to any other school practising enamelling at that date.

Fig. 4. THE DOWGATE HILL BROOCH.*

Byzantium has hitherto been regarded as the original seat of the golden cloisonné enamel,

* For the use of this block the Society is indebted to the courtesy of the Society of Arts.

but no known specimen can be assigned an earlier date than the tenth, or more probably the eleventh century. All the evidence of the existence of the art at an earlier period, rests on small enamels set as gems, few of which appear to have a Byzantine character, whilst these few may have been later insertions; or on certain obscure passages, which, as pointed out by Franks (*Manchester Art Treasures*), might equally apply to the pictures on gold leaf enclosed between two thicknesses of glass, or to enamel painting on glass. The question seems to turn on the meaning of the Greek word χύμευσις, which can only be conjectural. The oldest undoubted specimens are apparently the pectoral crosses, of which, two are in the Kensington Museum. These display the portraits of saints on a translucent emerald ground, much like the English jewels in execution, but very different in drawing. The celebrated Pala d'Oro has enamels of the same character, but far more beautiful: Mr. Franks has, however, expressed the view that none of its enamels are older than 1105 and 1209. One of them, with the portrait of St. Paul, is in the Jermyn Street Museum. Most of the specimens of known date, belonging to the eleventh century, are somewhat stiffer, and introduce numerous rectangular cells.

The strongest evidence of the antiquity of enamelling in Byzantium would be the fact that we find the art appearing in Germany very soon after the marriage of Otho with the Greek Princess Theophanie in 973. There are enamels at Essen, one of which must, from its inscription, probably date between 974 and 982; another must be anterior to 1013; whilst a third must have been produced between 1041 and 1054. The first two are cloisonné, and the third is partly champlevé, and they show progressive deterioration in skill. It does not seem to have been hitherto suggested that the Byzantines, in coming west, may have become first acquainted with the art, practised as it had long been by the English branch of the Germanic race; the bare possibility of this should not be overlooked, and perhaps there may be some intrinsic evidence in the earliest object, which represents a man in a short tunic and mantle, presenting a cross to a veiled lady, with Latin inscription, which would throw light on the subject.

Be this as it may, German enamels soon reached a high degree of perfection. The golden cloisonné was to a large extent abandoned, and the champlevé, applicable to baser metal, was introduced. For a long time the more delicate parts of a work were in cloisonné, cutting up the larger champlevé cells, as we see in the beautiful Soltikoff reliquary, dated 1150, in the South Kensington Museum. This peculiarity, together with the numerous colours placed in juxtaposition, and often shaded, distinguish the early German enamels from all others. There is, moreover, a mannerism and want of artistic refinement in the designs which is not difficult to detect. The seat of the manufacture appears to have been at Cologne, in which great diocese nearly thirty large shrines or reliquaries are known still to exist.

A far more beautiful school of enamelling existed during the twelfth century in Lorraine, on the banks of the Meuse. Abbot Suger, when rebuilding St. Denis, fetched workmen thence during 1143 to 1147 to execute the superb crosses and candelabra which he designed. These have disappeared,* but fortunately the magnificent altar front of Klosterneuberg, in Austria, consisting of fifty-one plates of champlevé enamel, still exists. It is signed by Nicolas of Verdun, and dated 1181, and Mr. Franks regarded it as the finest enamel in the world.

Paris itself must at one time have been a small centre of enamellers, for the names of several are found in a directory of 1292, conspicuous being that of one Richardin, the enameller from London. But one existing enamel is regarded in France as possibly of Parisian manufacture.

The name of Limoges is first heard in connection with enamelling through the enamelled brass of Geoffrey Plantagenet, who died in 1151. M. Alfred Darcel, in his catalogue of enamels in the Louvre, rejects this origin on account of its yellow and green colouring, and the two learned verses above the effigy, which he regards as foreign to Limousin art. He considers it to be German, or more probably Lorraine work. Apart from this, the oldest specimens are the two plaques in the Cluny Museum from the Abbey of Grandmont, believed to be a little older than 1118, and one bearing an inscription claimed to be in Limousin pâtois. Authentic twelfth century specimens of Limoges are rare, the vast mass being of the thirteenth century, when it enjoyed an immense popularity, and was exported far and wide. A French companion of St. Thomas of Canterbury mentions Limoges' work in a letter of 1170, and later we constantly find the name occurring in relation to enamelling. The pyx, signed by Alpaïs, in the Louvre, is a well-known specimen, and we possess one in the same style in the British Museum. The most important objects of Limoges work, however, are the reliquaries in form of edifices with high-pitched roofs. Others are the croziers, crosses, pyxes, missal covers, &c. The larger are decorated with figure subjects, favourite among them being the Adoration of the Magi, the Flight into Egypt, the Martyrdom of St. Catherine, of St. Valerie, and of St. Thomas

* A magnificent eleventh century golden casket in the Louvre, from the treasury of St. Denis, covered with translucent cloisonné enamels, is described as Byzantine. A picture by Mabuse, formerly belonging to Earl Dudley, introduces an exquisitely minute representation of the Cross of Suger, and the Golden Altar front of St. Louis in St. Denis.

of Canterbury, &c. The figures are stiff, with little movement, often badly drawn, and are either lined in on a gold ground against an enamelled field, or the reverse. Frequently the figures, or only the heads, are embossed in relief, and occasionally gems and filigree enhance the effect. The tone of colour used at Limoges was very decidedly blue, the ground generally a deep ultra-marine, associated with a darker blue, as well as turquoise and sky-blue. Other colours, such as light and dark green, red, yellow, purple, white and black, are sparingly introduced. There seem to have been rules for applying them, ultra-marine draperies being bordered with light blue or white, and green being bordered with yellow. The effect was rich, but brilliant, though the average detail is coarse and monotonous. By the fifteenth century this style of Limoges work had fallen into complete disfavour.

Fig. 5.
RELIQUARY, WITH REPRESENTATION OF A MARTYRDOM.

Some French writers claim, perhaps with reason, that all the sepulchral effigies and slabs in enamel were produced at Limoges. Few now exist, and these all belong to the thirteenth century.* The latest and best is in Westminster Abbey, in which the pillow, belt, shield, and bier are emblazoned with heraldry. The figure, which represents William de Valence, is of plate copper over a rough wooden core, and must have been made about 1296. Though there is no record showing this to be Limoges work, there can scarcely be a doubt about it, while it is recorded that a tomb was brought for Bishop Merton, of Rochester, from Limoges in 1277.

Very little is known regarding the early Italian enamels, though there is a record relating to some enamels at St. Cassian, under Abbott Didier, in 1058, one or more of which are said to exist. Theophilus praises Tuscan enamelling, a relic of which is supposed to be preserved in the cover to the Evangelistarium of Ariberto of Milan of the eleventh century. John of Pisa decorated the altar of Arezzo with enamelled silver plates in 1286. The Pistoja altar frontal is famed for its translucent enamels. Those of the splendid reliquary of Orvieto, by Ugolino of Sienna, 1338, are brilliant masterpieces. The brothers Peter and Paul d'Arezzo produced a beautifully enamelled reliquary in 1345. In fact, during the fourteenth century all Italian goldsmiths, and even sculptors and painters, were enamellers. Among many that have been specially praised we find Amerighi, Pilli, Caradossa, Pollaiuolo, and Francia. To these Italians is due the introduction of the "bassetaille," a new process consisting in bold chasings in low relief, on either gold or silver, floated over with transparent enamels of various hues, the depth of the chasings and the overlying colour giving a beautifully graduated light and shadow. Later we find painted enamels in Italy, without the use of cells, a style caught up at Limoges and vigorously exploited for over three centuries. The Venetian enamels were painted on boldly embossed tazzas and basins, but the ornament is almost confined to arabesques, and relies largely for its decorative effect on gilding applied to it, as on porcelain, after its first passage through the oven. To the Italians also we probably owe the encrusted enamels so generally associated in our minds with Cellini. This enamel is nearly always combined with richly set gems, especially pearls, and fine specimens command very high prices. The green vaults at Dresden, the Louvre, and the Imperial Museums in Vienna and Pesth, are particularly rich in them, and we possess at least one piece of fine quality in the golden book cover of Henrietta Maria in the South Kensington Museum, which was not too dearly purchased at £700.

This, roughly sketched, is the history of enamelling on the continent of Europe; a history

* There are two in St. Denis, of the children of St. Louis, 1243 and 1248; one of Blanche of Champagne, only slightly enamelled, in the Louvre, 1283; and two or three others in Spain. Many of those that have been destroyed are known from the De Gaignières MSS. and drawings in the Bodleian

which is, of course, amplified in many text books. Little, on the other hand, can be gleaned from books as to the further progress of enamelling in England. Indeed, for aught they have to say on the matter, the art might have perished with the Heptarchy, though Irish art history claims enamelling down to the twelfth century.

It is scarcely reasonable, however, to suppose that the art was allowed to die out with us, at the very time that it was most esteemed in every other civilized community. And that this should happen coincidently with our excelling in the kindred arts of glass-painting, illuminating, bookbinding, and carving, is still more improbable. The records of such celebrated seats of gold and silversmithing, between the eleventh and thirteenth century, as Ely, Glastonbury, Durham, York, Colchester, St. Albans, should suffice to set the matter at rest. Treasuries as vast as those of the continent were accumulated in England; that of the celebrated Walsingham Church, for example, being valued at the equivalent of £250,000 of our money. Moreover, English enamels were evidently prized for a long period in France, for they are frequently mentioned in inventories of treasure, and were the subject of state gifts by English monarchs to their compeers. We must recall in this connection the enameller from London, who is found set up in Paris, in the Rue des Deschargeurs, in 1292. The vast number of enamels separately specified in the lists of our own Royal treasures, 200 enamels being enumerated in those of Edward II. and Edward III., show that they were no less highly appreciated at home. The fact that they could be, and actually were distinguished, at home and abroad, from continental productions, clearly shows that they must have possessed peculiar characteristics; and if we may judge of what these peculiarities were likely to be from other contemporary English art, we should expect to meet with a pronounced refinement of drawing and colour, and a certain display of erudition. The painted windows of Canterbury or York would perhaps enable us to form a conception of what English enamels would be found to be like, if preserved.

They are generally supposed to have perished without leaving more than the scantiest traces. Of the numerous enamelled objects of mediæval art once contained in the Regalia, only the coronation spoon remains, and this has now lost its enamels. The only enamels left of the treasures of our cathedrals and abbeys are one or two Limoges reliquaries and croziers. With trifling exceptions, no public or private collection boasts a recognized English enamel dating between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries. There are, it is true, enamelled shields on the tombs of Edward III., the Black Prince, Richard II., and the Earl of Warwick, which are undoubtedly English make. The hilt of Edward III.'s sword, now belonging to the Comte de Mailly, is also enamelled, and a casket in the Kensington Museum has the arms of the de Valence family upon it. But all these shed little light on the styles of enamelling used in England for church, or even for domestic purposes. There are, however, a few specimens among College and Corporation plate still left, and it would seem highly probable that others may exist unsuspected among the wealth of art treasures with which this country abounds. Our land has not been more ruthlessly swept than France, where much has survived; and it is difficult to suppose that no relics of this art remain in it. In searching for them, we should expect to find, as mentioned before, more especially in those of early date, a pronounced refinement. We possessed until recent years (for one of them was permitted to leave the country at the dispersal of the Meyrick collection) four well-known enamels which betrayed the above-named characteristics in the highest degree. These were the Meyrick crozier, the Bruce bowl, the Warwick bowl, and the Bruce horn.

The crozier, first described by Willement, was said, by him, to have been found in the tomb of Ragenfroi, Bishop of Chartres, who died in 950. This is an obvious error, as the work is certainly of late eleventh, or early twelfth century date. It is inscribed, as it appears was very usual with us, with the name of the artificer—"Frater Willelmus me fecit." The crook is finely diapered all over with a knotted label, which, as it widens out in descending, is inscribed with the names of the virtues and vices,* with peculiarly graceful figures in the interspaces. The knop likewise bears four exquisite medallions, with subjects from the life of David, bound together by a flowing label, on which the narrative is written in Leonine verse.† The colours are green, red, white, brown, and three shades of blue.

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* The names are as follows:—FIDES, IDOLATRIA; PVDICITIA, LIBIDO; CARITAS, INVIDIA; SOBRIETAS, LVXVRIA; LARGITAS, AVARITIA; CONCORDIA, RANCOR.

† The verses are as follows, if we adopt two slight corrections suggested by Mr. Rupin.

1. David rescuing a lamb from the bear (1 Sam. xvii. 34, 35).
   ✠ VRSE CADIS VERMI DATVS A PVERO SIC INERMI.
2. David anointed by Samuel.
   ✠ SCRIBE FABER LIMA: DAVID HEC FVIT VNCTIO PRIMA.
3. The combat of David and Goliath.
   ✠ HIC FVNDA FVSVS: PROPRIIS MALE VIRIBVS VSVS.
4. David cutting off the head of Goliath.
   ✠ GOLIAS CECIDIT: DAVID HIC CAPVT ENSE RECIDIT.

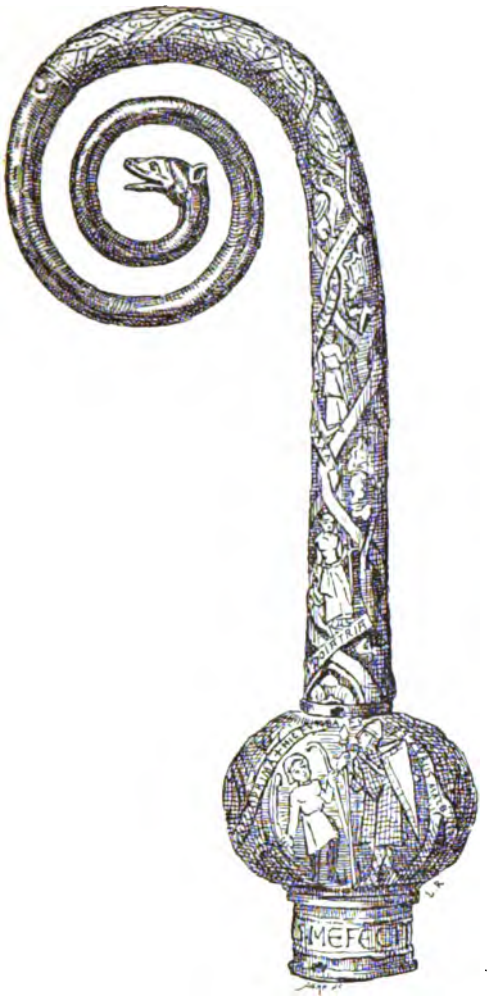


Fig. 6. CROZIER OF RAGENFROI.*

Fig 7.

DETAIL OF THE VOLUTE OF THE CROZIER OF RAGENFROI.*

Fig. 8. SUBJECTS ON THE KNOP OF THE CROZIER OF RAGENFROI.*

* Figs. 6, 7, 8 have been reproduced, by the kind permission of the author, from *L'Œuvre de Limoges*, by Ernest Rupin.

The Bruce bowl has a pedigree carrying it back to the time when it was possessed by Malcolm Canmore, and we subsequently find it owned by Mary Stuart. It has a cover surmounted by a knop and four leaves, all enamelled, and was probably part of a ciborium. Both bowl and cover are decorated with a twining stem and foliage forming six medallions on each, which are enamelled with subjects from the Old and New Testaments. The figures, like those on the crozier, are gilt on blue and green grounds, except the Christ, which is enamelled a delicate lilac. All the colours are bright, and shaded with emphasis.

The Warwick bowl (fig. 9) was bought, in August, 1717, out of a brazier's shop in London, and came into the possession of the Deputy Record Keeper of the Tower. The drawing is still

Fig. 9 THE WARWICK BOWL.

finer than on the preceding bowl, but we find on it precisely the same medallions with exquisitely drawn little figures on blue or green enamel grounds, enclosed in rich scroll work of strongly contrasted colors, with abrupt shading. As in the Bruce bowl, there is a Leonine verse over each subject, three of the verses being identical on both. These three objects are united by such striking similarities as to leave no doubt about their having proceeded from one and the same school—a school with whose history we have no acquaintance. The possibility of their being English deserves at least serious attention. Mr. Franks has, it is true, described them in *The Manchester Art Treasures*, and assigned them a German origin, and is now inclined to suppose that they may have been made at Lorraine. The enamels on the Klosterneuberg altar front, perhaps the only well-authenticated productions of Lorraine, appear to me to be entirely different in spirit and workmanship. Their similarity, however, to other English work, as jewels, painted decoration, glass, and illuminations, and their having considerable pedigrees in England, support, on the other hand, the view that they may be English productions.

Mr. Franks has already pointed out that the brilliant triptych from Alton Towers, in the Kensington Museum, is not dissimilar in style to these. It is divided into nine compartments bearing Scriptural subjects, each of which is again accompanied with its Leonine verse. Its nationality must stand or fall with the preceding examples, and it would not perhaps be difficult, whether on account of its colours or drawing, and particularly of its verses, to connect the enamelled brass of Geoffrey Plantagenet with the same school.

If these should prove to be English, then another magnificent specimen of a twelfth

century enamel, the chalice at Wilten, in the Tyrol (Fig. 10), may also be an English work. Its treatment is like that of the Warwick bowl, being divided into compartments filled with similar subjects and with Leonine verses.

Fig. 10. THE WILTEN CHALICE.

The Bruce horn (Fig. 11), in all probability, presents us with another splendid example of English enamelling, but of a different class, for though it has a diapered arrangement, the enamels are translucent. It is said to have belonged to the nephew of Robert Bruce, Regent of Scotland, who died in 1331. The tenure of Savernake Chase is said still to depend on this horn being wound on the arrival of a kingly guest. An omission to do so rendered the estate forfeit to King James, who, however, reinstated his host.

Fig. 11. ENAMELLED ORNAMENT OF THE BRUCE HORN.

The Lynn cup (Fig. 12), traditionally connected with King John, is evidently of the date of Richard II. It has beautifully drawn little figures, in a sort of diapered pattern, on the familiar translucent blue and green grounds. No foreign enamel has been shown to resemble it, but we can go far to deprive our country of the credit of its production, by supposing its legendary connection with King John, to refer actually to King John of France.

Part of a fine cup covered with translucent enamel of delicate character is in All Souls' College, Oxford; and a solid silver Psalter cover of the close of the thirteenth century, in the Bodleian, also covered with translucent enamels of a very rich character. The enamelled portion consists of a picture of the Annunciation and Coronation of the Virgin, chased in the silver and floated over with translucent enamels. The enamel is framed in a rustic border of silver gilt, artistically chased and designed. It enjoys the almost unique distinction of having

Fig. 12. THE LYNN CUP.

been described as an English production in a foreign art handbook. (Histoire de l'Orfèvrerie par Ferd. de Lasteyrie, Fig. 38.) No doubt, I believe, has ever been entertained as to the English origin of the magnificent Wykeham crozier and mitre, bequeathed to New College in 1403. The translucent enamels in this are unsurpassed. Bishop Fox's crozier is only slightly enamelled, but the one from Limerick (Fig. 13), and inscribed "Thomas O'Carty *artifex faciem*," is described as being splendidly enamelled. One other type only remains to be mentioned, that of the small silver triptych, found in Essex, which passed into the Arundel collection, and finally, with others of the same kind, into that of South Kensington. It is divided into eight compartments, the subjects of which present the delicacy of drawing and the brilliant translucent colours seen in the other examples just described. It is a gem of whose production any country might well feel proud. Whether in conclusion we may claim the two half discs in the British Museum, with the lengthy inscriptions, representing Henry of Blois, 1139-1146, is a matter of minor importance. They differ from Limoges work in several respects.

The question of the origin of these groups of enamels can only be regarded as far from definitely settled, but to dispose of it by simply assigning them, without adequate proof, to Germany or Lorraine, is a gross injustice to our art history. Their peculiar characteristics and long English pedigrees afford *primâ facie* evidence of an English origin, which deserves the most serious consideration. Examination into the history of no matter what branch of applied art, brings the fact more and more home to us, that our country fully held its own in past ages. But owing to the neglect of English art by our museums, it occupies so subordinate a place in art handbooks, that it is difficult to maintain successfully that anything of unknown origin that is really fine, can by any possibility be English. To arouse public interest, and to form any representative collection of English art work before it has all left the country, we must have galleries set aside in our museums for its display, just as we have for Italian, Greek, Assyrian, or Egyptian art. No other country in the Old World can be visited in which its own native art is crowded into the background by great displays of the arts of foreign countries. Visitors to this country, especially those from over the Atlantic, come to see our art history, and not that of other countries; while from an educational point, one fine specimen of native art is more valuable to the rising generation of designers than twenty imported ones.

It only remains to consider the future of this beautiful art in this country, where it has never entirely died out. Every object that was enriched by enamelling in the past, may be appropriately enamelled in the future. So soon as our churches have no more windows left to be filled with memorial glass, memorial tablets of enamelled and gilt metal, blended into a general scheme of decoration, will be found lasting and valuable decoration, perhaps the only kind that can hold its own in point of colour in the light of magnificently painted windows. But more especially and immediately a field might be found for the display of the enameller's art in the matter of church lighting. We see one after another of our most interesting churches handed over to electricians, who are mostly devoid of feeling for art, and who remove in many cases the lights designed by competent architects, to replace them with their own brass, or copper, or iron spidery productions. We must venture to hope that such work will not be handed down to posterity, and that the lamps of a church will, by-and-by, be looked upon as important furniture, deserving the same taste and care as its windows. Why members of congregations should not be encouraged to again give them as memorial or votive objects, as they used to do, is not apparent; but for such gifts, really beautiful objects could be produced, in which the exquisite Russian plique à jour enamels,

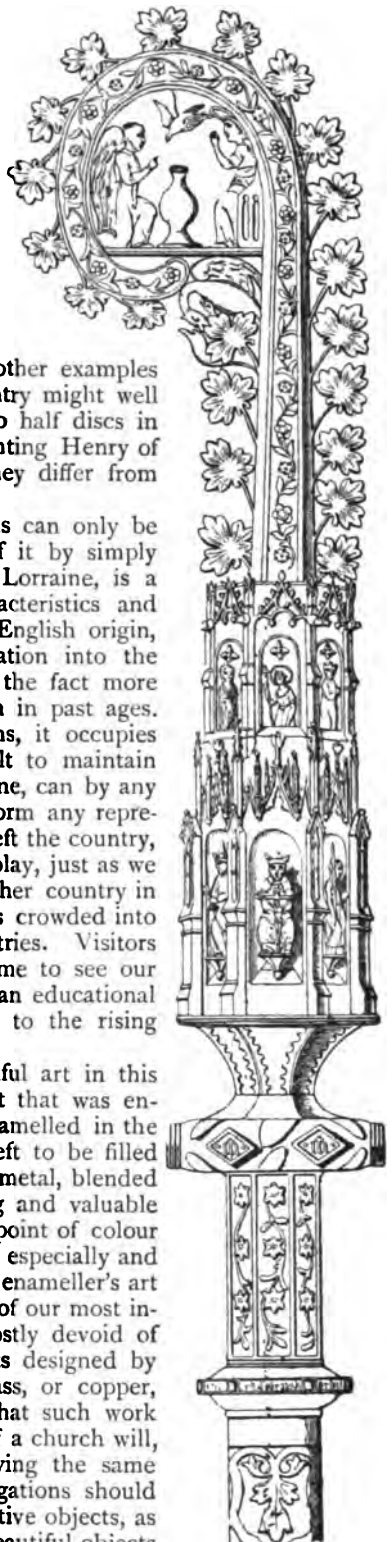


Fig. 13. THE LIMERICK CROZIER.*

* For the use of this block, the Society is indebted to the courtesy of the Society of Arts.

of which we have such a fine display to-night, or my own rougher attempts at transparent enamels, could be introduced; and for far less money than is habitually squandered, with the best of motives, on monuments in public cemeteries, which only succeed in converting them into the likeness of competing stone-mason's yards.

It would be scarcely possible to close this paper without a reference to the magnificent enamelled cup acquired for the nation through the energy and public spirit of Mr. Franks. The cup and cover, weighing nearly sixty-eight ounces, are of solid gold, almost entirely covered with enamelled figure subjects from the life of St. Agnes, which, for exquisite drawing and richness of colouring, are worthy the pencil of a Memling or Van Eyck. The cup is specifically mentioned in the Royal inventories of Queen Elizabeth and Henry VIII., and is probably the one mentioned in the inventory of the plate of Henry VI. It was, most fortunately for its preservation, given by James I. to Velasco, the Spanish Ambassador sent to England in 1604 to negotiate the first treaty of peace between England and Spain since the year of the Armada. The Ambassador, on his return to Spain, presented the cup to a monastery, in whose possession it remained till recent times. A Latin inscription on the base of the cup commemorates the gift thus:—"The Constable John Velasco, returning from England by the favour of the English King, gives to Christ, the Peacemaker, a cup of solid gold, a memorial of the peace made between the monarchs, and a relic of the sacred treasure of England." A coarse band of Tudor roses was added to the stem at the same time as this inscription. It was, it is said, when offered for sale several years since in Paris, rejected by the experts, owing to the extraordinary brilliancy and beauty of the enamels. Baron Pichon purchased it, and has been induced to part with it for £8,000, by Messrs. Wertheimer, a sum very considerably less than he had previously valued it. It has now been acquired for the British Museum, by Mr. Franks, as already noticed.

As an enamel it stands perfectly alone, and there appears to be absolutely nothing with which it can be compared. Mr. Franks considers it to be French. It is evidently fourteenth century work, of the period when Ferd. de Lasteyrie (*Hist. de l'Orfèvrerie*, p. 189) writes, "Nul donte que l'orfèvrerie anglaise du quatorzième siècle n'eût une réelle valeur d'art; car nous la voyous recherchée même en France, où plusieurs pièces de cette provenance figurent parmi les innombrables richesses que renfermait le trésor de nos rois." Charles VI. possessed a great cup and cover of solid gold enamelled, presented to him by Henry IV., and a good number of English pieces occur in the inventories of the Princes of France. No one's opinion can carry more weight than that of Mr. Franks; but here is a cup known to have formed, for many years, part of our English treasury, and dating from a time when English enamelling had a European reputation, and which was not mentioned in the inventories as being of foreign workmanship.

GREYFRIARS.

BY

G. H. BIRCH, F.S.A.*

In the angle formed by Newgate Street on the south and by the City wall on the west and north, in the extreme north-western corner of the City, in old time stood the stately church belonging to the Greyfriars, or Friars minor, and the buildings connected with it. But of this magnificent foundation the great fire has left but a few mouldering arches, while on its site has arisen Christ's Hospital, which both in name and fame has eclipsed its monastic predecessor, and from generation to generation has imparted that useful and religious learning by which men could earn their own living, instead of having to beg for it, as did their predecessors the Franciscan Friars. In very early times in the History of the Church we find this spirit of monasticism, a spirit which led men to retire apart from their fellow-creatures and spend their lives in prayer, sometimes alone, as the hermits and anchorites, and sometimes in communities like the Benedictines, who were the earliest of these communities bound by the triple vow of poverty, chastity, and obedience; but in the course of ages, these institutions became to a certain extent corrupted. Money and lands flowed into their possession and the original idea was lost sight of. So we are not surprised to find one of those religious upheavals by which forgotten truths are once more turned up and brought to light; and St. Francis, a young Italian, very early in the 13th century, was the first to put them into actual practice. "To go and sell all that they had and give it to the poor" was to be taken as their rule of life; they were absolutely to possess nothing they could call their own, and the Greyfriars were henceforward to be known by their humility and poverty; the grey habit, with a cowl or hood attached, reaching to their ankles and girt round them with a knotted cord, and with sandals when they walked abroad, was to be their only habit, neither shirt or stockings were allowed. In all the full flush of a genuine enthusiasm nine of these brothers arrived at Dover from Italy in 1224. Five of them were priests, who went on to Canterbury, and stayed there until they could find some place of their own; and the other four, who were laymen, came on to London, and for fifteen days stayed with the Dominicans or Blackfriars, who also had just arrived in London, and who were lodging in the almost ruined old Temple in Holborn, lent to them by the Templars, who had moved into their new House in Fleet Street. They moved from Holborn to Cornhill, hiring a house of one, John Trevers, who was one of the Sheriffs, and here they constructed cells; the novelty of the idea struck the citizens, and they became very popular and were taken up by rich and wealthy people, and their number increasing they moved to this site, which had been purchased for them by John Ewin, Mercer. It was a void piece of ground immediately behind the City wall, probably the old pomœrium, or space bound to be left free of houses. John Ewin himself became one of them. This was in 1225. They soon exerted themselves, aided by Ewin and his citizen friends, to build their church and convent, and William Joyner, who was Lord Mayor, built the choir in 1239, at an expense of £200, but this part was afterwards extended. Then Henry Walleis built the body of the church, which was afterwards pulled down and rebuilt on a grander scale; and the next fifty years many citizens added to the buildings the Dormitories, Chapter House, Vestries, Refectory, Infirmary, and Studies. In 1306 we find them taken under Royal protection, for Margaret of France, the second wife of Edward I., the greatest of the Plantagenets, built a new choir, or extended the old one, spending on it the sum of 2000 marks and leaving by will 100 more. And here we begin to note their increasing prosperity, for the simple citizens are replaced by John de Bretagne, Earl of Richmond, who builds the nave for them at an expense of £300, aided by Mary, Countess of Pembroke, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, the "Le Spencers," de Burghs, de Lisles, and also by Philippa of Hainault, and Isabel of France, Queen and Queen Dowager, so that the whole church was completed in 21 years, namely in 1327. In length it was over 300 feet, in height 64 feet 2 inches, and in width 89 feet, so that so far as size was concerned it exceeded many of our cathedrals; but it was built on altogether a different model, instead of arcade, triforium, and clerestory, these big conventual churches of the Friars had aisles very wide and broad and no clerestory, of which style you can still see a specimen in the church of the Austin Friars; they were essentially preaching churches and drew away hundreds from their own parish churches by forcible, almost coarse kind of sermons. The parochial clergy were not

* Read at the visit of the Society to Christ's Hospital, April 25th, 1891.

fond of them nor were the regulars. However excellent they might have been originally they soon degenerated into something quite different, and the Friar, as depicted in the pages of Chaucer and others, must have been no overdrawn caricature, but unfortunately a type. The class of men who entered these mendicant orders were different to those of regular clergy, and were drawn principally from a lower class of society. There were, of course, exceptions; and science and literature were not wholly unknown among them, for Friar Bacon and Friar Bungey, at Oxford, were no common men.

Unfortunately for our purposes no drawing or illustration which can be relied on exists of the church which was standing almost perfect until the great fire; but there is a plan or survey made in 1617, now preserved amongst the archives of the neighbouring Hospital of S. Bartholomew's, which gives us a pretty fair idea of its extent, and from which the late Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, aided by other authentic documents, was enabled to make a drawing showing the positions of the various altars and tombs. There were no projecting chapels, the width of the aisles allowed these to be included, still allowing sufficient space for a processional path. The nave was of seven bays, and there was a transept or cross aisle, and at the intersection of the four main roofs rose a campanile; the choir extended also seven bays beyond. The nave was screened off at its western termination leaving the transept clear, and this intermediate space was called the "Ambulatorium inter chorum et altaria." These altars at the East end of the nave and the aisles were thus dedicated:—First, the one at end of the North aisle was dedicated to S. Mary, there were two in the nave, probably on each side of the great screen, dedicated to the Holy Rood and to Jesus; and the one at the end of the South aisle was called the common altar; crossing the transept, which did not project beyond the line of the aisles, and in which were two doors, the north leading into the great cloister, the South into a small churchyard, and proceeding up to the South aisle of the choir, the first chapel was a chauntry, called the Countess of Pembroke's, and beyond were the chapel of the novices, the chapel of St. Francis, and the chapel of the Apostles; the high altar was set back one bay from the East end, and the space behind was called the "retro altare." The names of only two chapels have been preserved on the North side—the Sacristy chapel and the chapel of Our Lady. The stalls of the Friars occupied the two first bays of the choir, leaving four clear bays between them and the high altar, and in this central space stood the fair and costly tombs of three queens, Margaret of France, consort of Edward I.; then Isabella of France, consort of Edward II., and mother of Edward III.; and, lastly, the tomb of Queen Joan of Scotland. There was also another standing in the centre of the choir to Gregory de Rokesle. In the spaces between the arches on the South side were fine tombs of Peter, Bishop of Zengg, Sir Walter Blunt, and a monument under which was interred the heart of Archbishop Peckham. On the North side were those of the Bishop of Llandaff and Lord Say; Beatrice, Duchess of Brittany; Robert de Lisle; John, Earl of Pembroke; Margaret, Countess of Norfolk; and Lord Denham, K.G. In the South aisle along the walls were ranged the tombs of Lord Montjoy, Sir John Robsard, Justice Yonge, and Chief Justice Sir Robert Tresham; and in the North aisle, in a similar position, Alice Kingston, a high tomb, Thomas Burdett, Sir Richard Hastings, and John Lord Clinton. Sir Martin Bowes took down all these tombs and sold the alabaster and brass for the paltry sum of £50. Several were enclosed within railings or grilles of iron work. In 1593 the "idol pictures" in the splendid windows were destroyed.

The windows must have been very large traceried ones; there is a list preserved, of which I have a copy, giving the names of those who gave the glazing, the West window being the gift of Edward III. Large and handsome as Sir Christopher Wren's modern church is it occupies only a part of the site of the old choir. Wren used the old walls, and some little time back the bases of the old buttresses were discovered along the South-west side, the spaces from centre to centre being about 19 feet. The old choir extended two bays west beyond the present church, and the site of the nave is now a churchyard.

On the North side stood the great cloister, on the East side of which, next the church, was the chapter house; then the dormitory, 120 by 24 feet. On the North side was the great library, built by the famous Sir Richard Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London, 129 by 21 feet; and on the West was the great refectory, 140 by 24 feet, and the parlour; and over the South walk of the cloisters was the lesser dormitory, connected to the great cloister; further West was the small cloister surrounded by the infirmary buildings, great hall, guest house; and beyond again were the bakehouse, millhouse, brewhouse, gardens, and stables. Most of these buildings existed long after the dissolution and were incorporated into Christ's Hospital. The old refectory became the great hall until John Shaw built partly over the site of the infirmary, the City wall, and ditch, the present fine hall. Eastward of the great cloisters up to the wall in King Edward Street were gardens and offices. At the suppression on the 12th of November, 1538, the ornaments and goods were made over to the King's use, and its revenues estimated at £32 19s. per annum. This glorious church was then shut up and was used as a storehouse for

prizes taken from the French; but in 1546 it was opened again for use, after it had been thoroughly rifled and its magnificent monuments dispersed; but another and brighter era was about to dawn. There is but little doubt that the suppression of the monasteries had flooded the land with swarms of poor wretches who had been hitherto relieved at the gatehouses of the various abbeys, and from want had drifted into a standing danger to all law and order. Sir Richard Gresham, the then Lord Mayor, addressed a letter to the King drawing attention to this, and begging that some of the monastic property might be devoted to relieving the poor. Although the letter was unnoticed at the time, it ultimately bore fruit; and Bishop Ridley, preaching at Paul's Cross, was enabled to state that the conventual grounds and buildings with the Hospital of S. Bartholomew should be devoted to that use. In an indenture between Henry VIII. and the Mayor and Commonalty of London, dated December, 27th, 1545, and afterwards confirmed by letters patent, it is set forth that the Greyfriars church with all the edifices and ground, the fratery, the library, the dortor, the chapter house, the great cloister and lesser tenements, gardens and vacant grounds, lead, stone, iron, &c., the Hospital of S. Bartholomew, West Smithfield, the church of the same, the lead, bells, and ornaments of the same Hospital, with all the messuages, tenements, and appurtenances were made over to the Mayor and Commonalty of London for ever. The parishes of S. Nicholas in the Shambles, St. Ewin's, and so much of the parish of S. Sepulchre as lay within Newgate, were united into one parish, for the use of which the conventual church was left standing and the other two churches taken down. Stevens makes a rather sarcastic remark on this. A very odd foundation to let two churches of four stand, subverting the other two and a good hospital, and to call himself a founder! But beyond this nothing was done, Henry passed to his account, and was succeeded by Edward VI.; and Ridley, at Westminster, preaching before him on the necessity of relieving the poor, Edward consulted with him after the sermon, and Ridley then dined with the Lord Mayor and opened the matter to him, and a sort of committee was formed, and the result of their deliberation was this: they divided the poor into three classes—the poor by impotency, the poor by casualty, and the thriftless poor; and for these three sorts three different places were assigned. First, for the innocent and fatherless, they provided the house which was the late Greyfriars and called it by the name of Christ's Hospital, where poor children are trained up in the knowledge of God and some virtuous exercises to the overthrow of beggary. For the second degree, the poor by casualty, the aged, blind, and lame, were provided the Hospitals of S. Thomas, in Southwark, and S. Bartholomew, in West Smithfield; and, for the third degree, they provided Bridewell, where the idle and vicious could be whipped out of their idleness and viciousness and made to work. Edward granted the buildings, but the citizens had to contribute largely before the charter, with the great seal attached, was granted, in which it was willed and ordained that the Hospitals aforesaid, when they shall be founded, erected, and established, shall be named and called the Hospitals of Edward VI, King of England, Christ, Bridewell and S. Thomas the Apostle, and the Mayor, Commonalty and Citizens of the City of London, and their successors shall be called governors of the said Hospitals. The citizens repaired the old buildings which had been left tenantless for fifteen years, and must have cost a good deal to put them in order, and 340 children, who were first clothed in a livery of russet cotton, soon made these old walls and rafters ring again with their merry voices; and in the month of June, the dying King received the Corporation at the palace and presented them with their charter, the children being present. The picture once attributed to Holbein, now hanging in the great hall, represents this interesting scene. Edward died the next month. The dress, as to colour, was soon after changed to blue, as now, and I suppose will soon be done away with altogether. I have alluded to the ditch, which, being immediately contiguous, and being "loathsome and infectious" to the said Hospital, was covered and vaulted over from Aldersgate to Newgate, and a new covered way was made into S. Bartholomew's, at the cost of Sir William Chester, Alderman, and John Calthrop.

Sir Richard Whittington's library, from old drawings and prints, seems to have been a very fine building; below was the cloister, in which there were ten bays with rich tracery, between each bay was a buttress, and over the cloister were a range of narrow single lights, and above these was a fine range of large two light windows with tracery heads, but not symmetrical with the stories below, looking as if Whittington had raised the building by one story only, and that the lower part was the original building of the Franciscans, which I expect was the case. It was built by Whittington in 1429, and was ceiled with wainscot, having twenty-eight desks and eight double settles of wainscot. It was finished in 1430, and in three years afterwards was furnished with books to the extent of £556 10s., an enormous sum in those days, towards which Whittington contributed £400, and the rest by Dr. Thomas Winchelsey, a friar there.

The great fire of 1666 swept over these ancient precincts, not wholly destroying them, but injuring them greatly, and totally consuming the vast and spacious church; but the citizens again came to the rescue, and soon repaired the injury, and among them Sir Robert Clayton and Sir John Frederick; Clayton building the southern front and entrance gate immediately

next to the churchyard, which now marks the site of the nave of the Franciscan church. Six years after Charles II. founded the mathematical school for the instruction of the boys in navigation, and endowed it for seven years with £1,000, and an annuity of £370 10s. Five of these boys pass an examination by the Elder Brothers of the Trinity House every six months, previous to their entering the naval profession. These boys are annually presented to the sovereign by the president, and wear a badge upon the left shoulder. The old refectory, or great hall, which was over the West walk of the cloister, was finally removed in 1680, and rebuilt at the sole charge of Sir John Frederick. Among other benefactors were Sir John Moore, who built the writing school in 1694, and Sir Francis Child, the famous banker, who, in 1705, rebuilt the ward over the East walk of the cloister; and, little by little, the last remains of the Franciscan monastery gradually disappeared, and the new hall—a really very fine and handsome building—was built by Shaw in 1829; and in this hang the so-called Holbein—Edward VI. presenting the charter to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen—and Verrio's huge painting, representing Charles II., surrounded by his court, giving audience to the governors, who are presenting the children. This huge painting was originally in three pieces, and intended to be seen on three different walls, which would make the perspective right. At present, seen on one plane, it is a little confusing. There is little more to add; the history of the Greyfriars, and of its successor, the Blue Coat School, will soon be memories of the past, and, to use a simile of the late Cardinal Wiseman, like the march of a herd of wild elephants through a tropical jungle, in which everything goes down before them, the Charity Commissioners have set their foot on this time-honoured institution, and ancient memories and old associations are all to be rooted up and dispersed, and we know not what we shall get in their place.

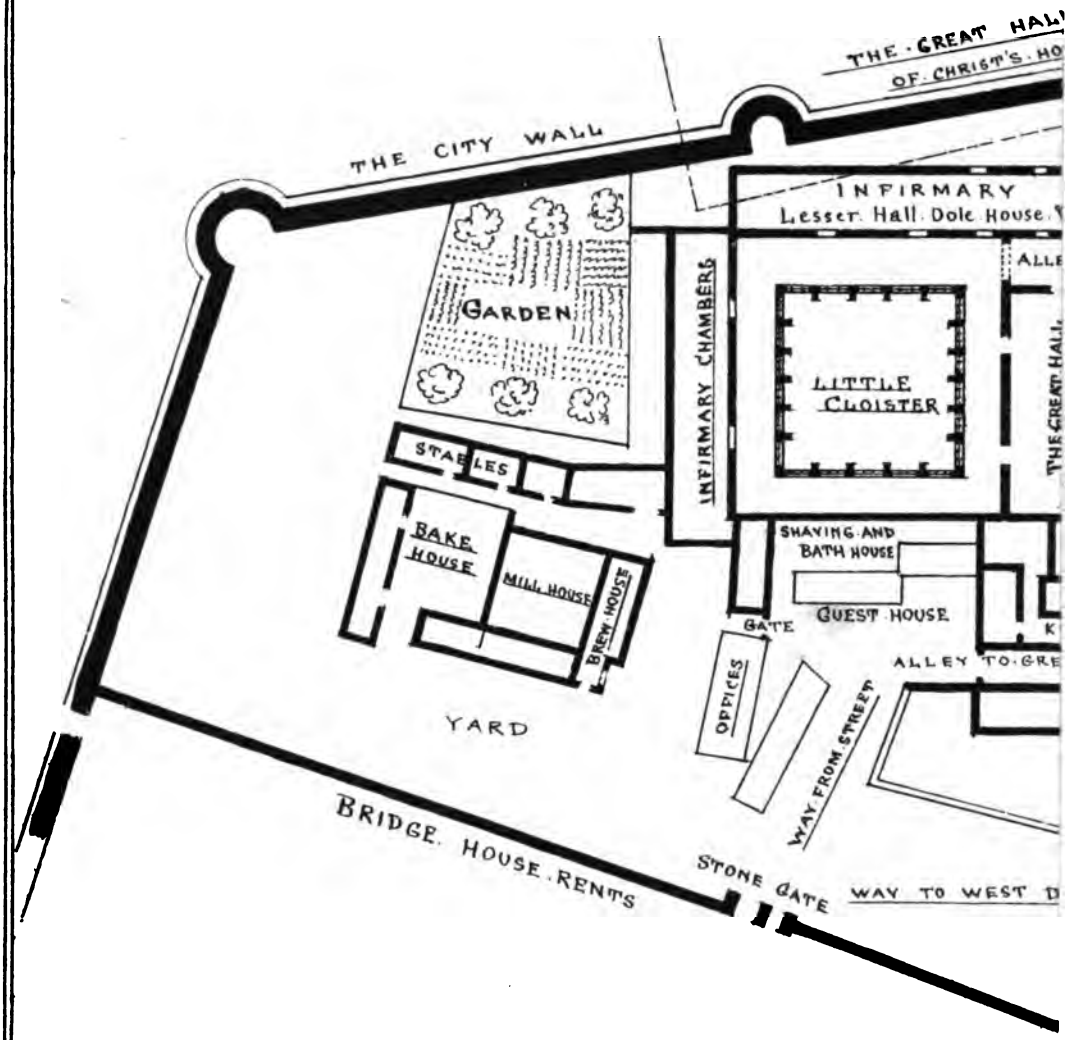
The Deed of Surrender is preserved in the Augmentation Office, with the signatures of the Brotherhood and the Conventual Seal attached. The seal is oval, and the design represents two friars, one of whom holds a cross bearing a triangular shrine, in which S. Peter (?) with his sword is seated; between the two figures is a tree, with birds perching thereon, perhaps an allusion to the legend of S. Francis preaching to the birds; the legend is "Sigillum Conventus Fratrum Minorum Londoniar."

"For as moche as we the Warden & Freers of the house of Saynt Francis in London comenly callyd the Gray Freers in London doo profoundly consider that the perfeccion of Christian liuyng dothe not conciste in dome ceremonyes, werying of a gray coatte disgeasing our selffes aftyr straunge fassions, dokynges, nodyngs and bekynges, in gurdyng our selffes wythe a gurdle full of knots & other like papisticall ceremonyes wherin we have byn moost pryncipally practysed & misselyd in tymes past but the very tru waye to please God & to live a tru Christian man, wythe owte all ypocrasie & fayned dissimulacion is sincerely declared unto us by owre master Christe, his evangelistes & apostoles. Being mynded hereafter to follow the same conformyng oure selfe unto the will & pleasure of owr supreme hed undre God in erthe, the Kinges Majestie & not to follow henceforth the supersticious tradicions of ony forynicall potentate or peere, wythe mutuall assent & consent doo submyt owrselffes unto the mercy of owr saide soveraygn Lorde & wythe like mutuall assent & consent doo surrender & yelde upe into the handes of the same all owr saide howse of Saint Francis comenly callyd the Grey Freers in London wythe all landes tenements gardens medows waters pondyards fedyngs pastures, comens, rents reversions & all other owr interest, ryghtes, or titles aperteyning unto the same, mooste humbly beseeching his mooste noble grace to disspose of us & of the same as best schall stonde wythe his mooste graciouse pleasure & farther frely to grant onto every on of us his licens under wretinge & seall to chaunge our habites into secular fassion & to receve such maner of lyvings as other secular priestes comenly be preferryd unto. And we alle faythfully schall pray unto Allmyghty God longe to preserve his moost noble grace wythe increse of moche felicitie & honoure & in witnefs of alle & singular the premysses we the saide Warden and convent of the Grey Freers in London to thes presentes have putte owr convent seal the xii day of November in the thirtythe yere of the raygn of owr mooste Soverayne Kinge Henry the yeght or Anno 1539.

"*Factum* THOMÆ CHAPMAN D.D.

"*Custodis*"

Signed also by twenty-five of the brotherhood, whose signatures are illegible.



THE: CHURCH: AND: MONASTERY: OF: THE
GREY: FRIARS: NEWGATE: STREET &
FROM: A: SURVEY: MADE: IN: 1617
TOMBS: ✠: FROM: COTTONIAN: MS CIRCA: 1530

C.F. Kell, Photo-Litho, 8, Furnival St. Holborn, London, E.C.

THE CROSS IN ITS RELATION TO THE ALTAR.

BY

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By way of making some excuse for a paper which is very slight and incomplete, and of explaining the thesis which it aims at illustrating, I may be allowed to mention how it originated. A year or two ago, in a paper in which I attempted to treat an aspect of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, I incidentally illustrated a theological tendency, which has created, as it seems to me, some difficulty in dogmatic statement—the tendency, namely, to relate the Eucharist too directly and exclusively to the Passion rather than to the Person of our Lord—by an apparently parallel tendency in Christian art generally, and in particular in the modification of the accessories of the altar. Dr. Wickham Legg was good enough to be interested in the paper, and proposed to me to expand this ecclesiological passage into a new paper, and I was invited to offer it to the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society. This is the result, and I must therefore ask you to hold Dr. Legg responsible for it, and to remember that I cannot pretend to any authority in matters ecclesiological, or profess to do more than attempt to classify such facts as I have been able to gather from a very limited observation and from some obvious authorities.

The thesis I wish to illustrate, then, is that the association of the altar with the crucifix, which has become very usual, and is coming more and more to be regarded as normal, is in fact of comparatively modern growth; whereas the earlier associations, so far as they can be gathered from accessible instances of altar and sanctuary decoration, are, not with the crucifix and the Passion, but with our Lord in glory, or at least in some more universal aspect, if I may so say, than is symbolized by the modern crucifix. And I may add parenthetically, that so far as I know, even at the present moment, conspicuous representations of the Crucifixion and Passion-subjects generally, in connexion with the altar, are not so common elsewhere as might be inferred from their frequency in modern English reredoses and east windows. But however this may be, it is I believe true, that for a long period all the associations of the altar suggested by artistic accessories are with our Lord in glory.

And I must point out, at the outset, that this does not exclude the Cross, nor necessarily some forms of the Crucifix. For the Cross is, and has always been, regarded as the symbol, not of the moment of the Passion, but of the Person of our Lord, and of the whole compass of the mysteries of His Person. It is rather the symbol of His triumph over death than of death itself.* This is abundantly clear from the whole character of early Christian art, and is made unmistakably explicit when the cross itself is made glorious with gold and gems. By way of example, two striking instances of the treatment of the cross, expressive of this wide symbolism, may be mentioned, both of them in the mosaics of Ravenna. In the dome of the Arian baptistery (S. Maria

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* This is illustrated by the festal character of Passiontide, the *festivitas dominicae passionis* (S. Leo *Serm.* lxii. 1 : cf. S. Athan. *Fest. ep.* xi. p. 96 [Library of the Fathers, Oxford, 1854], S. Chrys. *c. jud.* iii. [t. i. p. 611 D]) as marked by the hymns *Vexilla Regis* and *Pange lingua*, and by the festivities of Palm Sunday (S. Isid. *De off.* i. 27; Rab. Maur. *De instt.* ii. 55: [Alcuin] *De div. off*, p. 53 ap. Hittorp.)

in Cosmedin), the line of the apostles, who stand around and below the central medallion representing our Lord's baptism, is broken by a throne, like that on which our Lord is generally seated in mosaics, but here, in place of the figure of our Lord, a jewelled gold Latin cross is enthroned.[1] And in the apse of S. Apollinare-in-Classe, there is an interesting representation of the Transfiguration, in which the three apostles are represented by lambs, and our Lord again by a jewelled gold cross in a star-spangled field of blue enclosed in a circle of gold.

Again, the Crucifix itself, in its earlier phases, is not related to the moment of the Passion, but is, like the simple cross, a symbol of our Lord's victory rather than a picture of His death. There is a great reserve in the pictorial representation of the scenes of the Passion, most of all of the Crucifixion, till comparatively late in the history of Christian art. Till the end of the 12th century, approximately, the realistic crucifix is unknown, at any rate in the West. It would be beyond the present scope to attempt a history of the crucifix: it is sufficient to say that until the 12th century the treatment is symbolic—*i.e.*, generally the figure is erect, the arms horizontal, the eyes open, the head crowned, not with thorns, but with a crown of gold, the feet separate, and supported on a ledge, and the whole figure is often clothed.[2] As an example closely connected with our subject, I may mention the 12th century rood which surmounts the metal altar and retable of Lisbjerg in Denmark, an engraving of which is given in Rohault de Fleury, *La messe*, i. pl. 89 (and see the description on p. 215).

It will be clear, therefore, that the representations which are "normal" as accessories of the altar, include the cross and some forms of the crucifix; but, nevertheless, as will appear below, the latter is rare till a comparatively late date.

I. In attempting to classify the instances which concern us, we may begin with the pictorial decorations of the walls of the sanctuary—the setting of the altar. And of these we may refer to two typical groups—the mosaics of Italy, and the wall-paintings of Mount Athos.

(*a*) *Mosaics.* The mosaics of Italy extend over a long period, and include the 5th century examples of Rome and Ravenna, the 6th century group of Justinian's work at Ravenna, the Roman decline from the 7th to the 10th century, the Roman revival of the 11th century and its development till the 13th, the Byzantine-Norman 12th century group in Sicily, and the later Byzantine examples at Venice.[3] The most important space covered by the mosaics is, of course, the conch of the apse, which is central and dominates the whole church. But besides this, the wall of the apse is often covered, and also the face of the great arch which encloses the apse, and, where there is a transept, the face also of the outer arch, "the arch of triumph." The mosaics of these arch walls may be referred to first. Their subjects are of slightly different types, and I may mention three or four examples. At S. Paolo on the Ostian Way (5th century design), on the outer arch, in the centre, is a colossal bust of our Lord in the act of blessing, enclosed in a circle: on each side, among iridescent clouds on a gold field, are two of the evangelic symbols, the four living creatures of Ezekiel and the Apocalypse; below these, in the spandrels, the elders of the Apocalypse holding their crowns and bowed in adoration, twelve on each side; below these again, S. Peter and S. Paul.[4] The inner wall is, I think, without mosaics. At S. Prassede on the Esquiline (9th century), the outer wall has the New Jerusalem, circled with a golden wall, within which is seen our Lord standing among saints; outside the city, on each side again are saints, and below them, in the spandrels, groups evidently representing the Church on earth. On the inner wall, in the circle over the arch, is the Lamb lying on the altar, below which is the seven-sealed roll, and alongside are the seven candlesticks, and beyond these, four angels and the four living creatures, and below these again the four-and-twenty elders with outstretched arms offering their crowns. This reproduces the corresponding mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano in the forum.[5] At S. Lorenzo-fuori-le-mura (6th century), our Lord in the centre is seated on a globe, and has the right hand raised in blessing, while the left holds a cross: on each side are groups of apostles and saints; in the spandrels, Jerusalem on one side and Bethlehem on the other.[6] At S. Maria-in-Navicella on the Coelian (9th century), our Lord stands in the middle in an oval glory, and on each side is an angel and six apostles; the spandrels are each filled by a large figure of a saint.[7] At SS. Nereo e Achilleo (8th century), the Transfiguration is represented, and beyond it, on one side the Annunciation, on the other the Blessed Virgin holds the Holy Child and an angel stands by. So far as relates to these walls, therefore, it is obvious that the associations suggested are with our Lord in glory and the Apocalypse.

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[1] See Reusens, *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne*, i., p. 282 (Paris 1890).
[2] *Ib.* pp. 536—553: cf. Westcott, *Christianity and Art*, in *Epistles of St. John*, appendix.
[3] See Gerspach, *La mosaique*, Paris [1885?] (in the series *Bibliothèque de l'enseignement des beaux arts*).
[4] Cf. the corresponding mosaic in S. Clemente, figured in J. H. Parker, *Archæology of Rome*, xi., p. 43.
[5] See *Dict. Xtian. Antiq.*, ii., pp. 1337, 1339; J. H. Parker, *Archæology of Rome*, xi. plate 12.
[6] See J. H. Parker, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
[7] See *Dict. Xtian. Antiq.*, ii., p. 1340.

The subjects treated in the conch of the apse may be distributed into three groups :—

1. The largest group is that of which the central figure is our Lord. This type embraces several varieties. The most characteristic of Rome is that in which our Lord stands among clouds, and below, on each side, a group of saints stands on a flowered greensward encircled by the Jordan; and below the conch runs a frieze containing the Lamb standing in the centre of a line of twelve lambs, representing the apostles. This is the type, *e.g.* of SS. Cosma e Damiano (6th century), S. Cecilia, S. Prassede, S. Marco (all these of 9th century).[1] Another variety is that in which our Lord is enthroned; either alone, as at S. Marco at Venice (14th century), and S. Miniato at Florence (13th century), or in the centre of a group of saints or angels as at S. Paolo (13th century), S. Pudenziana (4th century),[2] S. Vitale at Ravenna (6th century),[3] the Duomo of Pisa (13th century), and Messina (14th century). And this seems to be the normal subject of the Byzantine apse.[4] A third, and a majestic variety, is that of the Norman basilicas in Sicily—like Monreale, the Palatina at Palermo, and Cefalu, where the conch is filled with a colossal half-length figure of our Lord. A fourth variety is that which contains the cross along with the figure of our Lord, either above, as at S. Pudenziana,[5] or below, as in the case of the famous cross at the Lateran (13th century), where above is the bust of our Lord among cherubim, below the Dove, from which a stream flows down over the cross, at the foot of which it divides into four streams around a paradise, and the faithful, represented by harts (Ps. xlii.) and lambs, drink of the water.[6] Along with this group two other examples may be reckoned: one, the Transfiguration of S. Apollinare-in-Classe (6th century), where, below, S. Apollinaris stands praying with uplifted hands in a garden among sheep, and above is the Transfiguration mentioned above, in which our Lord is represented by a cross.[7] The other is the apse of S. Clemente on the Coelian, of the 12th century, which, so far as I know, is a unique example. Here the field is filled with endless leafage and scroll-work growing out from the centre of the spring of the conch, and among its branches are little figures and flowers and birds. From the same root springs a great cross, on which is a small, rather emaciated figure of the Crucified, with a cincture hanging to the knees, the feet standing separate on a suppedaneum, the arms bent, and the head inclined on the right shoulder. The rest of the cross is covered with white birds, twelve in number. Below is the frieze of lambs, as usual.[8] As far as I know, this is the only instance of a mosaic crucifix in such a position.

2. A second group is that in which the Blessed Virgin appears along with our Lord. In some instances she holds Him as a child on her knees, as at S. Maria-in-Navicella (9th century), S. Francesca Romana (12th century), and S. Crisogono (13th century), in the cathedral of Torcello (12th century), and at Parenzo in Istria (13th century).[9] At Monreale this group occurs on the wall of the apse, beneath the great figure in the conch. It is also found in Byzantine conchs, as at S. Sophia in Constantinople and S. Sophia in Thessalonica.[10] In other instances the Blessed Virgin is seated beside our Lord, as at S. Maria in Trastevere (12th century),[11] and S. Maria Maggiore (13th century). In the oratory of S. Venantius at the Lateran (7th century), the Blessed Virgin stands at the centre of a line of figures, below a bust of our Lord among the clouds.[12]

3. A third, but uncommon type is that in which our Lord in not represented, but the semi-dome is otherwise occupied, as at S. Agnese, in the Via Nomentana, where S. Agnes stands between popes Honorius I. and Sergius,[13] or at Germigny-des-prés, where between two great angels is the ark of the covenant and its cherubim.[14]

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[1] For SS. Cosma e Damiano, see J. H. Parker, *op cit.*, p. 19, or *Dict. Xtian. Antiq.*, ii., p. 1337; S. Prassede *Dict. Xtian. Antiq.*, ii., p. 1339.

[2] S. Pudenziana, see *Dict. Xtian. Antiq.*, ii., p. 1328. Cf. the apse of S. Aquilinus in S. Lorenzo at Milan, figured *ib.* p. 1334.

[3] S. Vitale, see the central figure in Gerspach, *La mosaique*, p. 65.

[4] See Texier and Pullan *Byzantine Architecture*. p. 42, 133, 141; Goar, *Euchologion*, p. 12 (Venice, 1730). Cf. Rompotes Λειτουργική, p. 171 (Athens, 1869), from which I gather that it is no longer usual. The figure of our Lord enthroned in known technically in Greek iconography as ὁ παντοκράτωρ. Modern examples of this type are the mosaic of the American chapel in Rome, and the fresco at S. Barnabas in Oxford.

[5] See *Dict. Xtian. Antiq.*, ii., p. 1328.

[6] See *Dict Xtian. Antiq.*, i., p. 196; Gerspach, *La mosaique*, p. 131.

[7] There seems to be also a Transfiguration at S. Katharine on Mount Sinai: see Bayet in *Biblioth. des écoles françaises d'Athènes*, t. x. p. 93. The figure of S. Apollinaris is given in Gerspach, p. 62.

[8] See engraving in J. H. Parker's *Archæology of Rome*, xi, p. 83; and description in Gerspach, *La mosaique*, p. 128. It will be noticed that our Lord in glory is represented on the archwall above.

[9] S. Maria-in-Navicella (or in Dominica), see *Dict. Xtian. Biog.*, ii., p. 1340; S. Crisogono, J. H. Parker, *Archæology of Rome*, part xi, plate 14. On Parenzo, see Gerspach, *La mosaique*, p. 149; on S Francesca Romana *ib.* p. 109. Torcello, see Reusens, *Élém. d'arch. chrét.* i., p. 193.

[10] Bayet in *Biblioth. des écoles franç. d'Athènes* x., p. 89; and *L'art byzantin*, p. 63

[11] J. H. Parker, *op. cit.*, pl. 13. Mr. Parker interprets the figure to be the Church.

[12] See Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, p. 307.

[13] J. H. Parker, *op. cit.*, pl. 9.

[14] See Gerspach, *La mosaique*, p. 79.

(*b*) *Wall-paintings of Athos.* These belong to a later period than the mosaics, but they are no doubt a continuation and development of a cycle which was formed at least as early as the period from the 9th century to the 12th century.[1] As is well known, the iconographic types are quite fixed, and are contained in a 15th century Greek manual, which was brought to the West and published in part by Didron.[2] I have not met with any complete and detailed description of the actual distribution of subjects in the churches, but I gather that the scenes of the Passion are reserved for the walls of the Prothesis,[3] where they are signally appropriate in view of the highly developed symbolism of the Byzantine prothesis-office, in which the Passion is enacted on the elements at the preparation of the oblation before the liturgy. In the apse I gather that our Lord's miracles are commonly represented; but what fills the conch of the apse, I have not discovered, but I suspect it is our Lord enthroned. It may be noticed that the central dome, around which is represented the divine liturgy, has in the centre, the Pantocrator, *i.e.*, our Lord in majesty—encircled by the angelic orders.[4]

I may here refer to some illustrations from two other quarters—from Byzantine churches of South Italy, and from Egypt. Mr. Tozer has described, in the *Antiquary* for August, 1883, and October and November, 1888, some of the rock-hewn Greek chapels which he has explored in South Italy. Many of these contain frescoes, some of which are related to the altar. For example, in the chapel of S. Stephen at Soleto, in the hollow of the apse, is a 12th or 13th century fresco, representing the descent of the Holy Spirit; the Eternal Father holds the Son in His bosom, and from Them the Dove descends on the Blessed Virgin and the apostles, assembled in a battlemented enclosure, which represents Jersualem, and in the middle of the assembly "the Sophia" blesses the chalice, while an angel holds the wafer.[5] In S. Maria delle Grazie at Carpignagno, and S. Maria della Scala at Massafra, there are pictures of the Madonna and the Holy Child.[6] In S. Sebastian at Sternatia, over the altar is a representation of the Eternal Father holding the arms of a cross on which our Lord hangs; but this is of the 16th century.[7] As to Egypt, it seems to be uniformly the case that on the apse wall are represented the twelve apostles, with our Lord in the attitude of benediction enthroned in the midst.[8]

II. Until the 12th century, the altar was uniformly surmounted by a ciborium or baldachin, *i.e.*, a canopy supported on columns; and it largely remains so still—in the West, chiefly in Italy; in the East, almost everywhere. In some instances, the ciborium, so far as can be judged from representations, is a merely architectural feature, giving distinction to the altar, but otherwise contributing nothing in the way of interpretation. In other instances, its decorations bring it within the scope of our subject. These decorations are of fourfold variety.

(*a*) The dome or canopy is *surmounted by a cross*, but by no means uniformly. In the East, where the domical form is the common one,[9] a cross generally rises from the highest point of the dome; when it is pyramidal, the cross stands on the apex. A famous example of such a cross is that of Justinian's ciborium at S. Sophia;[10] and representations are common in miniatures.[11] In the West, the form of the ciborium is more variable, and is seldom domical, and a prominent cross does not seem so common;[12] and in one form of great dignity, that of S. Marco at Venice and of the side altar at S. Apollinare-in-Classe, it seems architectually impossible, inasmuch as the ciborium does not rise to an apex, but is flat at the top.[13]

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[1] Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, p. 171.

[2] Didron, *Christian Iconography*, vol. ii., p. 2 (Eng. transl., Lond., 1886). See an account of the manual in Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, p. 255.

[3] Bayet, *op. cit.*, p. 250; and see pp. 248—255 generally. M. Bayet's partial description seems to be founded on his own observations at Athos; the directions as to distribution of subjects in the English translation of Didron (*op. cit.* ii., p. 383 sqq.), are not easy to make out exactly.

[4] See Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, p. 250, and engraving on p. 251.

[5] *Antiquary*, Nov., 1888, p. 192.

[6] *Antiquary*, Oct., 1888, p. 139; Nov., p. 195.

[7] *Antiquary*, Oct., 1888, p. 140.

[8] A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 40 (Oxford, 1884). Major Heales, in *The Architecture of the Churches of Denmark* (Lond., 1892), p. 57., remarks on the change of subjects of wall-paintings in Danish Churches, between the 13th century and 15th century; in the latter period, the last judgment and purgatory are favourite subjects, instead of the life of our Lord. The older manner is seen in the figure of our Lord in majesty in the apse of Skibby (p. 58), and is still preserved in a like example at Sleive, dated 1522 (p. 57).

[9] The domical form is invariable in Egypt: see A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, vol. ii., p. 29.

[10] Paulus Silentiarius, *Descriptio S. Sophiae* 736 (*Migne P.G.* lxxxvi. 2147).

[11] See Rohault de Fleury, *La messe*, ii., plates 105, 106, 108, 109. Where there is no cross, it seems generally to be a Jewish altar that is represented: *ib.* plates 102, 106; Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, pp. 175, 267. But even these sometimes have crosses: de Fleury, *ib.* 105, 106. The Georgian example, pl. 101, has no cross, where it might be expected: cf. Bayet, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

[12] See Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, ii., plates 98, 100, 109, 110, 111, 112, 114. But see the crosses in plates 87, 107 112, 113, 115.

[13] *ib.* plates 103, 104.

(*b*) The face of the structure, the gables and spandrels are commonly elaborated with carving. In some cases, the carving is not very markedly significant, being nothing more than *e.g.* foliage and birds.[1] In others, it takes more significant form. I may quote the Latin cross in the gable of the ciborium of S. Mercurius at S. Clemente,[2] the chrisma over the arch, in an African 6th century example,[3] the crosses in the spandrels at S. Spirito at Ravenna,[4] the cross over the arch of the ciborium of S. Prospero (9th century) in the museum of Perugia,[5] the head of our Lord in a fragment at Ancona,[6] and especially, the gables of the ciborium at S. Ambrogio in Milan (9th or 12th century), where in front, between SS. Peter and Paul, our Lord sits enthroned.[7]

(*c*) A common accessory of the ciborium was the *corona*, hanging from the centre of the vault, over the altar. These coronæ are often simple circlets.[8] In other cases, a cross hangs with, and partly encircled by the hoop of, the corona.[9] Many examples of both kinds are found mentioned in the records of the gifts of the 9th century popes to the Roman Church, in the *Liber pontificalis*.[10] But both here and in surviving representations, the form without the cross seems the more common.

(*d*) In the East, at least in Egypt, the vault or dome is painted internally, and the subject seems to be our Lord enthroned.[11]

III. So far, we have been concerned with the remoter surroundings of the altar. We now come to the altar itself and its immediate accessories.

1. *Altar Fronts.* The sculptures of early altar fronts are of the same character as all early Christian sculpture. The subjects are treated symbolically, and the same types recur—the fish, the cross, the chrisma, and so on.[12] An interesting example may serve as typical—that of the altar of the mausoleum of Galla Placidia (SS. Nazaro e Celso) at Ravenna. Here, in the centre is a Latin cross; on each side, a corona hangs from a festoon of leafage, and below stands a lamb.[13] In the 9th century, if that is the true date of the golden altar of S. Ambrogio at Milan, begins the series of gorgeously wrought fronts in metal and ivory, represented also by the golden altars of Basel and Aachen, and the ivory altar of Salerno.[14] The general result of an examination of such of these as I have noticed is much the same as that of the wall decorations of the sanctuary. Very generally they have the figure of our Lord enthroned as central and dominant feature—or sometimes, the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Child. These are flanked sometimes by figures of saints, sometimes by panels containing scenes from the Gospels. In the latter case, of course, the Passion takes its place in the series, but no special prominence seems to be given to it.

2. *Retables.* Till the 11th century, the altar was entirely detached;[15] after that date, the retable begins to appear; a solid wall-like structure, this is, backing the altar. It is unnecessary to attempt to go into details as to the origin of this change. It is sufficient to say that it apparently went along with, and was rendered possible, by a revolution in the arrangement of the presbytery, which brought the stalls of the clergy and the bishop's throne down to the west of the altar. Its actual origin seems to have been largely the reliquary placed behind the altar, of which the retable was sometimes the screen, and sometimes the setting; and perhaps, the back curtain of the ciborium had something to do with it; by the removal of the front columns and the dome, the back and side curtains were left alone, and the retable might be the petrifaction, as is were, of the dossal curtain. But however that may be, the reliquary seems to have had most to do with it, for the earlier examples are quite low walls, and it is only gradually that they rise to the huge dimensions of those of the 15th and 16th centuries.[16] What it concerns us to notice is that the earlier examples are of the same character as the altar fronts, and in fact,

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[1] *ib.* plates 95, 96, 100, 104.
[2] *ib.* pl. 92.
[3] *ib.* pl. 93.
[4] *ib.* pl. 97.
[5] *ib.* pl. 98. cf. pl. 99.
[6] *ib.* pl. 94.
[7] *ib.* pl. 110. Reusens, *Élém. d'arch. chret.*, i., p. 425.
[8] See *Dict. Xtian. Antiq.*, i. pp. 460, 461; Rohault de Fleury, *La messe*, i., plates 4—6, 9.
[9] *Dict. Xtian. Antiq.*, i. pp. 508 – 510.
[10] See passages collected in J. B. Thiers, *Dissert. sur les princ. autels des églises*, cap. 11 p. 67 sqq. (Paris, 1688).
[11] This form of decoration is Egyptian: see A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, ii., p. 29. I think I have seen it stated, that it is also found in Greek ciboria, but I cannot remember the reference. The curtains of the ciborium were sometimes embroidered; those of S. Sophia had our Lord in the act of blessing, between SS. Peter and Paul (Paul. Silent. *Descript. S. Sophiae* 776 sqq.).
[12] See Rohault de Fleury, *La messe*, i., plates 25 – 59.
[13] *ib.* plate 31.
[14] *ib.* plates 60, 61, 84, 86—90.
[15] J. B. Thiers, *Dissert. sur les princ. autels des églises*, cap. 16.
[16] See history of retables in Reusens, *Élém. d'arch. chrét.* i. pp. 425—432; ii., pp. 221—236.

at least in one famous case, the retable is an altar front transferred to the new position—I mean the *Pala d'Oro* of S. Mark's at Venice, which is a superb frontal of Byzantine jewellery. In the early retables, therefore, the central figure again is our Lord enthroned, and sometimes the Blessed Virgin and the Holy Child.[1] But I must recur to a 12th century example, mentioned already—that of Lisbjerg in Denmark, where, above the enthroned Christ, rises a great rood, enclosed in an arch, at the apex of which our Lord appears again enthroned and blessing.[2] I have already said that the crucifix is of the glorified type. In the development of the reredos from the 13th to the 15th century, the crucifix appears frequently,[3] and the great Golgotha scenes of Flemish examples are well known.[4] But the vast majority of these great reredoses, whatever their subject, seem to have been produced in the first thirty years of the 16th century.[5] It would require a wide examination and classification of known examples to determine in what proportion the Passion as a subject stands to other subjects. But at least it has nothing approaching a monopoly, and I should not be surprised to find that it has far less than a majority of instances.[6] It would be useful to discover what is its local distribution, how far its tends to prevail in particular localities. It would be interesting to know, *e.g.*, whether it was specially German, and was in any degree the origin of the prominence of the crucifix in Lutheran Churches; but I have not had opportunity to attempt to determine either of these points.

So far, then, the result seems to be that the associations of the altar, as suggested by all these classes of decoration in more or less immediate connexion with it, are with our Lord in glory; while the crucifix and the Passion only occur rarely and take their place, as it were, among other occasional variations.

3. *The Cross on the Altar.*—As I remarked above, for about the first eleven centuries the altar was a detached structure, freely accessible on all sides. And this is still its character in many places—especially in Italy, and in particular in all the older churches of Rome, and for the most part throughout the East. In other words, until about the 12th century the basilican arrangement of an apse with the cathedra in the centre and the synthronus of the presbyters running round it, and the altar and its baldachin standing free on the chord, was practically unmodified. And it is only necessary to notice the effect, at this moment, of the cross and candlesticks in a Roman basilica, forming as they do there, where the celebrant is "behind" the altar, a screen between him and the people, to feel that it cannot be the intended effect, and that the whole loses dignity by the introduction of the ornaments,[7] and this especially where it is not only that the ornaments are set on the outer edge of the table, as at S. Lorenzo-fuori-le-mura, but a gradine is constructed to support them, as, if I remember rightly, is the case in many of the Roman basilicas. And the same sense of incongruity in some measure arises even when the celebrant is on the hither side of the altar, so long as the bishop's throne remains in the apse, and the ornaments form a screen between him and the nave. Given the basilican arrangement, therefore, we might feel sure beforehand that the altar was not contemplated as a support for ornaments—to say nothing of its becoming, what in effect it often is, a mere adjunct of a decorative arrangement of reredos and crucifix and lights dominating the whole church.[8] And the facts seem to correspond with what we should expect beforehand; for in the first place, the earliest canonical rules bearing on the subject exclude the ornaments. From the 9th to the 11th century the rule is several times repeated—"Let nothing be placed on the altar except a chest with relics of saints or perhaps the four Gospels or a pyx with the Lord's Body for the viaticum of the sick."[9] And in many cases the rubrics presuppose that the altar is clear, when they direct the subdeacon to stand during the canon, not as at present behind the celebrant, but opposite him on the other side of the altar.[10] In illustration of the rule quoted above

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[1] See examples in Rohault de Fleury, *La messe*, ii. plates 116—118.

[2] *ib.* i. pl. 89.

[3] *ib.* ii. pl. 119 and i. pl. 22.

[4] See examples in Reusens, *Élém. d'arch. chrét.* ii. p. 226.

[5] Münzenberger, in *Révue de l'art chrétien*, April, 1892, calculates that of the three thousand known examples of great wooden reredoses, four-fifths belong to the period 1500—1525 or 1530; and in North Germany the proportion is greater. I have not seen his work *Zur Kenntniss u. Würdigung der mittelalterlichen Altäre Deutschlands*, which seems to contain a collection of plates of retables, from which the range of subjects might be estimated.

[6] Reusens, in *Éléments d'archéologie chrétienne*, ii., pp. 229—231, gives a list of Belgian reredoses in carved wood; of thirty-seven of these, he gives some description of the subject; of these thirty-seven, thirteen are scenes from the life of our Lord; and of these thirteen, seven are Passion subjects.

[7] See the representation of the great basilicas without their altar ornaments, in Rohault de Fleury, *o.c.*, ii., p. 3, and plates 103, 107, 110, 113.

[8] It has been remarked that the modern Roman setting of the altar seems constructed more in view of exposition and benediction than of the celebration of the holy mysteries.

[9] See references collected in Thiers, *Sur les principaux autels des églises*, c. 18, p. 129 sq.

[10] Thiers, *op. cit.*, c. 16.

I may mention an interesting series of miniatures in a 14th century Bodleian MS.,[1] where the altar is always entirely without ornaments except in one case—that of the mass *in honore sanctorum quorum corpora habentur*, and here the reliquaries are placed on the altar. And any collection of reproductions of miniatures and ivories will give abundant examples.[2] The collection in the first volume of Rohault de Fleury's *La messe*, which may be assumed to be representative, gives no instance of even a cross on the altar before the 11th century,[3] and a cross or crucifix does not become common till the 15th century. But the use must have been frequent by the beginning of the 13th century, when Innocent III. says definitely[4] *inter duo candelabra in altari crux collocatur medio.* But there is no reference to it in the 14th century Roman *Caerimoniale*,[5] and even in the 16th century, in representations of the mass in the capitals and full-page illustrations of printed missals, there is as a rule, I think, no cross or crucifix visible, and often nothing in the way of reredos or wall decoration behind the altar.

In the missal of Clement VIII. the direction is precise, that there be a cross and lights on the altar;[6] but the obligation of this direction seems to have been so far ambiguous as to have required frequent enforcement by the Congregation at Rites, and particularly by Benedict XIV. in 1746.[7] There is an earlier use which I have not yet referred to, viz., that of a cross or crucifix standing beside the altar. There is an instance of this in the *Liber Pontificalis* in the *Vita Leonis III.* (795—816) where it is related that Leo III.—*ibidem* [sc. *in basilica B. Petri Apostoli*] *fecit crucifixum ex argento purissimo qui stat juxta altare majus mirae magnitudinis decoratum pensantem libris lii.*[8] It may be assumed that this was of the glorified type. The cross in this position is frequently represented in miniatures;[9] and at this moment, in the duomo of Ravenna a silver cross stands at the side of the high altar, which is on the chord of the apse; it is an ancient cross, but I do not know its history. Speaking generally, then, in the West the cross, when it occurred, was first on the ciborium or hanging from its vault with the corona, or stood beside the altar; by the 13th century at least, it was sometimes placed on the altar or the retable, but this only gradually became general, and was not *de rigueur* till the beginning of the 17th century. At the same time, the retention of the crucifix or cross and lights among the Lutherans of Germany and Scandinavia seems to imply that it was very general in the 16th century.

As to the East: there is no sign of any ornaments in the Athos fresco of the divine liturgy,[10] nor of a cross or crucifix in the 16th century series of miniatures reproduced in the *Patrum nova bibliotheca*.[11] Nor is it mentioned in the Greek ritualists, or in the earlier Western writers on Greek ritual.[12] But at present the cross or crucifix and lights seem to be in general use. In Russia these are placed not on the altar but on the floor behind.[13] Elsewhere they seem to be, at least sometimes, on the altar.[14] In Egypt the Copts have two lights on the altar, but no cross or crucifix.[15] The Armenians use crucifix and lights; but the Armenian ritual

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[1] MS. Lat. Douce, 313.

[2] See also S. Clement's mass in the lower church of S. Clemente on the Coelian (figured in Rohault de Fleury, i., pl. 12); and S. Ambrose's mass in the apse of S. Ambrogio at Milan, given *ib.*, pl. 17.

[3] The altar-cross is not mentioned in ritual writers till the 11th century: Thiers, *op. cit.*, c. 18, p. 129. In de Fleury, pl. 13 is of the 11th century. It will be noticed that both cross and lights are often small and very different from some modern exaggerated ornaments. On the introduction of the cross, or crucifix, with special reference to the celebrant and various uses with regard to it, see Claude de Vert, *Explication*, vol. iv., p. 31, sqq.

[4] Innoc. III., *De div. myst.*, ii. 21., cf. de Fleury, i., pl. 19.

[5] Claude de Vert, *Explication simple littérale et historique des cérémonies de l'église.* t. iv., p. 37 (Paris 1713).

[6] *Rubricae generales missalis*, c. 20.

[7] Thalhofer *Handbuch d. katholischen Liturgik*, i., p. 782 (Freiburg i. B. 1883). In *A Manual of Prayers and other Christian Devotions* (London, 1728), the picture facing p. 521 has neither cross nor crucifix; that facing p. 457 has a cross (reproduced in *Trans. of St Paul's Eccl. Soc.*, vol. ii., p. 118, from *A Manual of Prayers and Litanies*, Rouen, 1665).

[8] Cit. ap. Thiers, *op. cit.*, c. 18, p. 131.

[9] See Rohault de Fleury, *La messe*, vol. i., pl. 15; Bodleian MSS. Douce, 118, ff. 38, 136 v.; Auct. D. 2. 6 (last min. but one).

[10] Figured in Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, p. 251.

[11] See *Patrum nova bibliotheca* (Rome, 1853) vol. vi., p. 584 sqq. If there were a cross it would be visible in plates ii. iv. vi. and ix. The miniatures in Rohault de Fleury, *La messe*, vol. ii., plates 12, 13, 16, 17, give no evidence, because they none of them represent the liturgy, and the ornaments are still, in the East, set on the altar only at the liturgy.

[12] See reference in Thiers, *op. cit.*, c. 18, p. 126.

[13] See Rohault de Fleury, *La messe*, vol. i., p. 193; M. Rajewsky, *Euchologion d. orthodox-katholischen Kirche* part i, pp. xix, xxii (Vienna, 1861).

[14] Neale, *History of the H. Eastern Church*, introd. p. 188. In alluding to Eastern usage, it is always easy to mistake references to the hand-cross which lies on the altar, for references to the altar-cross. But I believe Neale is right here.

[15] A. J. Butler, *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt* (Oxford, 1884), vol. ii., p. 57. The candlesticks were formerly on the ground; *ib.* p. 56.

was much affected by Western use.[1] I do not know the custom of the Syrian Jacobites, but the Christians of S. Thomas in Malabar, who are now in communion with the Jacobites, use a cross and two lights.[2] The Nestorians of Kurdistan also generally have a cross, and sometimes a crucifix, and two lights.[3]

I ought to refer to the rood of the rood-beam beneath the great arch which, strangely, has almost as effectually vanished on the Continent as it has in England, though it was so striking a feature in mediæval churches.[4] This is not strictly associated with the altar, and so scarcely falls within our scope. All that need be said, in view of the present subject, is that some such position is the right one for the representation of the Passion—one that has been, as it were, passed through and left behind on the approach to the altar A crucifix in a corresponding position, at the top of the iconastasis above the holy doors, seems to be common in Greek churches.[5]

The practical conclusion which all this seems to warrant is therefore—

1. That we should beware of too readily introducing the realistic representation of the Passion in close association with the altar.

2. That therefore the reredos and East window should not too frequently be occupied with this subject.

3. That crucifixes, whether pictures or images, where used in this connexion, should not not be realistic, but rather of the earlier "glorified" type.

4. That the cross, with its wide symbolism and its stimulus to imagination and its challenge to thought and interpretation, should not be discarded in favour of the crucifix.

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[1] Issaverdenz, *Rites et cérémonies de l'église arménienne* (Venice, 1876) p. 10. The author belongs to the Uniat, but the Gregorian use is, I believe, the same as what he describes.

[2] G. B. Howard, *The Christians of St. Thomas and their Liturgies* (Oxford and London, 1854) p. 128 and frontispiece.

[3] Maclean and Browne, *The Catholicos of the East and his People* (London, 1892) p 291.

[4] I have lately noticed that the churches of the Saas-thal in the Valais have all, so far as I have observed, roods of the end of the 17th or of the 18th century.

[5] See Bayet, *L'art byzantin*, pp. 250, 252.

THE HISTORY AND EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF ST. MARK'S, VENICE.

BY

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Till within a comparatively short period, it had always been considered, that the main structure of St. Mark's, Venice, with its five domes, was the work of *Pietro Orseolo*, who succeeded *Pietro Candiano* as Doge of Venice, on the assassination of the latter in 976 A.D. As long ago as 1859 some doubt was thrown upon the assumption by Selvatico, an Italian antiquary, who discovered a document in the archives of Venice, stating that it was the work of *Dominico Contarini*, who became Doge in 1043. Subsequent researches have led to further discoveries, and the various restorations which it has been found necessary to make during the last fifteen years have revealed not only the main structure of Contarini's work, but portions of more ancient walls which were utilized in its construction. The early history of the Church and of its predecessors was described by the late Professor Cattaneo, to whose posthumous work I am mainly indebted for my information. The plan, elevations and sections of the present St. Mark's are compiled from Ongania's great work; but the actual form they take and the tinting of the plan chronologically, are worked out from Cattaneo's statements, and from my own observations and researches at Venice last year.

As it will be seen in the course of my description, that to St. Mark's, Venice, must be accorded a distinct Byzantine origin, you will, perhaps, better be able to follow my arguments if I commence by pointing out the chief characteristics of Byzantine architecture, so far as they affect that church: and, first, as regards plan: of Constantine's work, after the transfer of the Empire to Byzantium, there is little left, but from Eusebius's description the basilica at Jerusalem had triforium galleries set apart for women, according to the requirements of the Greek church, and such galleries exist in two basilicas of later date at Thessalonica, the Eski Djouma and the Church of St. Demetrius. Both of these churches had timber roofs. From these we pass to the Church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, commenced by Justinian in 532, in which the chief feature is an immense central dome, 103 feet in diameter, with eastern and western semicircular apses, and with aisles and triforium galleries all vaulted, surrounding the central space. This Church must be looked upon as the apotheosis of the Byzantine style, and no dome of similar size was ever again attempted in the East; but it gave the key to a new plan which is usually called the Greek cross, in which there is a dome in the centre and barrel vaults over the nave transept and choir. In later times this dome was raised on a drum, in which vertical windows were pierced, and sometimes other domes were added of slightly less importance over nave transepts and choir, or on the four angles included by them. In the Church of the Holy Apostles the four other domes were over the nave, transepts and choir; in the Church of the Assumption at Moscow and of the Theotokos, Constantinople, over the angles. A second type of plan is found in the round churches, but they do not differ from much earlier examples in Italy; the most important variation known is that in the Church of St. Sergius at Constantinople, also built by Justinian, a church with octagonal central space covered by a dome and surrounded by seven semicircular niches and a choir with aisles and triforium galleries. Towards the end of the 6th century, in addition to the central apse, in Greek churches two others were added, the Prothesis or credence table and the Diaconicon or Sacristy. As they were always hidden by the Iconostasis, these additions served a different purpose from that in the Roman Church. It is, perhaps, more a question of construction than of plan, but I may here note that whilst internally in Byzantine work the apse is circular, externally it is almost always polygonal. In Western Europe it is always circular, unless influenced by Byzantine work. *Domes*, therefore, *triforium galleries*, a *triple apse* and *polygonal walls externally to the central apse* are distinctly *features of Byzantine origin.*

Although it is not possible to lay down a hard and fast rule, there can be no doubt that in the earlier phases of architectural styles, the material at the disposition of the builder has exercised the most important influence, not only on the construction of, but in the form taken by, their architectural conceptions.

Owing to the absence of stone of any dimension within a reasonable distance of Constantine's new capital, he and his successors were obliged to turn to account, at all events for the main bulk of their constructions, the materials of the country, such as rubble masonry and brick. But brick, when employed as the chief material, exercises a considerable influence on architectural design on account, first, of the regularity of its form, and second, of its restriction in construction. It offers great facilities for the employment of arched construction, and it tends to replace the architrave or lintel. It restricts the projection of cornices, and, on account of its numerous joints, it suggests the employment of what are called relieving arches, supported on piers, and leaving the interspaces to be filled in with what may be called partition walls.

What may have been the tentative efforts of Constantine and of his immediate successors we do not know, the buildings of Justinian's design almost mark the invention of a new style of construction. Immense arches, measuring sometimes five feet high, of brickwork, in two or three rings with huge piers and buttresses, are employed in the Churches of St. Sophia at Constantinople and Thessalonica, the bricks measuring 18 or 20 inches by 12 inches, and 1½ inch to 2 inches thick, with joints of mortar of nearly the same thickness, and at the extrados, or upper side of the brick ring, still greater. Even in smaller openings, such as windows and doors, single rings 16 inches to 18 inches deep are employed instead of the two and three brick rings of 4½ inches which we use. The Byzantine architect also would seem to have recognized at a very early period the fact that a pier or support of a homogeneous nature, such as granite, marble or stone, could carry a greater weight than one built up of bricks; and further, that it might even be of less diameter than the wall carried, provided all lateral thrust were counteracted. Now, in all Roman work, the face of the architrave, or in late work as at Spalato, the face of the arch, is in the same plane as that of face of column. In the Church of St. Paul, outside the walls of Rome, built 388, where arches are thrown from column to column, the thickness of the wall and the width of the base or die from which the arches spring are equal to the upper diameter of the column. In Byzantine work, however, both are much greater; consequently, the Roman capital, with its ordinary abacus, was neither large enough nor sufficiently strong to meet the new requirement. They inserted, therefore, a new feature, called the *dosseret* or *impost-block* between the capital and the wall above. It has been thought this was a corruption of the old Roman architrave; if so, its earliest examples would recall the mouldings of same; but in the Eski Djouma at Thessalonica, dating from the beginning of the 5th century, it appears as an absolutely new and original feature, designed solely to meet a constructional want and without reference to precedent. It is not necessarily square, and sometimes on two of the sides will project like a bracket. The dosseret, therefore, is one of the most characteristic features of the Byzantine style.

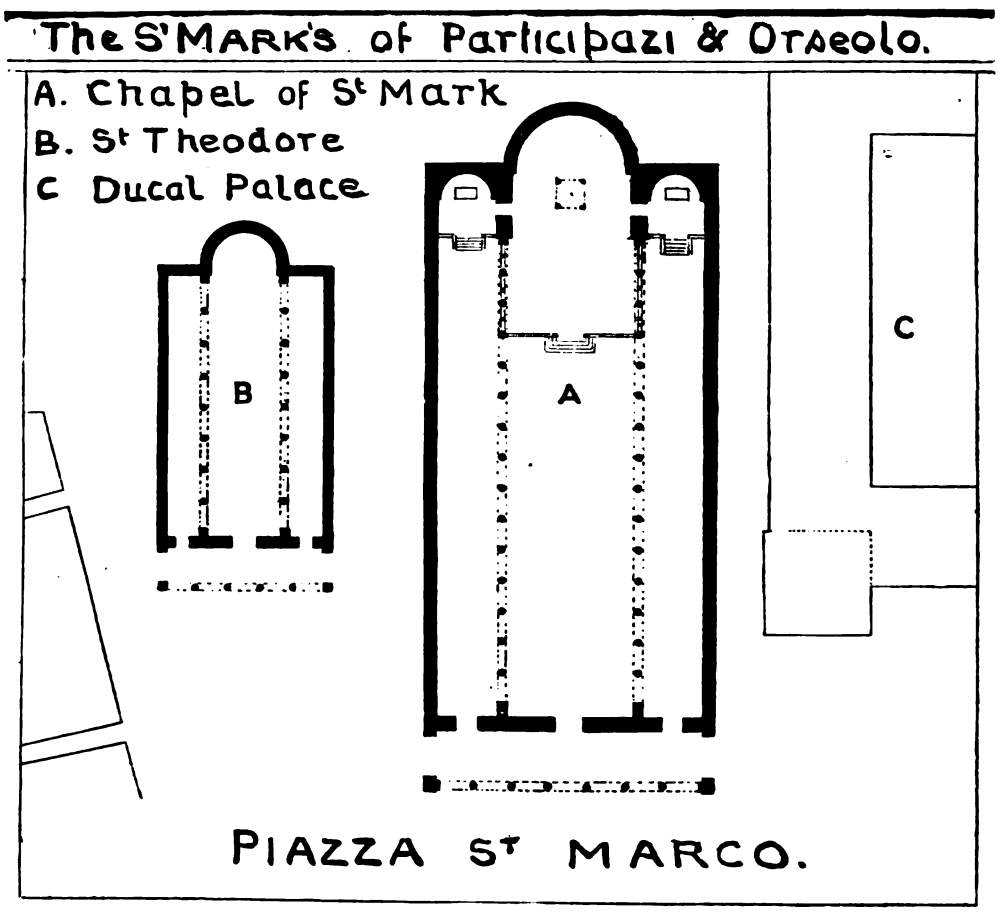
Constructively, therefore, we have *bricks of large dimensions*, and so thin that they might be looked upon as tiles, with thick mortar joints; *arches of various sizes*, sometimes filled in flush with brickwork, showing that they were not built in openings; *brick rings of unusual depth; a concentration of thrust in huge piers and buttresses* (as in Gothic work, which enabled the architects to deal decoratively with the filling in); and the *dosseret*.

I come now to a third characteristic: viz.: decoration.

Of external decoration, beyond that which is afforded by the courses of brickwork, or by the brick voussoirs, in which variety is given occasionally by difference of tint, and in later work of the 11th and 12th century, when patterns of brick or inlaid tiles were employed, there is not much to be said. It was rather in the interior that the Byzantine artist lavished the resources of his art. In the decoration of the lower part of the walls with panellings of the richest marbles, and of the upper portion and of the vaults and soffits of arches with a vast surface of Mosaic, the Byzantines carried on the traditions of Roman architecture, but the treatment was new and original. They restricted the carved decorations to those features which had special constructional functions to serve; such as the capitals and bases of the columns, the lintels and jambs of doorways and windows, or such as were required to emphasize certain lines in the building, as stringcourses or cornices. In all these features they were specially reticent as regards their projection, so as not to clash or form too great a contrast with the large flat surfaces of marble and mosaic. Though many of their capitals were based on those of the Roman, Corinthian, or Composite orders, we notice a tendency to change, first, the contour of the capital, which inclines from the bell towards the form known as the cushion capital; and, secondly, the leaves, instead of being so much in relief as to suggest that they were in their origin applied to the bell, on the contrary, seem rather to emerge from the solid block. These tendencies become the more apparent when, with a cubical block (the lower angles of

which had been chipped off to merge into the circular annulet of the column), they proceeded to set out a scheme of surface decoration, and, cutting back from the surface, to evolve a new variety of design, partially geometrical and partially of leaf ornament. It is in this class of capital that we find the greatest originality, and in the play of light and shade considerable beauty. In these examples, also, they seem to have been very fond of undercutting. Piercing holes with a drill is found in the debased work of most styles, but the Byzantine artists turned its effect to more account, and frequently employed it in conjunction with carved foliage of good character. The influence of Byzantine design, however, is chiefly conspicuous in the decoration of the enclosures of choir-screens, parapets of balustrades, episcopal thrones, ambones or pulpits, and baldachinos or ciboriums.

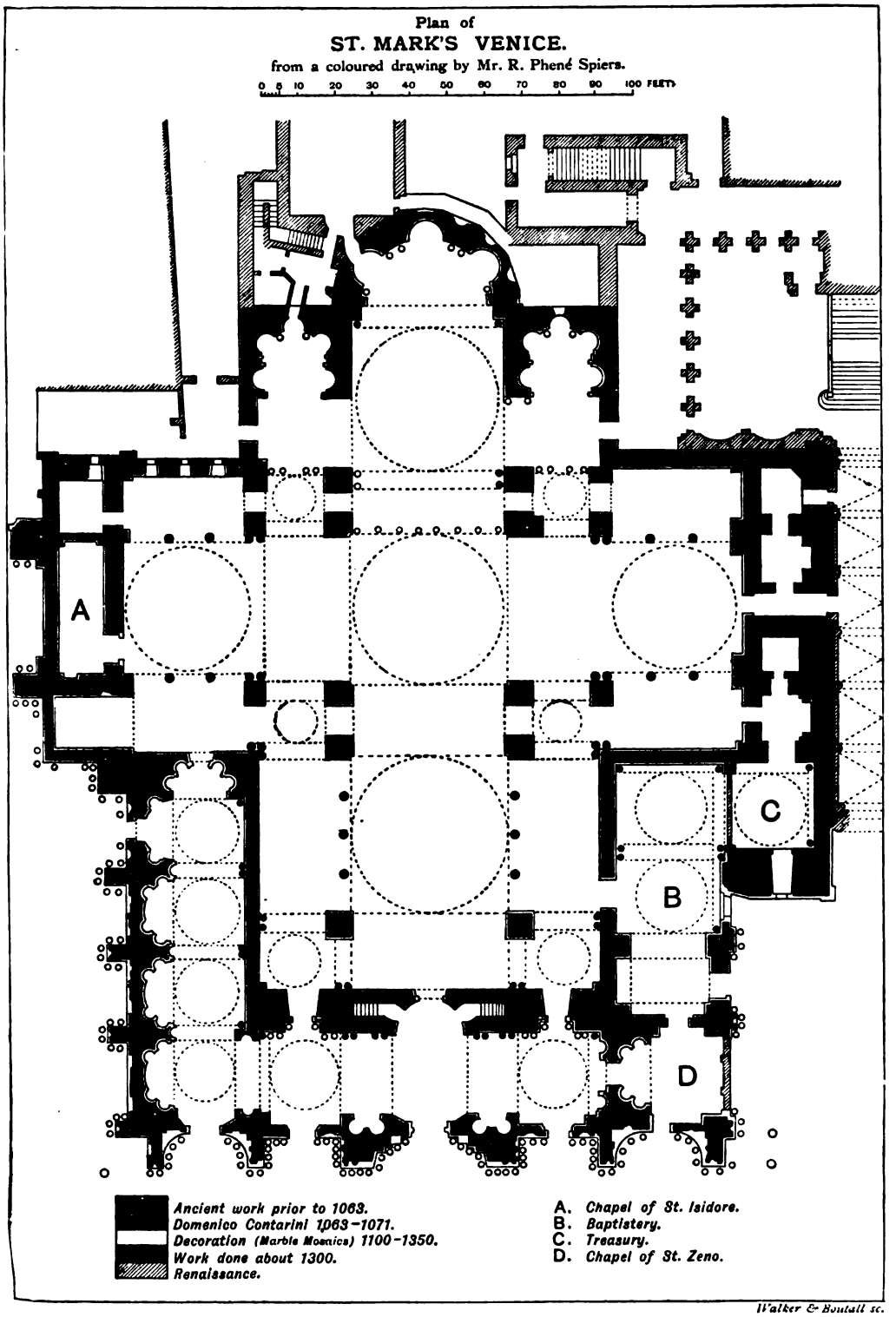
With these preliminary remarks, which will, I think, enable you better to follow the description I have to lay before you of Contarini's great church, I will, without entering into the early history of the site, traced out with great care by Cattaneo, proceed at once to the actual



PLAN I.

building and its predecessors. The early history of the church, therefore, in my description, commences with the recovery of the body of St. Mark by Giustiniani Participazio, in 829. In that year the Mohammedans of Egypt had determined to pull down the church of St Mark of Alexandria, and the Doge Participazio succeeded in obtaining the relics of the saint in whose memory it had been erected. Nothing remains of this church at Alexandria, but it is believed to have occupied the site of the present Lazaretto. Giustiniani Participazio intended to erect a church worthy of these relics, but died before it was commenced, leaving the task to his brother, Jean Participazio, who succeded him as Doge of Venice. The church was built between the site of the then existing Ducal Palace and the Church of St. Theodore, which had hitherto been the chapel of the Ducal Palace. The church he built was probably of the usual basilican type, and in it were used up the marble columns and capitals which his brother Giustiniani had exported from Sicily after his conquests there. It is probable, also, that some of the materials

were obtained from the ruined cities of Heraclea, Altino, Concordia, and others, for examples of all periods are found in the present church. In 976 the Ducal Palace was set fire to by an enraged populace, and the Doge, Pietro Candiano, was killed. The fire spread to St. Mark's, and partially destroyed it. The new Doge, Pietro Orseolo, commenced at once the restoration of both palace and chapel, but as he retired to a convent within two years, it is now agreed that he can have done little more than restore the church to its primitive form, especially as there is no record of a continuation of building in succeeding years. Now, it is quite impossible that so important a structure as the present St. Mark's could have been erected in so short a space of time, and, as before stated, in 1859, Selvatico questioned the accuracy of the tradition, having discovered a document in the archives of Venice stating that Dominico Contarini, 1043—71, built the Church of St. Mark's. 1063 is the date accepted by Cattaneo for its commencement, the same year that the rival Republic of Pisa commenced its cathedral. As Contarini became Doge of Venice in 1043, it is probable that long before 1063 the project was in contemplation. For the provision of money there was no difficulty, as the treasury of Venice was then richly stored, and it was a question of setting forth on some new conquest or building a cathedral; fortunately for us, they decided on the latter. Where to place it, however, was another matter. The Church of St. Mark's was built, as I have said, between the Ducal Palace and the Church of St. Theodore, 16 feet from the former and 32 feet from the latter. Its west front projected quite as far beyond the Ducal Palace as was thought desirable, and a further extension on the east side would only have increased the church to too great a length. The result of the deliberations would appear to have been, to pull down a portion of the Ducal Palace on one side, and the Church of St. Theodore on the other, and to extend the building north and south by the addition of huge transepts. It was here that the Greek architect came in apparently, who showed them that by following the model of a Greek church they could retain portions of the walls, and without increasing the length obtain an immense space in the centre. Early records state that the reconstruction was based on the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople; this church, however, was pulled down in 1464 by Mohamed II. to build a mosque on the site, so that we have only the description of this church given by Procopius, the historian of Justinian's time, to go by. Now Procopius states: "In ancient times there was one church dedicated to all the Apostles, but through length of time it had become ruinous, and seemed not likely to stand much longer. Justinian took this entirely down, and was careful not only to rebuild it, but to render it more admirable both in size and beauty. He carried out his intention in the following manner. Two lines were drawn in the form of a cross, joining one another in the middle, the upright one pointing to the rising and setting sun, and the cross line towards the north and south wind. These were surrounded by a circuit of walls, and within by columns placed both above and below. About the middle point there is a place set apart, which may not be entered except by the priests, and which is consequently termed the sanctuary. The transepts, which lie on each side of this, about the cross-line, are of equal length; but that part of the upright line towards the setting sun is built so much longer than the other part as to form the figure of a cross. That part of the roof which is above the sanctuary is constructed like the middle part of St. Sophia, except that it yields to it in size, for the four arches are suspended and connected with one another in the same fashion; the circular building standing above that is pierced with windows, and the spherical dome which overarches it seems to be suspended in the air. In this manner the middle part of the roof is built; now the roof over the four limbs of the church is constructed of the same size as that which I have described over the middle, with this one exception, that the wall underneath the spherical part is not pierced with windows." Now Procopius was not an architect, therefore we must read between the lines of his description, and when he says the church was surrounded within by columns placed both above and below, he is evidently referring to columns of aisles and triforium galleries, such as in St. Sophia; if that reading be accepted, then the only differences between St. Mark's and the Church of the Apostles are: first, there is only one range of columns, in the lower story which carry the gallery, and the upper range of columns and the windows above, as in St. Sophia, are omitted, the windows being in the outer wall, above the aisles; secondly, there are windows at St. Mark's in the four other domes; thirdly, the galleries were replaced by narrow passages in the 13th century; fourthly, the domes are not all of equal size. Otherwise he might have been describing St. Mark's, plan of a Greek Cross, with the west end a little longer, a dome on the crossing, and four other domes on the limbs, viz., nave, transepts, and choir. Now I have already pointed out that Participazio's church, restored by Orseolo, was erected between the Church of St. Theodore and the Ducal Palace, 32 feet from the former, 16 feet from the latter, and it is here that the late restorations of St. Mark's have been of such value in testing the validity of the new theory. The wall which separates the chapel of St. Isidore (A) from the north transept, when stripped in 1887 of its marble casing, showed a bare surface of bricks, blackened by exposure to the weather, which proved it to be an ancient wall;


Plan of
ST. MARK'S VENICE.
from a coloured drawing by Mr. R. Phené Spiers.
0 5 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET
A
B
C
D
Ancient work prior to 1063.
Domenico Contarini 1063–1071.
Decoration (Marble Mosaics) 1100–1350.
Work done about 1300.
Renaissance.
A. Chapel of St. Isidore.
B. Baptistery.
C. Treasury.
D. Chapel of St. Zeno.
Walker & Boutall sc.

PLAN II.

and further, a window with stone dressings was found nine feet from the ground, fitted with an interlaced wrought-iron grating on the side of transept, and on the other side, with the jambs splayed off, this was one of the windows which lighted the north aisle of St. Theodore. The outside of the north wall of nave is now the south side of the north atrium; it was exposed in 1885, and was also found to have been blackened by exposure to the weather, showing it to have been an ancient wall, and probably the wall of Participazio's church; it was 76 feet long and 26 feet high. On the south side the antæ of the original narthex was discovered, so that it is fair to assume that the south wall of nave, between the baptistery and the south aisle, as also the west wall at back of atrium, are both the ancient walls of the original church. If any further proof were required, I think it would be found in the fact that where an old wall existed columns were erected against them, to carry the vaulting, as in the atrium and baptistery; whilst on the opposite sides it was carried on the wall. Cattaneo was of opinion that the early church did not extend to the same length as the present cathedral, basing his theory on the existence of a low crypt on the west side of the present crypt and raised choir. Since his death, however, it has been ascertained that this substructure was not a crypt, but was built to carry the floor of the whole structure, and exists throughout, its object, possibly, being to keep the church dry. It is the sinking in the pockets of the arches of this substructure which has led to the wavy surface of the mosaic floor. I had an opportunity in August last (when portions of the pavement in south transept had been taken up to restore the vaults), of tracing out the lines of other arches crossing the church, and of the foundation walls of the original basilican church. The west end of the new crypt, therefore, is the same as that of the old one; how far it extended to the east is still a matter of conjecture, but, as Cattaneo himself allows, the length of a chancel, including the apse, usually varies between one-third and two-fifths of that of the central nave, and as that is the actual proportion of the existing chancel, there is fair reason to suppose that the inside walls of the three apses are in the same position as that occupied by the original church.

In the reconstruction of the new church therefore, there were certain restrictions. First'y, in the width of nave and aisles, the old walls being retained; and, secondly, a limitation in the projection of north and south transepts, as the south wall of St. Theodore, and an inner wall of the Ducal Palace were utilized. These limitations have apparently led to a diminution in the diameter of the domes on the north and south transepts, which are 33 feet as against 42 feet, the diameter of the nave dome, and a similar diminution in the choir dome, so as not to interfere with the central apse. The central dome is egg-shaped, being 42 feet from north and south, and only 41 feet from east and west.

Now Contarini died in 1070, and his successor, Domenico Selvo, is said to have commenced the embellishment. It follows that the main structure must have been completed, including the atrium, by that date, and Cattaneo is of opinion that owing to the immense resources they had, the task was a possible one; but the structure thus completed had a very different aspect to the St. Mark's we now see. Externally it was a plain brick building like the present south transept, its decoration being confined to the brick arches, which, with their deep voussoirs, have a certain decorative character, to small niches with marble shafts and capitals, to roundels, corbel tables and stringcourses. I have endeavoured to make a drawing[1], reproducing the original façade, my conception being based, first, on the walls of the existing structure; secondly, on the reproduction given in Ongania's work of those portions of the ancient structure which were exposed, and copied by Mr. Scott during the restorations; and thirdly, on Cattaneo's description. In front of the atrium were five rectangular niches and two small ones, one on each side of the central niche. The extrados of the arches spanning these niches was exposed, and covered with lead, as those of St. Saviour, at Constantinople. The piles supporting them were decorated with semicircular niches, with small marble capitals and brick shafts and roundels, and blind niches above. The gables of the upper story as also of the transepts were also semicircular, but at a lower level than those of the existing transepts, about 2 feet 6 inches. This accounts for the indented brick circular stringcourse which exists on the south transept, and which originally ran under the coping, now raised about 2 feet 6 inches. The existing dome terminals are in timber, covered with lead; they were added in the 13th century, so that originally the domes were covered with lead, and the extrados of the arches of the windows were partly exposed, as they are in all Greek churches. I could find no evidence of this as all the windows have jambs of late date, possibly 13th century; also the upright portions of the drums have been re-faced, and the drums raised. As regards the interior it is certain that many of the capitals, columns, balustrades, jambs and lintels were taken from older structures, and that the original church, and that of St. Theodore furnished, at least, a portion. Examples of all periods are found in the present church, including Roman capitals, and

[1] See the *Builder*, Jan. 21st, 1893, in which this is published.

those of the 5th century, onwards. The decoration of the exterior took two centuries to carry out, not including the 14th century florid work of the upper gables and pinnacles, and every vessel which set out for the East was required to bring back columns, capitals, and marbles of all kinds to enrich the great church, which, in this respect alone, is absolutely unique. There is no example in the East which suggests a precedent for the singular decoration of the exterior of the atrium, with rows of columns on two stories, and the only parallel instances I am acquainted with are those of the Churches of St. Gilles and of St. Trophime, at Arles (11th century), where columns carrying architraves are set close together with figures between, and here the idea was certainly taken from the Maison Carré at Nismes, except that they borrowed the idea of a peristyle for the purpose of a wall decoration.

Before going any further it may be as well to recapitulate the principal characteristics of the church erected by Contarini, in which the Byzantine influence is predominant. Commencing with the atrium, I would note that such features were not uncommon in Italy prior to the erection of St. Mark's; there are many in Rome, and, as already noted, the antæ of the original atrium, shown in my plan of Participazio's Church (Plan I), proves one to have existed there I ought, perhaps, to state that the west portion of this restoration is transferred from the actual church, and that I have only completed the walls and added the columns in the place of the piers. The east end is assumed to have occupied, in its length, the site of the present one, but, except the fact that the foundation wall of the columns of the south aisle extended across the transept, I have no authority for its further extension to the east, or to the inclusion of the actual triple apse, as part of the original church.

But to return to my subject, the atrium of St. Mark's is the earliest example, I think, in Italy of a vaulted atrium, closed in and forming an essential part of the church; but it is almost universal in Byzantine Churches.

It should be stated that the barrel vault of the nave extends over the atrium, and that the latter is lighted through the west window by means of an aperture in the vault of the atrium, which is called the "pozzo," or well. Some antiquaries have considered this to have been a subsequent alteration; but Cattaneo points out that the stringcourse round it is of the same period and workmanship as that of the galleries in the 11th century.

The continuation of the atrium round the north and south fronts is occasionally found in Byzantine Churches, as also important entrance porches in the south and north, and here I might point out that the Chapel of St. Zeno (D) was originally the great south porch of the atrium, and did not receive its title and destination till centuries after it was built. The superstructure formed also an open loggia, and there is an hemispheric vault in its rear, which was doubtless intended to be decorated with mosaic, the stringcourse beneath it being carved.

On the north side we have the Porta dei Fiori, or Gate of Flowers, thus giving a special importance to the north part of the atrium.

The lower portion of the three façades is restored partly from actual discoveries, when the walls were stripped in part of their marble covering, and partly from Cattaneo's description. The great arches, with their extrados on upper side, covered with lead is similar to the front of St. Saviour's, at Constantinople, before its restoration.

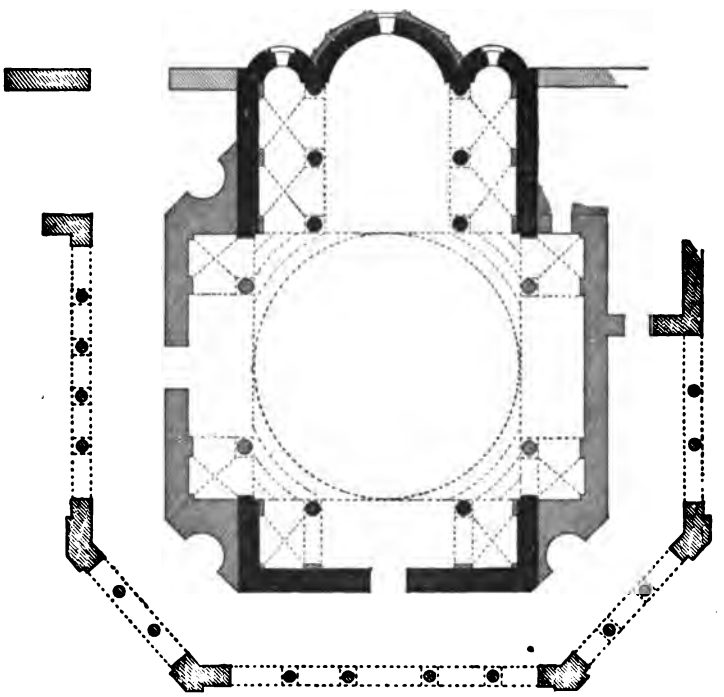
As regards these upper portions, not including the domes, I have simply copied, in some cases, the actual brick fronts of the eastern part of the church, omitting the coat of plaster, and some of my photographs will enable you to judge how far I have followed faithfully their lines. In the arches of the western portion, I have omitted the marble casing and reproduced the brickwork, in imitation of the simple treatment observed in the front of the wall and south transept.

I have already expressed my reasons for the restoration of the domes with their window moulds rising above the lower part of roof. The same arrangement exists in St. Sophia, St. Sergius, and all Greek Churches. The five domes and their pendentives, the great arches, and the massive piers, are all based probably on the Church of the Apostles at Constantinople. The pendentives are all portions of a sphere, the only examples in Italy, except those of the tomb of Galla Placidia at Ravenna, erected by Greek artists, to receive their mosaic decoration.

The galleries, originally carried back to the outer walls of the aisle, reproduce a portion only of similar work in the Apostles' Church, that is to say, there is only one story. This is easily accounted for in Italy by the desire to give greater size to the internal effect, and also to be able to give increased light to the church. With respect to the decoration, the walls are all lined with marble slabs up to the springing of the arches; above, on the soffits of the arches, on their spandrils; on the barrel vaults, pendentives, and domes, the whole surface is covered with mosaic. Precisely the same treatment, though of course of much earlier date, is found in St. Sophia, at Constantinople.

There is one external feature to which I have omitted to direct your attention, viz., the polygonal form given to the exterior of the principal apse of St. Mark's, and which is found only in Byzantine Churches, and those constructed by Greek artists in Italy, such as St. Apollinare

Nuovo, St. Apollinare-in-Classe, St. Vitale, and St. Spirito, all in Ravenna. Two other examples are found near Venice, at Murano, and in the Church of St. Fosca, at Torcello. This latter church is of especial interest with reference to the history of St. Mark's, because it is extremely probable that the first conception of the erection of a church with domes is due to an attempt made to convert the original basilica attributed by Cattaneo to the 9th century into a domed church, this time, however, without the assistance of a Greek architect. The original church had nave and aisles (seven arches on each side), and a triple apse. Anxious probably to obtain a larger area in the centre, four bays were taken down, and a square space provided, equal to the whole width of the nave aisle, the column and their capitals being again utilized. Then came the question of how to carry the proposed dome, and here they were evidently at fault. They managed by throwing small arches at three levels, to reach the circular ring for the dome, and they took the precaution of strengthening the angle piers by masses of masonry, but it is extremely doubtful if they ever built the dome. The walls and columns would not be strong enough to carry it. There is no trace of the pushing out of the upper part of the walls, which would have resulted from an attempt and a failure, and lastly the external roof seems to me to be part of the original structure. They converted the central apse into a Byzantine one, by providing a polygonal exterior, and it is in this apse we find the first employment of that triangular panelled frieze, which subsequently at Murano (where it comes much nearer to the eye),



PLAN III. SANTA FOSCA, TORCELLO.

they enriched with those beautiful marble panels on which Mr. Ruskin dwells with so much delight, and which Fergusson asserted to have been brought from the East. As a matter of fact, Torcello proves that the panels were carved for the frieze, and not the converse, which his assertion would suggest.

It now remains for me to call your attention to some of the principal decorative sculpture which enriches St. Mark's. Broadly speaking, this may be divided into two classes: first, that which was built-in, either decoratively, or in order to preserve artistic treasures imported from the East; and secondly, those which have been utilized and form a structural part of the building.

In both cases my description is necessarily limited to those features of which I happen to possess photographs. Of the first class, the greater number are found in the south side of the church. Built into the south wall of the treasury are several plaques of marble, of three of which I have photographs, they are all of Greek origin and imported. Two represent the tree of life with their two guardians; in one case, peacocks pecking at the fruit; in the other, winged griffins: the tree springing out of vases in both cases. The third slab represents that peculiar interlaced work which was afterwards elaborated by the Saracens; the design and execution is similar to the balustrades in St. Sophia, and belongs to the 8th century. The group of four figures of

knights in red porphyry at the angle of the treasury, was brought from Acre in Syria, and is attributed to the 10th or 11th century. The two piers which stand out in front of the south side are the door-posts of the church of St. Saba in Ptolemais, they are supposed to be 7th century work, and were brought to Venice in 1251. They ought to change places, in order to occupy the relative position they formerly held in the church. The reveals of the door face outwards instead of inwards and towards one another. Built in the wall of north transept is another slab of 10th or 11th century work, and on the north wall of atrium, another richly carved slab of the 11th century. Outside the Chapel of the Madonna of the Mascoli is a bas-relief of Victory, with cornucopia in one hand and a wreath in the other, of the 10th century.

The bronze horses which surmount the chief portals of St. Mark's have had a chequered existence. They are supposed to have been brought from Alexandria by Augustus, after his victory over Mark Antony, and placed over his triumphal arch in Rome; they were, it is believed, attached to a chariot, and after successively surmounting the arches of Nero, Domitian, Trajan and Constantine, were taken away by the latter to Constantinople, and placed in the Hippodrome. In the fourth crusade in 1204, they fell to the share of the Venetians, under Doge Dandolo, who transferred them to Venice, where they remained till 1797, when Napoleon brought them over to Paris, to place over the Arc de Carrousel in the Tuileries, and in 1815 they were brought back to Venice.

There still remain among the non-structural features, four capitals which, with their columns, stand in the atrium. They evidently arrived too late to be embodied in the construction, and therefore I imagine that they may have formed part of the spoil brought over by Doge Dandolo. They are of such fine design and execution as to have been executed in the best period of Byzantine architecture, and therefore I attribute them to the 6th century.

On the north and south fronts there is a large number of rectangular panels of the same size as the Victory already referred to, with figures of various saints, others of smaller size, and of circular medallions; and on the treasury wall are other decorative plaques with geometrical and flying ornaments.

I must now pass on to the structural features—the capitals and balustrades. As there are about 520 of the former, large and small, all Byzantine or copied from Byzantine examples, and this does not include the Venetian Gothic capitals of the canopied pinnacles, I can only make a selection, and confine my description to those of which I possess photographs, which constitute the more interesting specimens.

There are three examples inside the church which Cattaneo claims as Roman; they may antedate the transfer of the empire to Byzantium, but they were certainly carved by Greek artists. The leaves all have that indented form which is characteristic of the Greek treatment of the acanthus, in contradistinction to the flat section of the Roman leaf.

Of the Byzantine-Corinthian, the finest examples are those in the nave—two Greek transcripts of the Corinthian with angle volutes and form, in which rams take the place of the upper angle leaves and the volutes. As they are all of the finest Byzantine work, and must have been incorporated in Contarini's Church shortly after its commencement, I consider that they were originally in Participazio's Church, and were among the spoils he brought from Sicily. They are remarkable for their bold treatment, and the rendering of the spiky leaves of the acanthus spinosa.

The small volute of the Corinthian capital does not have seemed to have met with much favour at the hands of the Byzantine artist. He preferred the Composite, possibly because the larger volute of that order (which as you know was a mixture of the Corinthian and the Ionic capital) gave better support to the abacus, an important consideration with the Byzantine artist, as the dimensions of the wall above were much greater than the diameter of column. He so improved upon the Roman example, however, that he made it an original feature. In some of them there is a sort of attempt to copy the egg and tongue roll which forms the line of separation of the Ionic and Corinthian capitals, but eventually they gave this up, and introduced a cresting of leaves leaning forward, which makes a much happier junction, and by its difference in treatment, gives a pleasing variety.

The four capitals on the east side of the transepts are remarkable examples of original treatment with a vigour of design and a crispness in the carving, which is quite delightful.

I come next to the Byzantine-Ionic, and this reminds me that I have not called your attention to the change which seems to have taken place in what is called the "dosseret" in Byzantine examples. This was a super-capital designed to carry the base of the arch, which in diameter exceeded that of the column. I think it possible that when the capitals were imported they left the dosseret behind them[1]; sometimes they were not carved at all, or only with a cross.

[1] It should be noted, however, that the dosseret was not in favour at Constantinople in Justinian's time, though found in work previous to his reign.

A larger seat was required, however, for the base of the arches, and, therefore, they introduced the abacus, which is simply a moulded dosseret, square, and of much less height than the Byzantine example. I think it inferior to the dosseret, and the Corinthian examples of the nave will, I think, support my view. They have no connection with the capital which does not lead up to it.

Now, with the Ionic capital it was different, it was so small and of such slight height, comparatively, that they made it part of the dosseret. There are four examples of it in the atrium, which were certainly imported from the East, and in one of them the undercut leaf work in the middle having been broken in transit, they have carved a cross in its place.

In St. Sophia, at Constantinople, they adopted quite a new and original treatment. They employed the moulded abacus with an Ionic capital with small volutes (the volutes of the Composite capital curves out at the angles and is the same on all four sides, whereas the true Ionic capital has cushions on two sides), and instead of the bell-shaped form they adopted what we call the cushion capital, except that all its horizontal sections are circular on plan. On this surface on the sides of the capital they carved a series of flowing stems, with leaves like the acacia plant; at the angles of the capital they carved the acanthus leaf, and in the middle of the chief face they left a projecting boss with geometrical ornament much undercut. The acacia leaf decoration is largely found in Byzantium and Greece, and in examples from Dalmatia, Istria and various Italian towns of the north.

The finest examples with slightly different treatment of the leaves, but with the moulded abacus, the Ionic volute and the projecting boss, are found in the apse of St. Mark.[1] They were probably carved for the place they occupy but by Greek artists.

The next specimens are those with birds and beasts at the angles. The eagle with outspread wings or the ram, occupying the position of the volutes and the upper row of leaves. In some cases the lower part is carved with leaf work, in others with a basket pattern, and the earliest example of the latter is found in the church of St. Sergius and Bacchus, Constantinople, built by Justinian, just before St. Sophia, 535—37.

In the same church will be found examples of another original type of capital, which it is rather difficult to describe. It consists of a series of eight convex gores, with conventional interlaced patterns on each, out of which on each side spring three rows of leaves with three pointed lobes to each. Sometimes the conventional pattern is replaced by a single leaf with numerous lobes on each side. These all have, instead of the egg and tongue round the base, a zigzag or wave pattern running round. All these capitals are much undercut, and there is a great variety of them.

This capital is also used in the triforium galleries of San Vitale, at Ravenna, built about the time of St. Sergius, Constantinople, and on the same plan; they were certainly carved by Greek artists.

On the lower story of San Vitale there is another type of capital, but poorly carved when compared with the magnificent examples which flank the west front of St. Mark. The latter are, unfortunately, much damaged owing to their exposed position and to the deep undercutting. However, the capital at San Vitale enables me to show the complete capital. It is of the type I explained to you when describing one of the favourite forms adopted by the Greeks of carving a cubicle block from the square of the abacus to the circular meeting of the capital. On the four sides of the upper portion round the circular base and at each angle they carved a round band of interlaced work, deeply undercut, and in the centre of each base a feature partly conventional and partly natural, the original model of which might possibly be found in those of the Greek steles or the antefixæ of their temple roofs. The difference between the work of a first class artist and a second or third rate can be best judged by comparison of these two examples. These also seem to me to be of Greek origin. There is a small variation of them on the north point without the upper band. There are two or three other varieties of less importance, one with what may be a pine or pomegranate at the angle, and which is of the same design as the capitals of the Iconostasis of St. Luke's Monastery, near Delphi, of the 10th century.

Inside the cathedral, and crowning the responds against the walls in nave and transept, are some very remarkable capitals; Byzantine-Ionic, but with dosseret, square die above, and abacus, all incised with conventional and floral patterns, inlaid with black cement.

Inside the west atrium are four capitals, Byzantine-Ionic, with cornucopia or ancient Roman decorations carved on the dosseret. I think, however, all these capitals are copies by Byzanto-Lombardic artists, because they have taken liberties with the volute which no Greek artist would have tolerated.[2]

[1] In some of the late examples in Constantinople, the Ionic volute is omitted, and the dosseret virtually becomes the capital: this is often the case in the narthex, where the vaulting was comparatively low.

[2] They have turned the volute upside down, but Dr. Freshfield's photographs prove that this was also done in Constantinople.

The last type which I will bring before you is that of the capitals which flank the chief portal, and to which, therefore, the architect or sculptor attached some importance. They are those capitals in which the leaves are carved as if blown by the wind, and they are enthusiastically described by Ruskin. Of these I am able to show you also the prototype in the photograph of a capital from the church of St. Sophia, Thessalonica, built during the latter years of Justinian's reign. These examples at St. Mark's lose by comparison, but I am of opinion that these capitals were imported from the East, or they would have been more carefully carved on the side where they are most seen.

Among the most interesting features in St. Mark's are the parapets or balustrades of the galleries which reign round the interior of St. Mark's. There are from 70 to 80 of these, of various designs, some of them brought from the East, but the greater number carved for their position, though copied from Greek models. These parapets are upright slabs of marble, 2 to 3 feet high and from 3 to 8 feet long. The ground is sunk leaving the design in relief. They are fitted in grooves worked in marble posts, a Greek and Roman method of forming enclosures, and found in the parapets of Greek churches and in the enclosures of their choirs. The choir of St. Clemente, at Rome, is enclosed with panels and posts, the latter richly carved, many of which were discovered in the more ancient church over which the existing basilica was built. I have no photograph of these, but two or three drawings which will give the type of some, and these are contrasted with others at Constantinople, which show the origin of their designs.

Of the jambs and lintels of doorways there are many examples of early period, and four or six of these are traced as belonging to Participazio's church of the 9th century, used up again.

The last decorative feature to which I will direct your attention is the favourite stringcourse with acanthus leaves, portions of which are turned over so as to catch the light, and break the too horizontal line of the top moulding. The same design is put in the Kahriyeh Djami Church at Constantinople, and the Iconostasis of the Panagia Church of St. Luke, near Delphi. Many lengths of it were carved for Participazio's Church, and variations are found faithfully copied for two centuries and more.

THE ORIGIN AND USE OF THE WORD "TRIFORIUM."

BY

EDWARD BELL, M.A., F.S.A.

My object is to endeavour to ascertain the origin of a word which, though it is familiar to all students of Gothic architecture, has never received any satisfactory explanation.

I will begin by saying what I understand by the word *Triforium*. In nearly all large medieval churches the aisles are covered by vaults of masonry, even if the nave is not, and above these vaults is an outer sloping roof extending from the outer walls of the nave to the outer walls of the aisles Between the vault and this roof there is necessarily a space, the highest part of which is next to the nave wall. This wall is generally pierced by arches so as to partially open the space to the church, and just behind the plane of these arches a narrow passage is often to be found in the thickness of the solid wall, which runs along the whole length, and sometimes completely round the church at the same level.

The word "triforium" was first applied by English architects, and afterwards by French, to this part of the building, but its use is not very accurately defined. Sometimes it means the space between the vault and the roof; sometimes it is applied to the arcade in front of this space; and sometimes to the gallery or passage in the thickness of the wall. The last seems to have been its original use; but now it is most often used to denote the decorative arcade which fills up the space between the main arcade and the clerestory, and which forms such a beautiful feature in most English cathedrals of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the elaborate form which it then assumes, as in the great abbeys of Yorkshire, or at Westminster, or in the Angel choir of Lincoln, it may be regarded as a characteristic of the best Gothic work; for the triforium is not a feature of any importance in the Romanesque styles of Germany or Southern France; and in the impure Gothic which is often found in Belgium and Holland, it is generally represented by a mere band of small panels or tracery. In its Gothic shape the triforium-arcade consists almost always of two pointed arches under a larger one, and each of these is often subdivided into two smaller apertures. But at an earlier stage it is, of course, much plainer, and its gradual elaboration can be traced step by step from the very simple form in which it occurs in Norman churches, where the aperture consists either of one large semicircular arch, as at Norwich, or two subordinate arches under a large one, as at Durham, to its fully developed Gothic form. There are a few Norman churches in which it cannot be considered a triforium at all in the sense in which I have defined it, inasmuch as it is below instead of above the vault of the aisle. This is the case at Rochester, where the triforium arch is open to the aisle as well as to the nave, and is really part of the main arcade. The same arrangement is said to have been adopted at St. Stephen's, Caen, but a lower vault was added afterwards.

There are other churches in which the triforium, as well as the aisle, is vaulted. A familiar instance is found in the chapel in the White Tower. This is also the case in the choir at Gloucester, and, I believe, in the nave of Tewkesbury. In such cases the real triforium may be said to be the space above the upper vault, and this led Sir Gilbert Scott to suggest that the word may really signify *third story*, a suggestion, however, which will commend itself to few. In this case the space between the two vaults is an actual constructive gallery, and not a triforium, in a technical sense. It is plainly analogous to the similar galleries which occur in a few ancient Roman basilicas, and are more frequent in Byzantine churches, such as S. Sophia,

and in others built under Byzantine influence, such as San Vitale, Ravenna, and its German imitations. What the object of such galleries was, is not quite clear. In the Eastern church they were in ancient times called γυναικαῖα, or places for women, from whence the female part of the congregation might see without being too much seen; but it is curious to read in Dr. Whewell's *Architectural Notes on German Churches* that, in the neighbourhood of the Rhine, similar galleries were called *Mannhaus*, or *Männerchor*, and were devoted to the young men of the congregation. Whether this is still the case I cannot say, but it seems probable that whenever such galleries were used, it was for the separation of the sexes. In the form, however, in which the gallery occurs in many Norman and most Gothic churches, it is mainly a decorative feature, and we may assume that in general, the triforium-passage existed for only occasional use, and for the purpose of giving access to the vault and roof of the aisles.

If we turn to the name which is used in the various senses which I have indicated, we find that whether it is applied to the space, the arcade, or the passage, it is somewhat difficult to account for.

Ducange in his Glossary of Medieval Latinity, defines *Triforium* in terms which may be translated as follows—

> A sort of arched way or tunnel, like a cloister, going round the whole building for the purpose of giving a means of passage to any who wish to make the circuit of the place: it is constructed in the wall itself, on the top of the lower range of columns and arches, and from its upper part ascend the main windows of the building, rising to the vault. It is called *Triforium* because openings in a narrow passage of that kind existing in the church, being divided by two small shafts, show in a certain sense, three *fores* or apertures.[1]

He then goes on to cite the triforium of Amiens, which certainly has three apertures under a pointed arch in each bay, and also that of Lincoln, which in four bays of the nave have double arches each with three apertures. These triple openings, however, are very rare in England, so far as the triforium-arcade is concerned, though less uncommon in France; and as both the cases cited are of the thirteenth century, whereas the word was originally used in the twelfth century, they are not sufficient to account for it.

Hence, Parker, in the smaller Glossary of Architecture, summarily rejects the derivation of the word which is put forward by Ducange—viz., from *trinae fores*—on the ground that the separate bays of the triforium-arcade are generally divided into two or four openings, and not into three.

Another supposition, is that the word is monkish Latin, for "thoroughfare," as if it were "throughfarium"; but this is unlikely, because the word would probably have taken the form *transfarium*, and there are also other words which might have been used as an equivalent for the simple idea of a passage.

Nevertheless, this theory has some show of probability from the fact that this is the only meaning consistent with its original use; and it is therefore, generally adopted now as the explanation of the term. My object is to show, if possible, that this is not the most probable explanation. The question lies in a nutshell, for there is only one ancient authority for the use of the word as an architectural term, and what we have to do is to find out, if we can, how he came to use it.

This authority is Gervase, a monk of Canterbury, in the twelfth century, who wrote a graphic account of the destruction of the choir of the cathedral by fire, in September, 1174, and of the building of the present choir and presbytery in the ten following years, which account has been admirably elucidated by the late Professor Willis, in his *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral.*

I will first say a few words as to the history of the building which suffered from fire more than once. The Romanesque or Saxon church, which had existed for several hundred years before the Conquest, was burnt down, together with a portion of the city, in the year 1067, and when Lanfranc was appointed Archbishop in 1070, he found it in ruins, and immediately set about rebuilding it. We have no detailed account of his building: but when we recollect that he came directly from Caen, where he was Abbot of St. Stephen's; that that church, and that of the Holy Trinity (both of which still exist) were then in process of completion; we can have little doubt but that the church of Canterbury had a close resemblance in style to them, and

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[1] Porticus, seu potius porticuli in modum claustri species, quae totum aedis sacrae aedificium ambit, eo fine ducta, ut transitum praebeat locum circuire vel lustrare volentibus, in ipso aedis muro, supra inferiorem columnarum et arcuum ordinem: ex cujus Triforii superiori parte emergunt majores aedis fenestrae in ipsum fornicem elatae.

Triforium autem dicitur, quod ejusmodi strictioris ambulationis aperturae intra ipsam aedem, duabus columnulis distinctae, *trinas fores*, seu aperturas, quodammodo praeferant.—Ducange, *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis.* (Ed. Favre, 1883—1887.)

that it was distinguished, like most important Norman churches of the period, rather by its size and massive construction, than by any great elaboration of ornamental detail. In fact the present nave of Canterbury, though it has been rebuilt, appears to stand upon the same foundations, and its dimensions, as Willis points out, agree almost exactly with those of St. Stephen's. One of Lanfranc's western towers actually existed until 1834, when it was replaced by the present north-western tower. However, the choir was probably a short one, like that of Trinity Church at Caen, and the monks seem to have soon become dissatisfied with it; for, a few years after Lanfranc's death, when Anselm was Archbishop, Ernulf the Prior of the Monastery, and his successor Conrad, replaced it by a longer eastern arm, with an additional transept. It is evident from what remains of their building, that it was in the richer style of Norman work which was in vogue in the middle of the twelfth century; but it seems to have

Fig. 1.
CANTERBURY CHOIR, probable appearance before 1174.

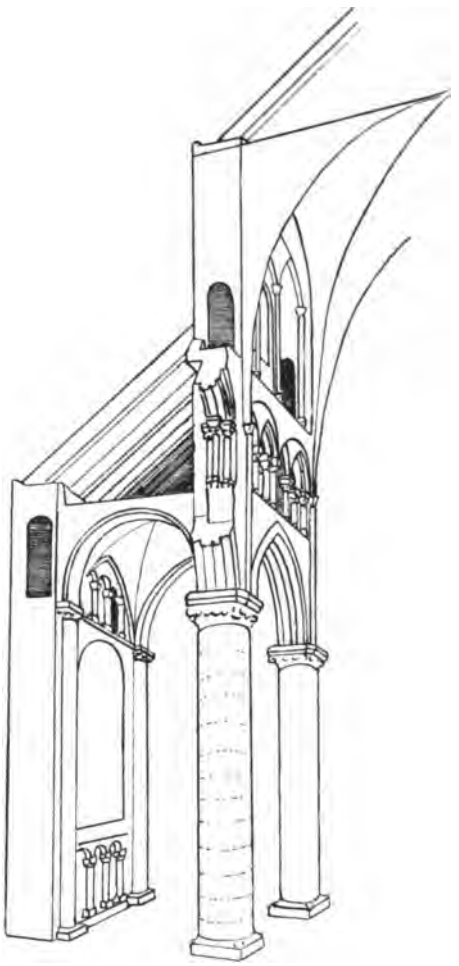

Fig. 2.
CANTERBURY.—BAY OF PRESENT CHOIR.

been chiefly the marble pavement, the glazed windows and the pictured walls, which excited the admiration of contemporaries, and caused it to be named "the glorious choir of Conrad." It was this choir which, fifty years after its completion, was destroyed by the fire which Gervase describes as an eye-witness. He gives a graphic account of its origin, in three cottages outside the walls of the monastery, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon of September 5th, 1174. Sparks were carried by a high wind which prevailed, on to the roof of the church; and being driven between the joints of the lead, set fire to the beams within the roof. Timbers fell down into the choir and set fire to the woodwork there, and notwithstanding the efforts of monks and citizens, the whole was soon a mass of flames. "In this manner," he says, "the house of God hitherto delightful as a paradise of pleasures, was now made a despicable heap of ashes, reduced to a dreary wilderness, and laid open to all the injuries of the weather."

Gervase then goes on to describe the rebuilding of the choir, first under the direction of William of Sens, who conducted the operations for the first five years, until he was disabled by the breaking of a scaffold, which precipitated him from the level of the clerestory to the ground; and then, for the remaining five years, under his successor, who was distinguished as William the Englishman.

It is this tract of Gervase's "On the burning and repair of Canterbury Cathedral," which is the only authority for the use of the word *triforium*. The word occurs in it six times, and I will take the passages *seriatim*, using Professor Willis's translation with some slight alteration, and see whether we can deduce from them any theory as to the origin and application of the term.

I. In describing Conrad's choir, before it was destroyed, he says of the main arcade and apse:—

> Upon these pillars, both those in the straight line and those in the circuit, arches were turned from pillar to pillar; above which the solid wall was set with small blank windows. . . . . Above which wall was the *passage which is called triforium, and the upper windows.*

From this it seems the word was commonly applied at Canterbury to a certain passage high up in the wall near the clerestory (the upper windows); and it seems equally evident that there was no triforium in the modern sense of the word, but that there was a blind arcade (small blank windows) just above the main arcade (fig. 1). Anyone who remembers the nave of Trinity Church at Caen will see that the above description would exactly apply to the arrangement of its main walls, which have a row of small round-headed panels in the place of the triforium, and a passage in or on the thickness of the wall in front of the clerestory windows. A similar row of panels is found at Bayeux, and is not uncommon in later French churches which have Romanesque affinities. Of course, we must remember that Gervase is not speaking of Lanfranc's work, but of Conrad's, or Ernulf's, still I think it not unlikely that Lanfranc's nave had the same arrangement as is found at Trinity, and that it was repeated in Conrad's choir. In any case, it seems that in this place *triforium* means the clerestory passage, and this fact is recognized by both Willis and Parker.

II. Further on, in dealing with William of Sens' reconstruction of the choir, after describing the erection of the three western arches and the corresponding parts of the aisles, Gervase says:—

> In the third year he placed two pillars on each side, the two last of which he decorated with marble columns placed round them. . . . To which, having added keystones and made the vault, he interspersed the *lower triforium* from the great tower to the aforesaid pillars [that is, as far as the eastern transepts] with many marble pillars.

This passage well describes the construction of the existing triforium between the western and eastern transepts, which has a double opening in each bay with triple shafts, both at the jambs and in the middle (fig. 2).

III. He immediately goes on to say:—

> Over which triforium he adjusted another of other materials, and fitted in the upper windows. [*i.e.*, the clerestory.]

From these two passages it is evident that the word is applied indiscriminately to the triforium and clerestory galleries.

IV. In the next year he describes the continuation of the choir east of the small transepts, where there are five pillars on each side.

> Upon these ten (pillars) he placed the arches and vaults. But having completed the *triforia* on both sides and the upper windows . . . suddenly the beams broke under his feet, and he fell to the ground.

This was the accident which prevented William of Sens from finishing the work. The word triforia, in the plural, evidently means both galleries on each side.

V. In enumerating the beauties of the new choir and contrasting it with the one which it had replaced, Gervase says:—

> *There* [*i.e.*, in Conrad's choir] was a ceiling of wood decorated with excellent painting, but *here* is a vault becomingly constructed of stone and light tufa. *There* was a single triforium, but *here* are two in the choir and a third in the aisle.

This passage proves, firstly, that there was only one gallery in Conrad's choir, which must have been the clerestory passage; and secondly, that Gervase applies the word triforium to any passage, for he mentions not only two in the choir, which must have meant the clerestory and the triforium passages; but a third in the aisle, which is, in fact, a curious passage in the wall

of the aisle, which was inserted, with an ornamental arcade above the aisle windows, when the height of the wall was raised after the fire. (See fig. 2.)

VI. In describing the completion of the fabric in 1184, Gervase says :—

> In the tenth year, the upper windows of the tower [he is here speaking of the eastern termination, called Becket's Crown], together with the vault, were finished. Upon the pillars was placed a *lower* and an *upper triforium*, with the windows and the main vault.

Here it is plain that the word is applied to both triforium and clerestory: and from all the passages quoted, it is evident that it is used indiscriminately for any gallery constructed in the thickness of the wall, or in the vault of the aisle, and might very well be translated by the word thoroughfare or passage. But it is also clear from the first, in which the expression "*via quae triforium appellatur*" occurs, that the word was a sort of technical term, and it may be supposed that Gervase adopted it from its previous use in the Norman choir (where it indicated only one passage, viz., that in the clerestory, there being no triforium), without reference to its original meaning. In that case, we may go further, and infer that the word was applied at other places beside Canterbury, to indicate the clerestory passage.

But the question arises whether the word is in an etymological sense, more applicable to the clerestory, than to the intermediate passage or arcade, and this is not difficult to answer. An examination of Norman churches, which have retained their clerestories unaltered, shows that in England at least, they are generally constructed on one type, viz., with a single light

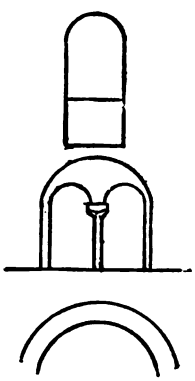

FIG 3.—BERNAY.

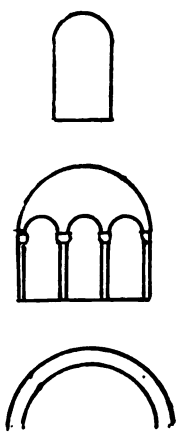

FIG. 4.—JUMIÈGES.

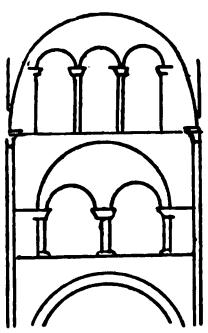

FIG. 5.—CÉRISY-LA-FORÊT.

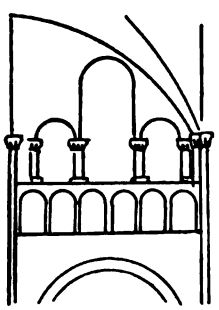

FIG. 6.—LA TRINITÉ, CAEN.

on the external wall, but with *three* round-headed openings to the church, on the inner face, a passage being left in the thickness of the wall, between the windows and the inner plane. These openings vary in size and in the relative proportions of the lateral arches to the central one; but when they occur at all, the three-fold division is almost invariable. At Bernay (fig. 3), the earliest dated Norman church, there is only a single window at the clerestory level; but then, there is no passage in the wall, and consequently no inner plane for decoration. The same is, I think, the case at Jumièges (fig. 4), and at St. Nicholas, Caen. At St. Georges de Boscherville, and also at Lessay, a much later church, there are passages, but only a single internal opening. But at Cérisy-la-forêt (fig. 5), built by Robert, the father of William the Conqueror, we find three inner arches of equal height, this being I think the earliest Norman example. At Trinity Church, Caen (fig. 6), which was probably the model for Canterbury, there are three openings, the middle one being much higher than the other two; and St. Stephen's (fig. 7), must have had a similar clerestory, though in vaulting the nave, it seems that one of the lateral arches in each bay has been stopped, whereby the present lop-sided appearance of the small arch beside the larger one was produced.

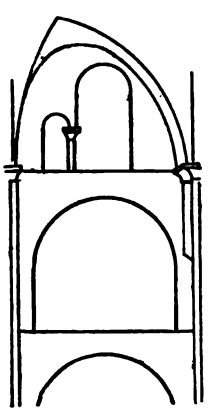

FIG. 7.
S. ETIENNE, CAEN.

In England the practice is much more clearly illustrated. Waltham (fig. 8), Durham (fig. 9), Norwich (fig. 10), Peterborough, Ely, Oxford and Romsey, have all the triple clerestory openings, and though at Winchester only the transept is left intact, and the spacing of the bays is somewhat confused, the adherence to the type is plainly visible. The only exceptions I have noted are at St. Albans and Southwell, and both of these are capable of explanation; at

St. Albans, the extreme plainness of the Norman work, is due to its being largely constructed of Roman bricks. It is absolutely without architectural ornament (though it is probable, that there was a great deal of coloured decoration), which seems to preclude the idea of an arcaded clerestory. At Southwell, the clerestory windows are, in a most unusual fashion, circular in shape, and as it is evident from other indications, such as the prevalence of flat segmental arches, that the designer of that building aimed at singularity, we are not surprised that he departed from the usual form of clerestory. In fact, it is one of those exceptions that help to prove the rule. At Chichester, though the clerestory was altered along with the rest of the nave, by Bishop Seffrid, at the end of the twelfth century, it seems to me not to have been entirely rebuilt, for the round-headed light still remains in the outer wall, and the triple arrangement is found in the inner plane, though the lateral arches are pointed. At Selby, which is Transitional, and at Worcester, Ripon, Salisbury and Canterbury itself, where there are pointed clerestories, and in many other thirteenth century churches, we still find three-fold openings, which are apparently derived from the traditional Norman form.

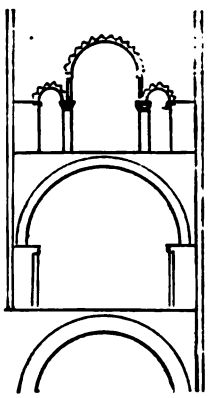

FIG. 8.—WALTHAM.

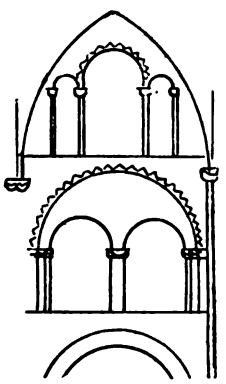

FIG. 9.—DURHAM.

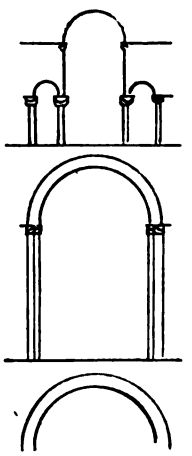

FIG. 10.—NORWICH.

In many Norman churches, the complete remodelling of the upper story has destroyed any evidence as to its original form, so that we cannot cite Rochester, Gloucester, Tewkesbury, Hereford, or St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield; but the known exceptions to the rule are so few, being limited, so far as I have observed, to St. Albans and Southwell, that we may confidently assume that the majority of Norman churches followed the same type.

If we now turn our attention to the so-called triforium-arcade, we shall find that a triple aperture is as rare as it is common in the clerestory. Some, like Waltham (fig. 8,) and Norwich (fig. 10,) have the large single arch; others, and by far the larger number, have a double opening under a containing arch; a few like St. Bartholomew (fig. 11,) and Malmesbury have four subsidiary arches. But, with one single exception, I have never found a triple opening in a Norman triforium. That exception is at Jumièges (fig. 4), where the ruined remains of the triforium seem to indicate such an arrangement. It is possible that there are others in Normandy, for the triple aperture is much commoner in France in later Gothic; but, seeing that the style was more elaborated in England than it was in Normandy, I do not think it probable.

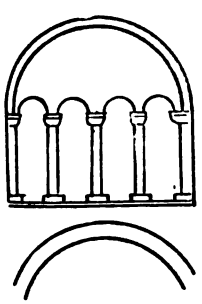

Fig. 11.
ST. BARTHOLOMEW, SMITHFIELD.
(Triforium only.)

If it should be asked why there is this difference between the clerestory and triforium; why one should generally have three arches, and the other two, I think the answer will be found in the nature of the things. The triforium originated in a single arch, which, as architectural detail grew more elaborate, was subdivided into two. This was the natural mode of dividing an arch. We see it exemplified in belfry windows, which, like the triforium, were unglazed apertures, and which nearly always consist in Norman towers of two arches under a larger enclosing one. It was not until pointed architecture came in, and the enlarged pointed windows seemed to demand a central division, that triple openings became at all common. Hence the Norman single arch was divided into two, or if further elaboration was aimed at, was made to include four smaller arches.

But the clerestory did not admit of subdivision at all. As the external window consisted of a single light, the interior opening could not be divided into two, because in that case the dividing shaft would have come opposite to the centre of the light and partially obscured it. It was necessary therefore to keep a central opening in the inner plane, and if additional ornamentation were desired, it naturally took the form of two lateral arches. Hence a triple opening became the recognized form for the inner place of the clerestory, and would be identified especially with that portion of the church.

In these circumstances I think that the origin of the word we have been considering is sufficiently clear. We know that it was applied to the passage in the clerestory of Conrad's choir; and we may fairly assume that it was on account of the triple openings, *trinae fores*, characteristic of that part of the building. It is in fact a regularly formed word, meaning the place or passage of three openings. Gervase, disregarding its etymology, applied it to any such passage, and Ducange and others ignoring its proper application to the clerestory, and assuming that it was used especially for the lower gallery, have perpetuated its use in that sense alone, and gradually given it a well defined meaning, which I do not wish to disturb, though I think it desirable that its origin should be understood.

NOTE.—A derivation from the Italian *traforare*, to pierce, has been suggested. The change of *tra* into *tri* involves some philological difficulty, and if it is once admitted that the word was at first applied to the clerestory passage, there seems little occasion for this hypothesis.—E. B.

ECCLESIOLOGY IN SCOTLAND.

BY THE

REV. JAMES COOPER, D.D.,

Minister of the East Parish of St. Nicholas, Aberdeen.[1]

You will pardon me, gentlemen, if I begin by saying with what reverence I stand up within the Council-Chamber of a Cathedral so glorious in itself, and so intimately associated with the great Church of England, the branch of the Catholic Church which, next to my own, I was taught from my childhood to love and venerate, and which I have learned in my manhood to regard, with Le Maistre, as a destined instrument in the hand of God for the reuniting of His scattered and divided heritage.

It was with a true instinct that the Mediæval church-builders bestowed on the chapter-house of a Cathedral or Abbey Church the utmost of their art. The spirit which our Divine Founder has given us is the *Spirit of Counsel*[2] as well of *Might* and *Piety;* and the place where His servants meet to take the counsel of that Spirit for the furtherance of His kingdom is one which may well bear token of its honourable function. It is on the same principle, I doubt not, that the authorities of St. Paul's Cathedral open this chamber to your Ecclesiological Society. Ecclesiology is not mere antiquarian research. Art and History, however fair themselves, are to it but the handmaidens of One who is Fairer still. It is a branch of the service of our Saviour. It has its roots in a sound Theology. Its aim is to make our sanctuaries, and everything about them, expressive of the *truth*, and *therefore* of the *beauty*, of our most holy Faith. It was in this spirit that the pioneers of Ecclesiological study in your country set about their work. They were earnest students alike of Architecture and of Ritual. But their motive and their strength were in the Faith; and their aim was the glory of their Lord. I salute you, gentlemen, as the heirs not only of their fame, but of their purpose and their method.

I come to tell you of a similar movement going on in Scotland. Some of us there have begun to study the Principles of Christian Worship, the Forms it should take, and the Architecture which can build for it a becoming habitation. We are trying to learn for ourselves, and to diffuse among our people, sound views upon these matters, and to create a truer taste than has unhappily prevailed among us. You have given us a great encouragement by asking me here to-day.

We look forward; but we look backward too. We look backward, that we may go forward. We feel that in our work we have much to learn from what remains to us of our Mediæval churches. Whatever were the errors, on particular points, of those who reared them, many of these churches are beautiful and noble: they express, moreover, much that we too hold, and want to write large upon our land. Their history, however, is but scantily ascertained. The course of Church Architecture in Scotland runs fairly parallel with that of England from the end of the eleventh till the beginning of the fourteenth century. Even within that period there are differences: after it there is complete divergence. Your charts and hand-books, therefore, so helpful in England, are of little use to us in Scotland; and as yet we have not much of our own. Thus, in almost every edifice of consequence, there are problems as yet unsolved; and though we doubt not the "fine intelligence" of the original design, its point to our eyes is not unfrequently obscured. I should be happy were I able so to interest you in our Scottish Gothic, that through your ampler knowledge we may gain a better understanding of our ancient shrines, and so profit more largely by the lessons, or the warnings, which they should read to us.

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[1] Read before the Society in the Chapter House, St. Paul's, February 8th, 1893.
[2] Isaiah xi. 2.

I need hardly remind you how small a country Scotland is compared to England, and how much poorer; that for long ages, also—partly at least through the fault of England—its civilization and culture were grievously retarded; or of the sad havoc which numerous and violent ecclesiastical changes (English changes, sometimes, as well as Scotch ones) have played with our ancient ecclesiastical buildings. Much, very much, has perished. But enough remains to make Scotland (as Mr. Street bears witness) a most interesting field of ecclesiological study. And certainly we have ample room and need to put in practice whatever we may learn.

The first, or Celtic, period of our ecclesiastical history opens with St. Ninian (✠432) and closes with St. Margaret (✠1093), the most eminent figure in the interval being St. Columba of Iona (✠597), the Apostle of the Highlands. The population—Britons, Picts, and Scots—were of Celtic stock and speech: the organization of the Church was tribal or monastic. St. Ninian on his arrival built a church of stone (*Candida Casa*); but the churches of St. Columba and his followers were at first of earth and wattles, and afterwards of logs, very rarely, even in the ninth century, of stone. Nevertheless the relics of the Celtic period are fairly numerous. The cave of St. Ninian, to which the earliest of our known evangelists retired for prayer and meditation, remains to this day in the sea-cliffs of Glasserton. Examples of Celtic building may be seen in the oratory at Inchcolm, and in the Western Isles at Tempull Bennachad in Lewis, Tempull Ronan in North Rona, and at Kirkapole in Tiree—they are all dealt with in Anderson's *Scotland in Early Times*. The two "Pictish Towers" at Brechin and Abernethy resemble the Round Towers of Ireland. Square towers, erected probably for the same purpose, remain in the churches of Muthill and Dunning, in Perthshire, in the Church of Markinch, in Fife, and in the Cathedral of Dunblane. The tower and chapel of St. Regulus at St. Andrews formed the Cathedral of the Celtic *Bishops of the Scots*. The tower remains, and the walls of the chancel: and there is a view of the building as complete on an ancient capitular seal, which shows the square tower surmounted by a short pyramidal steeple, with a nave to the west of it somewhat higher than the chancel. Scotland is rich, moreover, in Celtic crosses—the most beautiful and suitable type, perhaps, for churchyard monuments. The interlacing patterns with animal heads that cover them, present some affinities with Byzantine Art, and along with the Ephesine type of the liturgical fragments of this period, go so far to corroborate the tradition of a connexion, possibly through Marseilles between the Celtic and the Oriental Churches.

With the marriage of St. Margaret to Malcolm Canmore (in 1070) a second period begins. There is a steady influx of a Teutonic population, Saxon, Norman, and Fleming. The Celts are driven to their hills: the Lowlands, and the whole East Coast as far as the Nairn, are occupied by an English-speaking population; feudalism is introduced; burghs are established; the Church is organized on the Roman model—first dioceses are formed, and then parishes; the old Culdee monasteries are replaced by foundations of Benedictine, Tyronensian, Cistercian monks, or by Augustinian or secular canons. The Celtic ritual gives place to that of Sarum or of Rome; and the Scottish Church shares to the full the life and destinies of Western Christendom. This revolution was effected without bloodshed, but not without obstinacy on the one side, and a good deal of contemptuousness upon the other—a contemptuousness of which a singular and speaking witness remains to us in the walls of the Cathedral of St. Andrews. Imbedded in the lower courses of its east gable are fragments of a number of Celtic crosses, which must have been deliberately broken up simply for building material. The Cathedral was begun by Bp. Ernald in 1158. To that prelate, the Celtic monuments represented, no doubt, an effete and decaying system. But contempt, even in these circumstances, was narrow in itself, and injurious in its deed. Deeply interesting as the churchyard of St. Andrews is at present, it would have been richer still had there risen among its tombstones a grove of these graceful monoliths, older than anything else that is there, and carrying the mind back to the earliest stage in the ecclesiastical history of the primatial city.

Of the thirteen Scottish Dioceses (the fourteenth, Edinburgh, was erected by Charles I. in 1633) no fewer than eight were founded under the sons of St. Margaret; Moray and Dunkeld under Alexander I. (1107-1124); Aberdeen, Brechin, Ross, Caithness and Dunblane in the reign of David I.—St. David—(1124-1153) "the sair sanct for the crown," as his impoverished descendant called him. Before he was King of Scotland, David, as Prince of Cumbria, restored (1116) the diocese of Glasgow. The See of Galloway—Candida Casa, or Whithorn—was re-founded by Fergus, Lord of Galloway, in 1143. Argyle or Lismore was separated by the Pope from Dunkeld in 1200. The two insular Sees of Orkney, and the Isles (Iona) were subject to Norwegian Drontheim till 1477 and 1498 respectively.

The twelfth and thirteenth centuries witnessed also the erection of all our ancient parishes (there are only 862 of them altogether) and the foundation of all our Abbeys except two —Dunfermline, which had been founded by Malcolm and Margaret in 1075, and Coldingham by their son Edgar in 1098. Scone, the crowning place henceforth of Scottish kings, was

founded by Alexander I. in 1114. The liberality of David I. provided Kelso, Jedburgh, Dryburgh, Melrose, Holyrood, Newbattle, Cambuskenneth and Kinloss. In 1163, Walter FitzAlan, the first of the royal house of Stewart, founded at Renfrew a priory of Cluniacs which ere long became Paisley Abbey. Arbroath, the richest of Scottish Abbeys, was founded in 1178 by William the Lion, and dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. Sweetheart, the latest founded, was built in 1275 by Devorgilla, the foundress of Balliol College, Oxford. The Abbey Church—afterwards the Cathedral of Iona—the principal ruin on the isle—was built between 1166 and 1203. But the island at the time was subject ecclesiastically to the Abbot of Derry, who built the church. This explains the strongly Irish character of its architecture.[1] Alexander II., who is said to have met St. Dominic at Paris, introduced the Black Friars into Scotland. Before his time (in 1211) William the Lion had given his palace at Aberdeen to the Trinity or Red Friars. The Franciscans seem to have had only three early settlements in Scotland, at Dumfries—it was in their church there that Robert Bruce slew the Comyn—at Roxburgh, and at Elgin, where (at that time) they could not stay.[2]

The churches of these two centuries, and of the beginning of the next, are for the most part in the same style as the contemporary ones in England; indeed, Mr. Street will scarcely allow that we had, at that time, any native architects in Scotland. He points, in support of his position, to the extremely close resemblance which subsists between our Scottish buildings and those of England "benorth" the Humber. "The architect of Lanercost in Cumberland," he says, "was certainly responsible also for Scottish Dryburgh," where Sir Walter Scott lies buried; and "the beautiful thirteenth century transept of Hexham Abbey Church has some of its most marked features repeated in the also very beautiful transept of Pluscarden Priory near Elgin"[3] (founded in 1230). I think, with all respect, that this judgment is too sweeping. Were I to show, as I could show, that the choir of Pluscarden is as clearly French of the thirteenth century (much altered afterwards) as the transept is Northumbrian, the inference might only be that we imported our designers from more lands than one. But it is recorded of one of our great builders of this period, St. Gilbert of Moray, Bishop of Caithness (1222-1245), that he was the architect not only of his own cathedral at Dornoch, but of the fine castle of Kildrummy in Aberdeenshire; while at Kelso, at Elgin, and very specially at Dunblane and Glasgow, there are features of remarkable individuality. Whoever built them, no one will deny, and Mr. Street very cordially admits, that, small comparatively as are the most of them, the Scottish churches of this age present a series of singular variety, delicacy, and beauty.

To classify our churches of these centuries, I must go back somewhat.

Of the Norman style we have not much in Scotland; the nave of Dunfermline, Kelso Abbey, parts of the great Cathedrals of St. Andrews and Kirkwall; the transepts of St. Nicholas' Church at Aberdeen; smaller fragments at Jedburgh and Holyrood, St. Margaret's Chapel in Edinburgh Castle, the parish churches of Dalmeny and Abercorn in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, of Leuchars in Fife, and Monymusk and Birnie in the North. Leuchars and Dalmeny are richly adorned, and have apsidal chancels; Abercorn and Birnie, which were Culdee settlements, have the east gables of their chancels square, and unpierced by windows.

Of the First Pointed we have an example of severe majesty in the Abbey of Arbroath; another described as of "fierce simplicity" in the Abbey of Dundrennan, and a series of exquisite beauty in the choir and crypt of Glasgow Cathedral, the nave of Dunblane Cathedral, the choir of Brechin Cathedral, the Abbeys of Jedburgh, Holyrood, Dryburgh, and Pluscarden, the ruined parish Church of Cowie, in Kincardineshire, and the Chapel of Dunstaffnage in Argyleshire. Just before the War of Independence broke out, Bishop Wishart (between 1272 and 1279) finished the Metropolitan Cathedral of St. Andrews "in pure Early English, with carefully studied details, which combine," says Walcott, "great simplicity of composition with high architectural beauty."[4] St. Andrews, however, was not dedicated till *after* the war, when, in 1318, it was solemnly consecrated by Bishop Lamberton in the presence of King Robert Bruce, seven bishops and fifteen abbots. It was regarded as the nation's thankoffering for the crowning victory of Bannockburn.

The still lovelier choir of Elgin, which certainly looks late First Pointed, and exhibits the almost Grecian elegance characteristic of that style, used to be ascribed to the same period; but a close study of its details has convinced one very competent judge, Mr. Honeyman, of Glasgow, that it is a work of the close of the fourteenth century. The rich central shaft with the vesica above in the magnificent west doorway in the same Cathedral is certainly a fifteenth century insertion.

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[1] *The Church of Scotland Past and Present*, II., p. 351. Edited by R. N. Story. London, [1890].
[2] *Transactions of Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society*, 1890, p. 45.
[3] See Article "Architecture," *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Ninth Edition.
[4] Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, *The Ancient Church of Scotland*. London, 1874.

The period of the Middle Pointed in England—comprising the reigns of the three first Edwards—was a time in Scotland of fierce and almost uninterrupted struggle for dear life. The country was gored through and through with war. Edward I. penetrated as far as Inverness. In the reign of David II.—the unworthy son of the conquerer at Bannockburn—the soldiers of Edward III. burned Aberdeen (1336). While, in Bruce's own reign, when the country was freed from Southern attacks, the King took such terrible vengeance on the Comyns that their lands, thrown out of cultivation then, remained in parts untilled till the second half of the present century. It is not surprising if, of such a period, we have but few remains to show. But church-building did not wholly cease, and we possess examples closely akin to the English Decorated at Glasgow, Elgin, Brechin, Dunkeld, Sweetheart, and at Fortrose, in Ross-shire. Of this last—the Cathedral at Fortrose—the remaining fragments are but scanty, but Dr. Neale speaks of them with enthusiasm as "of the purest and most elaborate Middle Pointed." "The whole church," he says "though probably not 120 feet long, must have been an architectural gem of the very first description. The exquisite beauty of the mouldings shows that in whatever other respects these remote parts of Scotland were barbarous, in ecclesiology, at least, they were on a par with any other branch of the Mediæval Church."[1]

Hitherto, as I have said, the course of Scottish architecture has run parallel with that of England. Since the coming of St. Margaret, the relations of the two National Churches had been more than friendly. Even the claims of the Archbishop of York to ecclesiastical supremacy—claims firmly and successfully resisted—had not interrupted the general amity. The Scottish architecture of this same age is even markedly Northumbrian. Scottish bishops copied the constitutions of English Cathedrals; Scottish chapters elected Englishmen their bishops. The Sarum Use was adopted in Glasgow, by Bishop Herbert, about 1150. In 1242, it was decreed by the bishop, dean, and chapter of Moray that in the Cathedral of Elgin, "in the Divine offices, in psalm, legend, and singing, and in other things belonging to the worship of God, the order which it is known has been instituted in the Church of Salisbury be observed."[2] In 1249 a similar resolution was taken at Dunkeld, and ere long the whole of Scotland seems to have followed Salisbury Use.

The War of Independence changed all this. The exploits of that war are among the most cherished of our Scottish memories. The War of Independence secured our freedom—and "Freedom," as Barbour sings, "is a noble thing." It evoked a burning fire of patriotism. But its effects on Scottish culture and religion were by no means so beneficial. More particularly, it is in the enmities then engendered that we are to see the true sources of that alienation between the Churches of England and Scotland which the strifes of the seventeenth century intensified, and of that separation which still unhappily continues. The alienation so engendered found expression in more ways than one. In the struggles of the Antipopes the two Churches took different sides. Slanderous tongues began to assert in the fifteenth century that the Sarum Use had been forced on Scotland by the hated Edward I., and with such effect was the lie propagated that in the reign of James IV. (in 1507) an effort was made to supersede entirely the Use of Sarum, throughout Scotland. "It is devisit and thocht expedient," says the King, "be us and our consall, that in tyme coming Mess bukis, Manualis, Matyne bukis and Portuus bukis, efter our awin Scottis Use, with legends of Scottis sanctis, as is now gaderit and ekit by ane Reverend Fadir in God, and our traist Consalour, Willeame Bischope of Abirdene and utheris, be usit generaly within al our Realme alssone as the samyn may be imprentit, and that na manner of sic bukis of Salusbury Use be brocht to be sauld within our Realme in tyme coming."[3] In spite of this act, and the publication shortly afterwards of the Aberdeen Breviary, the Use of Sarum held its ground till the Reformation (1560).

It was different, however, in regard to Church Architecture. There the effects of the estrangement of the realms and churches became perceptible at once. We have no Perpendicular in Scotland—except some windows, probably of very late date, at Melrose. We read, indeed, of an Abbot of Paisley, in 1451, "visiting England in quest of Architectural hints"; but that is an exception. The prevailing influence in Scottish Architecture from the beginning of the fourteenth century till the Reformation is undoubtedly French—Flamboyant. Of one very remarkable church of this period, however, Roslin Chapel (1446)—it is really the choir of a large Collegiate Church, the nave of which was never built—Mr. Street pronounces that "the art is in no sense whatever Scotch. We must look" he thinks, "to Portugal as the country of whose art it is an example." In like manner, Flemish influences have been traced in the very beautiful Chapel of King's College, Aberdeen (1500).

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[1] *Ecclesiological Notes on the Isle of Man, &c.* London, 1848.

[2] *Registrum Moraviense.* Bannatyne Club.

[3] The author may be permitted to refer to a paper of his own on this subject, in *Chartularium S. Nicolai Aberdonensis*, II, pp. 399—404. Aberdeen, 1892.

But the fact is, that the art of this period, while borrowing much from other lands, drew its chief inspirations from the new sense of nationality which Scotland had learned in its recent conflict. It became much more distinctly national. It developed in directions of its own. More particularly, it studied its own past—now radiant with a new glory in its eyes; and while it sought, as the Perpendicular of England did, greater width and spaciousness and light, it retained many of the forms of the First and some of the Middle Pointed. It is only the closest study that reveals that the choir of Elgin (or at least its eastern bays), with its two tiers of richly ornamented lancets, belongs to this period. Lancets—poor ones, certainly—appear at Pluscarden, filling up what had been originally a large east window of French Geometrical design—too large, evidently, to stand the stormy winds of Caledonia. Joseph Robertson, an antiquary of whom Dean Stanley said that no man he had ever met seemed to move in the past with more ample knowledge, in an eloquent article in the *Quarterly Review* (June, 1849), on *Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals*,[1] remarks of the Cathedral of Dunkeld, that "its annals are not free from perplexity. The piers of the nave seem Romanesque; and the pier arches, the triforium and the clerestory, seem First Pointed, yet we are told by the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, writing the history of the See early in the sixteenth century, that the foundations of the nave were laid in 1406 by Bishop Robert of Cardeny, who carried the wall as high as the second tier of arches —commonly called the blind story—leaving its completion to Bishop Lauder, by whom the Cathedral was dedicated in 1464." At Auchindoir, Aberdeenshire, in one of the prettiest of our parish churches—alas! now roofless—we find a sixteenth century doorway in what looks like very rich round-headed Early English of the twelfth century. The round arch never went out of frequent use in Scotland; but here the early mouldings and dog-tooth have been copied. Dog-tooth, of a kind, is found on a monument of 1596 at Elgin, and in wood-work of the seventeenth century at Aberdeen. Some of our fifteenth century churches—Linlithgow, Stirling, and St. Nicholas, Aberdeen—have semi-hexagonal apses behind the high altar (they were not always the Lady Chapel; in the one at Aberdeen, the altar was dedicated to St. Kentigern). In smaller churches of the same date and character—Trinity College, Edinburgh, St. Salvator's Chapel, St. Andrews, and King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, the choir itself has a hexagonal termination; as have the contemporary side chapels of the Black Friars at St. Andrews, and the Parish Church of Arbuthnott. Many churches of the same date in the East of Scotland, and particularly in Aberdeenshire, have "Sacrament-houses"—aumbries for the reserved Sacrament. These are carved in stone, on the north wall (always) of the chancel. The monstrance appears on all the more elaborate ones; indeed, the idea of several of them is just that of a monstrance. A similar fashion prevailed, I believe, in Germany.

In Scotland, as elsewhere, the two centuries preceding the Reformation were a period of architectural decadence. But the decadence does not come at once. At first, indeed, it is hardly visible. Melrose Abbey is quite worthy of the praise bestowed on it so lavishly by Scott; and the existing ruins at Melrose are all of this period; for the Abbey was destroyed by Edward II. in 1322, and again by Richard II. in 1385. Mr. Street pronounces Melrose to "be one of the most national, as it is certainly one of the most charming, of Scottish buildings."[2] The south aisle of Elgin, which is unquestionably subsequent to the burning of that church by a wild earl, appropriately surnamed "the Wolf of Badenoch," in 1390, is extremely graceful; and the chapter-house of Elgin, which in everything except size is equal to those of York and Lincoln, was built after 1483 by Bishop Andrew Stewart. The nave of Aberdeen Cathedral (1424-1459) is a straightforward attempt to work in the then intractable granite of the district; its arcade, its south porch, and nobly simple west window exhibit no small degree of living invention and resource. The mouldings, I believe, are absolutely identical in section with mouldings in Cornish churches built of the same material. Ere long, however, we are made to feel, in many buildings, that the fineness of the art is disappearing. There is vigour, there is humour, there is variety, but the delicacy is gone, the grace, the sweetness. Many of our sixteenth century works are heavy; some are positively coarse, some even barbarous and ugly. Still, good work was done even to the last. The spires of the sixteenth century, though short, were admirable in their picturesqueness; witness those of St. Machar at Aberdeen, about 1530, and not a few in Fife. That of Largo, in the latter county, rises from a square tower supported cunningly on a single arch. One of the latest examples of old Scottish Gothic, the chapel which, between 1518 and 1530, a local clergyman, Alexander Galloway, built at the expense of the munificent Bishop Gavin Dunbar for the Grey Friars of Aberdeen, exhibits a simplicity, breadth, and dignity worthy of earlier days. It is one of the few churches

[1] Reprinted separately at Aberdeen, 1891.

[2] It ought to be remembered, however, that "during most part of the century in which this glory of Scottish art was built, Teviotdale was an English county, and the monks of Melrose were liegemen of the English king." Robertson, *Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals*, p. 74.

of which we can with absolute certainty name the architect and fix the date; it is the last conventual church remaining in Aberdeen, but I am afraid we are soon to lose it. You see it is old, and is built of grey sandstone, instead of new white granite, and our Town Councillors think it must be swept away for the *improvement* of the city! The site is wanted (it is true), for University extension, but other ground could have been got, had there not been in the Town Council a determination to remove it.

On the whole, I think it may be fairly said of the buildings of the last pre-Reformation age, that if they certainly lack the splendour of the English Perpendicular, they have none of its somewhat wearisome sameness.

Our churches of this period belong for the most part to three classes—Collegiate Churches, Burgh Churches (which were generally Collegiate), and the Chapels of Franciscan Friars, of the Observantine Reform, who were introduced into Scotland by our poet-king, James I. (1406-1437), a sovereign not less zealous for the revival of the Church than for the supremacy of the law throughout his realm.[1]

In the Book of Judges, the sacred writer more than once takes occasion to remark: *In those days there was no king in Israel; every man did that which was right in his own eyes.*[2] It was so in Scotland at the era of the Reformation. Queen Mary was a child. Scotland was torn with factions. The administration of the Church was hideously corrupt. The covetousness of the nobles had been inflamed by seeing how, south of the Border, Henry VIII. had enriched his courtiers with the plunder of the monasteries. Indeed, it was by English hands that the first great blow was dealt to our Scottish fanes. A marriage was proposed between the Prince Edward and the Scottish Queen. In support of this, an English army under the Earl of Hertford, advanced (in 1544) into our country, and gave to the flames the whole series of abbeys between the Cheviots and Edinburgh. It was not by native fanatics, it was by English hands, that Kelso, Jedburgh, Dryburgh, Melrose, Haddington, Newbattle and Holyrood were ruined. Well might the Earl of Huntly say, "He misliked not the match, but he hated the manner of wooing." The choir of Holyrood never was rebuilt, and hardly a trace of it remains; but into the western arch of its central tower, Bishop Robert Reid—the munificent prelate who built so much at Kirkwall, and who left the money wherewith, in 1596, James VI. founded the University of Edinburgh—inserted the net-like tracery which still remains. He made that arch an east window for the nave, which served for another century as a Chapel Royal. Charles I. was crowned in it; the west doorway was re-edified in his son's time. After that, it was neglected by its royal owners, and in the last century the roof fell in. Among the spoils which Hertford carried back to England, was an eagle lectern of brass, from the Church of Holyrood. It is now at St. Albans.

In 1559 arose native spoilers. On the 2nd of May that year, John Knox landed at Leith; on the 10th he preached at Perth "against idolatry"; and on the 11th, "the rascal multitude," fired by his sermon, sacked the convents and conventual churches of "the Fair City," and "the fiery besom"—as it was truly called—went forth to destroy many of the noblest shrines of Scotland. "Among the Churches wrecked or defaced in the few months, during which the iconoclastic fever lasted, were those of St. Andrews, Edinburgh, Dunblane, Dunkeld, Dunfermline, Arbroath, Kilwinning, Lesmahagow, Perth, Balmerino, Cupar, Crossraguel, Paisley, Stirling, Cambuskenneth, St. Ninian's and Scone."[3] We must not allow even this sad catalogue to blind us to the great qualities and services which have given Knox so high a place among Scottish worthies. And it is due to his memory to say, that he went out in person to save the Monastery of Scone from violence; and that in the First Book of Discipline, he urged that the churches should with expedition be repaired, "lest that the Word of God, and ministration of the Sacraments by unseemliness of the place, should come into contempt." But it is easier to begin havoc than to stop it.

The next year (1560) saw the Reformation established by the Scottish Parliament without one dissentient voice; and soon all over the land the churches were being altered for the Reformed service. "After the Act of Annexation (1587), the chancels," says Dr. Sprott, "were usually taken possession of by the layman, who then became the representative of the Rector or Religious House that had been despoiled; a gallery was erected in it for the family pew, and the place where the high altar stood was appropriated as the family burying-place."[4]

The Cistercian Order held many of the monasteries, and as they did not encourage villages near their gates, there was no one, after the dissolution, to worship in their churches. The other large churches, such of them as had escaped or were retained in use, were generally

[1] Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, I., p. 363.
[2] Judges xvii. 6, and xxi. 25.
[3] Skelton, *Maitland of Lethington*, I., p. 232.
[4] *Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland*, p. 232. Edinburgh, 1882.

divided up into separate parts. As an example of what was done, I may cite, from the Town Council Records of Aberdeen, the treatment to which my own Church of St. Nicholas—once the largest parish church in Scotland—was subjected. The Council, in 1596, "ordainit the haill carved tymmer-wark betwixt the pillars in the queir, to be removit, and placit conveniently where the same salbe thocht meet to be placit, to the effect that ane stane wall may be biggit betwixt the said queir and the bodie" (the nave) "of the kirk, that the said queir may be made ane preaching kirk, for the preaching of the Word of God, and ministration of the Sacraments."[1] The nave, in short, was made one church, and the choir another, while the transepts, ere long separated from both, formed a synod-house. A like arrangement was adopted in the chief churches of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dundee, and in the Cathedral of Glasgow. The cathedrals of Elgin and St. Andrews were deserted altogether, those cities having town churches more convenient for "*preaching kirks;*" at Dunblane and Dunkeld the congregations found accommodation in the choir; at Brechin and Aberdeen in the nave. In 1568 the lead roofing of Elgin and Aberdeen cathedrals was stripped off by order of the Privy Council, and shipped for Holland, to be converted into shot, but the vessel, with the sacrilegious cargo, foundered in the Bay of Aberdeen. The vast and stately Abbey Church of Arbroath had been ruined in 1559; in 1580 there was erected out of its materials a paltry church, for the use of the burgh, which perished by fire last autumn. In 1592 the existing church of Burntisland was built—a queer square edifice, with a square tower of several stories rising from the middle of the roof. It was in this church that the proposal was first mooted for an Authorised Version of the Bible; it was in this church that Archbishop Laud asked a significant question, which A. K. H. B. told me Charles Kingsley asked him at St. Andrews, "Where is the altar?"

After 1610, when canonical bishops were restored to the Scottish Church, there was an effort in Scotland, as in England, for better churches; one example remains to us, the very interesting church of Dairsie, in Fife, built as a model church by the Primate Spottiswoode, who, as Archbishop of Glasgow, had saved, by re-roofing it, the cathedral there, who was a church historian as well as a church builder, and who found his grave at last, an exile from Scotland, in Westminster Abbey; for indeed he fell on troublous times. The Scottish ecclesiastical measures of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud, originating doubtless in the best intentions, were wofully mismanaged in their execution. The Scottish liturgy of 1637 is one of the noblest variants of the Book of Common Prayer; but it was only once read in the Cathedral of Edinburgh, and it had scarcely a longer tenure in any of our churches. It was not the dread of *forms of prayer* in themselves—for that very day "Knox's Liturgy" had been read to the utmost satisfaction of the people in the same cathedral. But the cry of "Popery" had risen; the covetousness of the nobles, who feared that the king was to restore to the cathedrals their ancient lands, was thrown into the same scale with the prejudices of the common people and the insubordination of the ministers; and there can be no doubt that the king's action was contrary to the liberties alike of the Church and of the State. The riot in St. Giles' gave new birth to the National Covenant, which (except in the North-East of Scotland, at Aberdeen and Elgin) was everywhere enthusiastically signed; and in the General Assembly at Glasgow, in 1638, the whole fabric, which had been reared so anxiously, came crashing to the ground. "We have cast down," said the Moderator (Alexander Henderson), when the bishops were deposed, "the walls of Jericho; let him who rebuilds them beware of the curse of Hiel, the Bethelite."[2] It is frightful to think that a Christian minister should have so spoken of a polity adorned in Scotland by such prelates as Spottiswoode, W. Forbes, Pat. Forbes, and Maxwell; yet to this day the saying is sometimes cited as if it were an utterance of the grandest heroism!

The Covenanters went forth, in hot zeal, to destroy whatever "monuments of idolatry" Knox and his associates had spared. This is how their work at Elgin is described by a contemporary historian—perhaps an eye-witness—Spalding, the Royalist town-clerk (it is supposed) of Aberdeen. "Monday, 28th December, 1640, Mr. Gilbert Ross, minister at Elgin, the young Laird Innes, the Laird Brodie, and some others, broke down the timber partition wall dividing the kirk (the nave of the cathedral) of Elgin from the choir, which had stood since the Reformation. On the west side was painted, in excellent colours, illuminated with stars of bright gold, the Crucifixion of our Blessed Saviour. This piece was so excellently done that the colours and stars never faded or vanished, but kept fresh and sound as they were at the beginning, notwithstanding the kirk wanted the roof since the Reformation, and no whole window thereintill, to save the same from storm, snow, sleet, nor wet, which myself saw. And, marvellous to consider, on the other side, toward the east, was drawn the Day of Judgment. All is thrown to the ground. It was said this minister caused bring home to his house the timber, and burn the same, but each night the fire went out; whereat the servants and others

[1] *Chartulary of S. Nicholas*, II., p. 380. New Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1892.
[2] 1 Kings xvi. 34.

marvelled, and the minister left off to burn any more of that timber. A great boldness, without warrant of the king, to destroy churches at that rate; yet it is done at command of the Assembly."[1]

"The iconoclasts of the Covenant," to quote the words of Joseph Robertson, "had scarcely done their work when they were succeeded by yet more ruthless spoilers—the troopers of Cromwell, who, in Scotland, as in England . . . stabled their steeds in the parish churches, and made cathedrals and abbeys their quarries for building forts, over which they planted the banner of Emmanuel." For this purpose they tore down the buttresses of Elphinstone's majestic choir at Aberdeen; they ruined the Cathedral at Fortrose—which up till then had been entire; and the Cistercian Abbey of Kinloss, which, in the last corrupt days before the Reformation, had shone as a light in a dark place. "Monuments which national pride had spared amid the ravages of the Covenant found no mercy from these alien sectaries. They made an arsenal of the venerable Church of St. John, at Ayr, within the walls of which Bruce had held his Parliament; and they defaced the sepulchre of the good Sir James of Douglas, because he 'had been an enemy to the English nation,' and English mothers three centuries before had stilled their children with the terror of his name."[2]

There were, however, some rather graceful parish churches built in Scotland in the seventeenth century. "Graceful" is perhaps too complimentary a term to apply to the "Auld Kirk" of Ayr, which dates from this period; but it is by no means inapplicable to the crow-stepped church of Ogston, near Lossiemouth in Moray, a truly Gothic building erected in 1677. The country masons worked as their fathers had taught them, and the kirks they reared, small and unpretending as they are, exhibit "not unfrequently, both freshness of design and refinement of execution. If not Gothic, they are Gothic in spirit and feeling, and in general form and proportion."[3] Churches of this class were built in the country districts till about 1750. The last civil war in Great Britain (1745-6) destroyed two of our Scottish churches. The fine Renaissance church of St. Ninian's, near Stirling, was first made a powder magazine by the Jacobites, and then blown up by them when they were compelled to raise the siege of Stirling. The leader on the other side—the Duke of Cumberland, "the butcher of Culloden"—completed the ruin of the Norman nave of St. Nicholas at Aberdeen by filling it with fodder for his cavalry horses, which were penned in the adjoining churchyard. The nave was rebuilt, as the West Church of Aberdeen, in 1755, from designs by a distinguished Aberdonian—the architect to whom, next to Wren, London is most beholden for its Renaissance churches—James Gibbs. The West Kirk is his latest work: somewhat sombre, but bearing abundant traces of his genius. St. Andrew's Parish Church, Glasgow, with a fine interior, is an imitation of Gibbs' great London triumph, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

These were the last that could, with any architectural propriety, be called *churches*. They were followed in town and country by an age of *barns*, which lasted, we may say, for a hundred years; till people got to think that to have mean and ugly sanctuaries was an article of religion with the Scotch! It was a convenient doctrine for the heritors, upon whom, by Scottish law, lies the burden of the "upkeep" of the parish churches. The truth is that in that age there was in Scotland, what Bishop Butler remarked in England also, "a wonderful frugality in everything which has respect to religion."[4] Moreover, the remark which Butler quotes from Bishop Fleetwood (1710) "that unless the good public spirit of building, repairing and adorning churches, prevails a great deal more among us, and be more encouraged, an hundred years will bring to the ground an huge number of our churches," was verified in both kingdoms. The parish churches of Scotland had never been very good, and by the second half of the last century they are not only far too small for the rapidly growing population, but were mostly quite worn out. They were replaced in the "taste" and with the "frugality" of the period.

Alas! it was not only that the new churches were frightful. The old ones were shamefully mutilated. The town church of St. Andrews was 163 feet long internally; it had two side aisles vaulted in stone, and a clerestory much loftier than was usual in Scotland; while its nave was spanned by an open roof of black oak. It had served the post-Reformation Archbishops for a cathedral; and it contains the enormous marble monument erected by Charles II. in memory of the murdered Primate, Sharp. About a hundred years ago, in spite of the admonition of Lord Kames, the aisles were pulled down, and rebuilt to a height of two stories, so as to admit of heavy galleries, arranged in a circle round the pulpit like the seats in an amphitheatre. Every second pillar of the nave arcade was removed, and sprawling round arches were substituted for the ancient ones, a plaster ceiling taking the place of the oaken roof. At Brechin Cathedral, the aisles in like manner were rebuilt, and they and the nave covered with one roof, completely hiding the triforium. The gables were disfigured with the ugliest of crow-steps, and the buttresses crowned with bald pyramidal pinnacles. The "Round Tower" would

[1] *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland*, I., p. 376. Aberdeen, Spalding Club.
[2] *Scottish Abbeys and Cathedrals*, p. 96.
[3] *Transactions of Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society*, 1886, p. 20. [4] Charge to the Clergy of Durham.

have served as stones for these hideous aisles, had not the Lord Panmure of the day (1808) threatened to hang from its summit the man who laid the first finger on it. He was like enough to do it, and they thought best to forbear. Not less dreadful (though it was held at the time to be a work of elegance and taste), was Burn's restoration of St. Giles' at Edinburgh (1829-33). To gain "uniformity" and "smoothness," every external feature of interest, except the grand old tower and crown, was swept away; the interior, divided into three churches, was tamed into utter insipidity with plaster and whitewash, and the historic monuments which crowded it were broken into fragments and thrust under the floor! St. Giles' *has* been restored (1871-1883), and again presents an interior of wonderful richness and variety. Brechin *is* to be restored; and the town church of St. Andrews *might* be. But we lost for ever in this dismal period, at least five churches of importance—a serious diminution of our scanty stock.

At Dunfermline, a patriotism which remembered Bruce, but utterly forgot the far fairer and not less beneficent figure of St. Margaret, swept utterly away the ancient choir with the chapel which once contained the shrine of that sainted queen. A huge pile was erected in the vacant Perpendicular then in vogue. Intertwined with the balusters of its central tower in staring Latin letters, are the four words, one on each side, KING · ROBERT · THE · BRUCE.

The Church of St. Giles' at Elgin, was believed to be "older than the Cathedral"; once a year at Evening Service on the Sacrament Sunday in November—a Thanksgiving Service, for the Church of Scotland knows not Evening Communions—St. Giles' was illuminated with hundreds of candles, which the people brought with them and set up in their pews. My aunt, who remembered being present on more than one of these occasions, spoke of the effect as simply wonderful in its impressiveness. A local poet (writing about 1840) thus refers to it:—

> "Ay! licht your kirk wi' gas
> Ye Non-Intrusion sumphs!
> Silk purse ye canna mak'
> O' lug o' soo that grumphs.
> But where the thousand lichts
> Which a blaze o' splendour threw
> O'er the auld kirk's pillared aisles
> When this auld coat was new?"

This church was wantonly pulled down in 1826, and a sham Greek temple erected in its place; the local authorities sagely "doubting whether any Gothic they could build would stand comparison with the ruins of their Cathedral!"

At Aberdeen, the spacious fifteenth century choir of St. Nicholas was removed in 1837—the year previous to that which saw the destruction of the nave of St. Saviour's, Southwark; so that you were not better here than we were in the North. I know not what motive suggested the transpontine vandalism, but these were the considerations which weighed, he says, with my worthy predecessor, Dr. Foote, a man of sincere piety and no small munificence: "The unfavourable construction of the old church for seeing and hearing in consequence of the huge round pillars, behind which a great many of the seats were placed; the fact that such a building was never intended to be filled with fixed pews, and to have galleries; the superior accommodation for a large congregation which would be furnished by a new church in which there would be no bad seats; and the necessity for drawing a large revenue by seat rents." It is but fair to add that Dr. Foote had no personal interest in these pew rents.

Pillars were much objected to in Scotland; galleries much admired. When Dr. Robertson (in 1858) left the parish of Mains (the church of which is an unmitigated barn), to be minister of Glasgow Cathedral, as soon as he had got that glorious minster opened up, he sent for his old "Church Officer" (or beadle)—a chartered character in Scotland. "Well, Wattie," he said, after showing the Cathedral, "This is very superior to the Kirk of Mains." "I'm nae sae sure o' that, sir! Ye see, sir, she's eeseless big; she has nae laft; an' she's sair fashed wi' thae pillars."

The choir and transepts of the great church of Dundee perished by fire in 1842; the stately steeple is now the solitary ancient church monument in that large and historic city.

But our worst loss was the last—Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, one of our finest fifteenth century churches, erected in 1461, by Mary of Gueldres, the queen of James II. It was removed, in 1848, to make way for a Railway Station. The stones were numbered, and there was a solemn promise on the part of the Town Council to rebuild it. Rebuilt it was, after thirty years' delay—but in such a fashion that one would almost wish its stones still lay in the building yard.

If such was the fate of the very walls of our ancient churches, the destruction of their ornaments was still more thorough. An Edinburgh minister, who has just published a magnificent work on *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, tells us that "an exhaustive enquiry reveals the fact that the Church of Scotland has not a Eucharistic vessel which can be traced back to pre-Reformation times; and so far as is known, all other churches in Scotland

are in a similar position."[1] There was no lack of stained glass, of native manufacture, in the pre-Reformation churches: fragments have been found at many places; but I do not know of one single ancient pane that has come down to us. The brass lectern of Holyrood remains—in England—and one brass altar vase from the Abbey of Deer. A few paintings have somehow escaped; the wings of a triptych once in Trinity College Church, Edinburgh, with portraits of James II., his queen, and their son, afterwards James III., a panel from the Abbey of Kinloss, and a large portion of the painted screen of the Collegiate Church of Fowlis, near Dundee; this last has remained in that church all along. How it escaped is a marvel.

Of wood-work there is the fine pulpit of St. Duthus' Church at Tain; and the pulpit of Bishop William Stewart (1531-1545), once in Aberdeen Cathedral, now in the Chapel of King's College. The same cathedral retains its magnificent ceiling (1520), "glittering with the heraldries" of the Pope, Leo X., the Emperor and Princes of Europe, the King, Bishops and Barons of Scotland; and in the College Chapel are the only complete set of canopied stalls which have come down to us. They have been generally pronounced of French or Flemish workmanship; but I believe they were made by an Aberdeen "wright," John Fendour by name, who, about the same time (1507), certainly provided a still larger series for the Parish Church of St. Nicholas. These latter were sawn across in 1574, but fragments remain of exactly similar character to the stalls in King's College. A few stalls, which show the Gothic on the point of passing into Renaissance, remain at Dunblane.

After the Reformation, the seventeenth century gave us some admirable Communion Plate. The wood-work, too, of that date, though its ornament is chiefly heraldic and Christian emblems are rigorously excluded, has no small merit. Aberdeen is rich in it, and there, we know, it was originally painted in rich colours. In the West Church of the same city are a fine series of tapestries—Old Testament subjects—wrought by Mary Jamieson, a daughter of "the Scottish Vandyke." They were bought by the Town Council to decorate the King's seat in their Parish Church, in August, 1686.

Amid all the strong influences which have overborne it so long, there has always been in the National Church of Scotland, as well as among the Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, "a root of Catholic doctrine" and sentiment. In the last century, Sir Walter Scott, whose influence (as well as that of Burns), Dean Stanley rightly says, "can be overlooked in no Scottish ecclesiastical history worthy of the name,"[2] rose out of the bosom of our Presbyterian Church. He became an Episcopalian, but he continued to act occasionally as an elder in our Church courts; and on his death-bed those who watched by it heard him repeating sometimes the Scotch version of the Psalms—he loved their ballad fire—sometimes a petition from the English Litany, sometimes a stanza of the *Dies Iræ*. The ecclesiastical influence of Scott contributed something both to the Oxford Movement and to the kindred work that was done at Cambridge. It is coming back to us now, enriched with all that in those seats of learning it has gathered since.

The revival, both in its doctrinal and ecclesiological aspects, naturally affected first the Scottish Episcopalians. Their "chapels," as they were called up to this time, were very humble; but the Episcopal Church has done a great deal within the last half-century—building even Cathedrals at Cumbrae, Inverness, Edinburgh and Perth. I should like to mention one of the latest of their works—a very beautiful chapel for the Sisters of St. Margaret, built at Aberdeen by a young architect hailing from that city, now practising in London, Mr. Ninian Comper. The only ancient church of any importance which the Episcopalians hold, Roslin Chapel, was fitted up for worship in 1862, Bishop Forbes of Brechin preaching on the occasion a notable Sermon on "The Sanctity of Christian Art" (reprinted in his *Sermons on the Grace of God*). The Roman Catholics have one fine (Franciscan) Church at Glasgow, the work of the present representative of Pugin; and the same architect is erecting for their Benedictine Monastery at Fort Augustus, a church, which, when completed, will rival in magnificence the ancient glories of Arbroath and Paisley. The Free Church separated from the Established Church just fifty years ago, in 1843, carrying out a great part of the people and a large proportion of the zeal and talent of the Church. They, too, have done no little for the fostering of Ecclesiastical Art: churches of theirs at Morningside (Edinburgh), at Glasgow, Crieff, Elie, Perth and Broughty Ferry, exhibit a careful study of old work, and an intelligent effort to adapt old arrangements to a form of service which they make it a point to cherish. For ten years after 1843, the National Church seemed almost paralyzed from the loss she had sustained. Then she roused herself in a brave effort to meet, by her Endowment Scheme, the needs of a rapidly growing population. Since 1843 she has added no fewer than 365 to her old parishes.

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[1] The two very fine silver-gilt cups belonging to St. John's (Middle) Church, Perth, associated by tradition with the name of Mary, Queen of Scots—they were more probably the gift of her mother, Mary of Guise—seem to have been made rather for civil than ecclesiastical use. Whether used for their sacred purpose before the Reformation or not, they were in possession of the Kirk Session in 1587. *Old Scottish Communion Plate*, Rev. T. Burns, F.S.A. Edinburgh, 1892.

[2] Stanley, *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland*. London, 1872, p. 162.

A great deal of the church building consequent on these various "extensions" had, of course, to be as cheap as possible. Much of it, which cost more, is very ugly. "Our Scottish intellect, in such departments," says Dr. Sprott euphemistically, "is apt to show an excess of vigour, and styles of architecture have been invented which were never before heard of." The reintroduction of instrumental music (dating from 1863) has brought a new terror to the ecclesiologist. The people want to see the organ for which they so lavishly contributed, and so it is too often set up in the east end, with a substitute for the old pulpit stuck in the front of it. But a truer appreciation of the central rite of Christian worship has been also coming in. Back in the fifties, Principal Caird, then minister of Erroll, had some pews removed, and the Holy Table, "covered with a decent carpet," set in a place of honour. Dr. Caird is the most eloquent pulpit orator the present generation has heard in Scotland (alas! we hear him now too seldom); but when he made that change his kirk officer grumbled audibly, "Heuch, takin' awa' the seats; we'll maybe get a poap'lar preacher some day, that will fill the kirk!" However, the movement has gone on, and in all the better churches now this seemly arrangement is adopted. The first great ancient church to be restored was Glasgow Cathedral. Of course, some things were done which had been better left undone. The west end was spoiled by the removal of a massive tower, like a baronial keep, the seat, in former days, of the bishop's consistory court. All the windows were filled with the costliest Munich glass, the insertion of which was greeted with enthusiastic admiration at the time; indeed, I remember a proposal to paint the whole interior of the cathedral light blue, "to throw out the colour of the glass!" I draw a charitable veil over the "restoration" of the Cathedral of Aberdeen, by Sir Gilbert Scott. But the restoration of St. Giles', at Edinburgh, if not without its faults, has been much better, and is giving us a practical experience of the use that may be made of our cathedrals. The more recent restoration of Dunblane Cathedral has, so far, been admirably carried out. Two more restorations must be noted: that of St. Vigean's parish church, near Arbroath, and that of King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, which last has been decorated with sumptuous colour. Of new parish churches may be mentioned the stately piles at Govan, and Barony, Glasgow. Both are "Early English" in style, the one borrowing features from Pluscarden, and the other from Dunblane. Both are designed on sound ecclesiological principles: the Barony is adorned with a wall-painting of Christ in glory. In both divine service is offered daily. Daily service was revived among us in 1881, at Aberdeen.

There are, undoubtedly, difficulties to contend with; but these are not so much the prejudices of the common people—our common people, considering their training, are remarkably open-minded. The middle classes are stiffer, and the nobility are not always helpful. Only the other day a peer of some distinction—a member of the Church of Scotland, and lately Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly—whose family pew fills the chancel of an ancient church which is about to be restored, insisted that, whatever was done, his seat should not be touched! But the cause is progressing. Among agencies at work may be mentioned three Societies. The Church Service Society was instituted 1865, for the study of the ancient liturgies, and the preparation of forms of prayer for public worship. Its chief work has been the publication of "Euchologion," or "The Book of Common Order," which has passed through six editions. It is largely used by our Presbyterian clergy. It has done something for orthodoxy; has preserved us from not a few "ill-considered innovations;" and it has been the means of effecting a very considerable improvement in our service generally. About a third of the parish clergy, and many eminent laymen of the Church of Scotland, are members of this Society, and its patron, the Duke of Argyll, takes a lively interest in its work. The Aberdeen Ecclesiological Society—the only Ecclesiological Society in Scotland—was instituted in a very humble way in February, 1886; it now numbers 273 members. They belong to various communions, but the executive of the Society has never faltered in its advocacy of a worship in which the supremacy of the Eucharist shall be clearly recognized, and of churches designed and built on that principle, and I have every reason to believe that the members of the Society are more or less in sympathy with this view. More recently, in June last, a very important step was taken by a number of ministers, in the formation of "The Scottish Church Society." Laying emphasis, first of all, on the assertion, as a foundation, of the Catholic Faith contained in the ancient Creeds and embodied in the Standards of the Church of Scotland, it reckons as one of its "leading objects" "the restoration of the Holy Communion to its right place in relation to the worship of the Church, and the spiritual life of the baptized;" and as another, "the reverent care and seemly ordering of churches and churchyards, and the preservation of ancient ecclesiastical monuments." The President of this Society is one who commands respect in England as well as Scotland, Professor Milligan.

These things show what spirit is rising among religious people, I believe, in all the sections (alas! there are too many) of our Scottish Christianity. Let us trust that by God's blessing the reproach which has lain on us so long of narrow doctrine, unlovely services, and unseemly sanctuaries, will be rolled away.

NOTES ON IRISH ARCHITECTURE.

BY

F. J. BECKLEY, B.A.[1]

I.—Pre-Christian Architecture.

In dealing with Irish Architecture, as with Irish history and the Irish language, it is important to remember that we are dealing with an art which is continuous from the very earliest historical period. There is no break in Irish history which at all corresponds to the complete effacement of a race which occurred in England after the Saxon conquest. Thus it is necessary, in tracing the history of Irish ecclesiastical architecture, to go back to the heathen architecture which preceded it.

The great importance of Irish antiquities and Irish records is hardly yet realized, and few people are aware of the immense wealth of material which Ireland can yet yield to the study of comparative antiquities. Ireland possesses a large body of literature of a very early date, grammars, glossaries, annals, genealogies, tales, lyric poems, as well as treatises on medicine, law, religion, and science. These treasures when thoroughly investigated ought to be a perfect storehouse of information on the history of a Celtic people from the time of the Christian era, and thus should form a key to the ethnology of Northern Europe which we cannot hope to obtain from any other quarter.

The immense importance of these records was noticed by the late Sir Henry Maine, who has made great use of them in his *Early History of Institutions;* but the difficulties of the language, as well as the divided state of the country, which has always thwarted united effort on any subject, has brought it about that many precious manuscripts are still unpublished, and that those which have been published have not been fully investigated.

The following are some of the principal classes of heathen monuments still existing in Ireland :—

I. *Cromlechs or Dolmens* are numerous, seven existing in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin. In some of them human bones and in others ashes have been found, showing that they were used for sepulture and not as sacrificial altars. The Cromlech in Phœnix Park was discovered in 1838 when a large mound, of which it formed the centre, was removed.

Another very interesting dolmen, called the *Dolmen of the Four Maols*, exists near Ballina. Fergusson points out, however (*Rude Stone Monuments*, p. 233), that this has an assignable date (about 500 A.D.). It is mentioned both in the Book of Lecan and in the Annals of Hy Fiachrach that Ceallach, great-grandson of Dathi (who died A.D. 428) was murdered by his four foster brothers, who were hanged for their crime at Ard-na-Riagh and were buried on a hill on the opposite side of the river Moy. Kits Coity House, near Aylesford, with which this compares, appears to mark the grave of Catigern, while the defeated Horsa was buried under the mound at Horstead (A.D. 455).

It is a remarkable fact about Irish dolmens that they decrease in size as one goes westward into Connaught. Here, as in most other countries, dolmens are mostly found near the coast, the principal neighbourhoods where they are found being the west coast, Cong, Sligo, and Glen Columkille.

II. *Rath, Lis, Cashel.*—This class of building is scattered over Ireland in incredible numbers. Although very many must have been levelled, yet in Munster alone 10,000 have been counted. These vary from 20 to 300 feet in diameter, and are enclosed by one, two, or

[1] Being the substance of three Lectures delivered before the Society, April 15th, 1891, March 9th and April 6th, 1892.

three ramparts of earth or stone with a corresponding number of fosses. Generally they are circular in shape, but sometimes oval or square. They have often stone doorways with sloping stone jambs. As a rule, when constructed of masonry they are called *Cashels* or *Cathairs*. *Cathair* (British "Caer") is a very old word found in many languages, and is the root, probably, of such names as *Carthage* and *Carchemish*. The words *Rath*, *Lis*, and *Cashel*, especially the two former, enter into the names of some 2,500 Irish town lands. For example, the little episcopal city of Lismore is called after a large fort, *Lis-more*, which lies a mile to the west of the town. *Dun* (Doon) also enters into some 600 names. It signifies a larger and more important enclosure than a rath. Some cover as much as 12 acres. A very interesting example of these forts is the ruin known as *Grianan of Aileach*, which covers the summit of a lofty hill near Derry, and which was once a palace of the kings of Ulster. The hill on which it is situated is defended by three concentric circular ramparts. In the centre is a *Cashel* or circular enclosure formed of uncemented stones, built with a curved batter on the outside. The wall contains in the interior steps and passages which extend half round the building, and give access to the banquette, the thickness at the base varying from 12 to 17 feet.

Another interesting class of forts are those which are scattered along the islands and headlands of the west coast from Sligo to Kerry. There are no less than nine specimens in the Arran Islands, the finest being Dun Ængus, which crowns the summit of a lofty cliff on the west coast of Arranmore. It is semicircular in form, and is surrounded by three ramparts, between the second and third of which is a curious stone *chevaux de frise*.

III. *Chambers in Raths*.—The majority of these Raths have in them, beneath the surface, crypts of a most curious character. These consist of chambers of every possible shape, approached by long, low, narrow passages. The masonry is without cement and is rude, but often excellent. The roof is either of large flat slabs, or else is constructed on the false arch principle. In all these chambers there are remarkable provisions for concealment and obstruction.

In fourteen cases Oghams have been found inscribed on rath chambers. There is no indication of burial in these chambers, any more than in similar ones in Scotland where pottery and iron implements discovered indicate for them a date between the first occupation by the Romans and the introduction of Christianity.

IV. *Sepulchral Mounds*.—There is one class of rude stone monuments in which Ireland excels every country in Europe, viz., the tumuli. The principal specimens are on the north bank of the Boyne, near Drogheda. Tara, a little to the south of the Boyne, was then the capital of Ireland, and the cemetery of the kings was at Brugh-na-Boine, just north of the stream. This cemetery consists of some seventeen tumuli of varying sizes, the principal of them being known as *New Grange*, *Knowth* and *Dowth*. New Grange has a diameter at its base of from 210 to 315 feet, and has a height of 70 feet, the whole being to a great extent formed of loose stones. Around its base was a circle of monoliths standing 30 feet apart on a circumference of 1000 feet. Many of them are still standing. The opening faces the south, and under it are two stones carved with curious spirals, while above the entrance is a long narrow stone bearing a sort of diamond pattern. The passage to the interior—discovered in 1699—is formed of enormous stones, and leads to a cruciform chamber in the centre of the mound. The walls are formed of eleven upright stones, above which large stones are placed horizontally, one above another until a single large slab crowns the whole. Roofs of this kind are found in some of the pyramids, at Mycenæ, and, as I shall presently show, in the Beehive huts of Ireland.[1] The annals record that this sepulchre was plundered by the Danes from Dublin in A.D. 860, and this fact accounts for one or two Danish relics having been found inside.

Dowth is somewhat smaller, but resembles New Grange in its interior arrangements. Fergusson considers, principally on the evidence of some gold ornaments contained in it, that this mound was erected not earlier than 400 A.D. One chamber in this tumulus was discovered many years ago, but a further chamber was discovered and explored in 1888, and a third has since been found. At some time an attempt has been made to enter it from the top, and the result has been to injure its symmetry. The interior chambers of these tumuli call for remark from the character of the *ornaments* with which the walls are in many places covered—zig-zags, lozenges, spirals, double spirals, and in one case an imitation of a fern.

Each of the chambers contains in the centre one or more shallow basins. The central chamber at Dowth contains one which is 5 feet by 3 feet, a very unusual size. As no chamber containing such a large basin has yet been found which has not previously been plundered, it is impossible to say for certain what their use was; but Fergusson thinks that the body was laid in this basin and covered over with a sort of cover, as was the case in Babylonia. This view is

[1] Close by is a curious modern building with a roof built on the same principle.

strengthened by the fact that the veteran Irish antiquary, Mr. Wakeman, once opened a previously untouched chamber containing two stones, having similar hollows, and found an earthenware pot containing ashes inverted over each.

Ogham Stones.—Although I do not propose to deal in this paper with the inscribed stones, many of very early date, which are so plentiful at Clonmacnoise, and in County Kerry, yet it is impossible to properly emphasize the continuity of Irish history without some allusion to Ogham Stones. In certain parts of Ireland, and in parts of Wales formerly occupied by the Irish, are found rude stone monuments, on the edges of which are cut inscriptions, the characters being formed by a series of long and short lines. Marginal entries in Oghamic characters have been found in MSS. of the tenth century, and a treatise on this style of writing is contained in the Book of Ballymote, a fourteenth century manuscript, now in the Royal Irish Academy. There is much uncertainty about them and their use, some holding that they originate from pre-Christian times, but such inscriptions as have been deciphered prove to be merely names. In all some 200 are known to exist, principally in Munster, though a few have been found in other provinces.

A pillar stone in Kerry is inscribed both in Ogham and Latin, and there are several such in Wales. At *Ardmore*, a stone bearing an Ogham inscription was found buried in the wall of the Oratory of St. Declan which is believed to date from the sixth century. (*Kilkenny Arch. Proceedings*, 1854-5).

Here also is a conglomerate rock on the strand poised on two small rocks. This is the Cloch-Naomh-Declan or sacred stone of *Declan*, on which he is fabled to have sailed all the way from Rome. On the Saint's day (24th July) those who attend the pattern, squeeze themselves through three times, as a cure for rheumatism, but no one having stolen property on them can derive any benefit. Another stone is the Cloch Daha, which was connected with some curious superstitions which gave rise to considerable scandal. So the stone was buried some years ago. It should be noticed in regard to these inscriptions that although the forms of the Ogham characters are as unlike the Latin as possible, and indeed have little kinship with any known system, yet the literation is distinctly Roman, and the persons who invented it must have known the Roman alphabet. As a rule, a rude stone, having a rough but fairly defined edge was used; but in some cases, rounded stones were used, and then the letters were referred to an imaginary line, or as in some Welsh examples, to a line actually drawn on the stone.

At *Ballintaggart*, close to the town of Dingle, the summit of a small hill is crowned by a curious circular enclosure formed by a mound with a shallow ditch inside. It is a *Killeen* or *Calluragh*, a burial ground for unbaptized children, and in it are nine enormous pebbles, like bolsters, with Ogham inscriptions. Two of them bear small crosses. At present these stones are lying down, and indeed if they were set up on end, a portion of the inscription would necessarily be hidden.

The abundant remains of early literature in Ireland, enables us to follow the process by which a pagan monument was appropriated to Christian uses. In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick which, though of late date, is undoubtedly founded on very early if not contemporary testimony, we read that when the saint was in Connaught, he found the people worshipping idols in the form of pillar stones. "These he did not destroy, but inscribed on them the names Redeemer, Salvator, Soter" (*Trip. Life* II, 52). And again in Tirechan's life of him, it is recorded that St. Patrick came to a well called Slan. Under a stone near, a certain Magus who worshipped the fountain, was interred. St. Patrick caused the stone to be raised and dedicated. In Adamnan's Life of St. Columba, we read of a fountain, famous among the heathen people (*i.e.* Picts) which, foolish men blinded of the devil, worshipped as a divinity.

An interesting example is furnished by the stone at *East Kennard*, near Dingle, with its window-pattern cross and an Ogham inscription which reads MARIANI. The Bishop of Limerick holds this to be clearly Christian, and maintains that it is to the memory of Marianus, a name, it will be remembered, which was borne by the celebrated Duns Scotus. On the other hand, Mr. Brash divides it into *Ma Riani*, the plains of Rian or Ruan, and holds it to be a boundary stone, and the so-called cross to be a plan of some fields. Unfortunately for this theory, the word for a plain is "Magh" (as in Armagh) and an Irishman of the sixth century would never have spelt it with two letters.

One of the most interesting points in Irish Ecclesiastical history, is the isolation of the Irish Church from the rest of Christendom; an isolation which was not completely put an end to until the conquest in 1171 A.D. There is very little Roman influence to be traced in the first four centuries of its religious history, and so we find that the recognized Christian symbols of Western Europe had no currency.

At Kilfountain, near Dingle, in the midst of a desolate graveyard abandoned to the unbaptized, may be traced the remains of a small oratory, similar to that of Gallarus, and

beside it a pillar stone, bearing a rude cross in a circle. This cross has a sort of finial above, and at the foot a large ornament which is one of the earliest specimens of the divergent spiral. The inscription in Roman letters, is FINTEN, no doubt the name of the saint who founded the church. On the edge are some defaced Oghams.

II.—Primitive Christian Edifices.

In dealing with the primitive Christian edifices of Ireland, I shall confine myself almost entirely to a description of such as exist in a remote corner of Kerry, in a district known as the *Barony of Corcaguiney*, which has been well designated the Baalbec of Ireland. In this barony, which coincides with the peninsula which stretches west from Tralee, a careful writer has enumerated as existing, in the year 1852, eleven cahirs, forty calluraghs or obsolete burial grounds, ten castles, eighteen artificial caves, twenty-one ruined churches, 218 cloghans, sixteen cromlechs, twelve large stone crosses, 376 *raths* or earth forts, 113 *gallauns* or large standing stones, fifty-four monumental pillars (many of them bearing Oghams), fifteen oratories, nine penitential stations, sixty-six holy wells, and twenty-nine miscellaneous remains.

Off the north coast are the low Magheree Islands, while to the west, off Sybill Head, tower the imposing masses of the *Blaskets*, each crowded with early Christian remains. On the north coast is Smerwick Harbour, notorious in Elizabeth's day for the massacre of a Spanish expedition which landed there. To the east of this harbour rises the enormous mass of Brandon Mountain, one of the highest peaks in Ireland, while around the harbour lie Kilmalchedar and Gallarus, two names celebrated in the architectural history of the country.

This little spot of land appears to have borne a not unimportant part also in the early history of Ireland. It was a favourite landing-place for invaders of the country. The Spaniards in the sixteenth century thought that by showing themselves on this distant corner of Irish soil they would encourage revolt among the natives, while the remoteness of the situation, the high ridge of mountains running down the centre, and the nearness of the land-locked harbour of Dingle rendered them safe.

One of the best known of the old Fenian tales, which, if not history, have probably a considerable historical basis, is that of the battle of Ventry Harbour, which tells how an invader landed at Ventry, just west of Dingle, and determined thence to subdue the country. The hero Finn, however, hastened to attack him, and after many battles the intruders were driven off with the loss of all their best men. Then again, there is a well-established tradition to the effect that the high ground between Dingle and Ventry Harbours was the last piece of ground occupied by the Danes in Ireland.

Among the saints of this remarkable district was St. Brendan, born near Tralee, in A.D. 484. After studying under St. Jarlath, at Tuam, and St. Finian, at Clonard, he spent several years in sailing about the Western Ocean, during which voyages, he is supposed to have discovered America. The real truth probably was that he landed on some of the more distant islands of the Hebrides. Until recently there were the remains of a church dedicated to him on the remote island of St. Kilda, off the Scotch coast. He founded monasteries both at Ardfert, in Kerry, and Clonfert, in Galway, while his name is preserved not only in Brandon Mountain, but also in a hill of the name at Inistioge near Kilkenny, and in Brandon Hill in the City of Bristol. An Oratory called after him still exists near the summit of Brandon Mountain, and so much is his memory venerated, that in June, 1868, a special mass in his honour, which was attended by vast crowds of people, was celebrated on the summit of the mountain.

It is only by understanding the pagan monuments that we can hope to understand the Christian edifices which succeeded them. While the change to Christianity from heathendom in England was accompanied by invasions, massacres, wars, and a total break with the civilization of the past, there was in Ireland no such abrupt transition. Christianity was merely engrafted on the existing tribal institutions, and the curious effect of this can, as Sir H. Maine has shown, be traced in all departments of social life. Thus holy islands, holy wells, and holy stones, all of which were holy in heathen times, were adopted by the Church and used for Christian purposes. I shall now endeavour to trace a similar continuity in the buildings of the country.

Beehive huts (*Cloghans*) still exist in considerable numbers near Dingle. They are circular in plan, and are formed of unhewn stones, without cement, each layer projecting a little inwards, until the narrowing space at the top is capped by a single stone. This same false arch principle (which occurs in Hindoo, Etruscan and early Greek buildings, as well as in Central America) is employed in the rath chambers, and is traceable throughout Irish architecture

almost to the present day[1] Now the earliest Christian church existing in Ireland—and, indeed, in the British Isles—is in fact a section of a rath chamber with the outside covering of earth removed. Walking northward from Dingle the road gradually ascends, until after passing the top level Smerwick Harbour stretches in front. Descending towards the harbour, the grand curve of whose sandy outline is broken only by the ruins of a tall castle near the shore, we have some difficulty in finding the tiny building which we seek. for the whole country is so intersected with loosely built walls of grey sandstone that a small edifice of the same material easily escapes detection. However, the ordnance map enables us to look in the right direction, and at last we see the curious grey ridge, like an upturned boat, which tells us that we have found what we are looking for.

"Gallarus is built of stones laid without mortar, and selected with such care and skill that notwithstanding the irregularities of their shape a close-fitting joint is attained. Not only is each stone fitted to its neighbour as far as outline is concerned, but the bed also has been considered, which is at such an angle to the plane of the building as to prevent the ingress of rain, and each stone is so fitted that, although in some instances movable by hand, displacement would be impossible without violence. This building is 23 feet by 10 feet (interior measures 15 feet by 8 feet) and 16 feet to ridge of roof, which is covered by converging corbelled stones, wrought, and I believe, sawn on the external face."

"The doorway has on the lintel inside two perforated stones, which evidently have some connection with the mode of securing the opening from the inside. My impression is that a lifting shutter with two horns was used as a door which could be secured at the bottom by a traverse. The window at the east end shows a curious combination of complex joining and rude masonry. Over this window are several projecting stones, the use of which I cannot pretend to say. At either end of the edge are sockets, evidently for crosses."[2]

Close by is an upright stone with a cross and an inscription which is presumed to be the grave of the founder, Columba, while about a quarter of a mile to the north is a curious collection of ruined bee-hive huts, which may have been the residence of the religious community, but this is doubtful. The ground round the oratory is carefully cultivated except the small oblong patch in which the building stands, and it is more probable that the monastic buildings have long since been cleared away and that their remains are to be found in the loose stone walls around.

There are a considerable number of remains of similar buildings within a short distance, but this one alone is perfect. Not far to the south I saw the remains of one, and a little to the north at Kilmalchedar there is a much more perfect building of this kind with its altar still *in situ*. According to Brash, the section of this last oratory is an ogee arch. On some of the islands of the west coast of Ireland the remains may be found of oratories still more rude than that of Gallarus. Thus on *Bishop's Island* off the Clare coast is an oratory of St. Senan, 18 feet by 12 feet, which outside shows straight sloping walls and with a roof above, while remains of similar buildings are found on Inisglora and other islands. A very peculiar building of the same type, but with straight inclined wall roofed at the top with flags occurs at Rona, one of the Hebrides.

Oratories such as those I have described were usually surrounded by a group of beehive cells in which resided the monks, while the whole was hemmed in by a strong wall called the cashel. That beehive houses of this kind had existed long before the introduction of Christianity is certain, but many improvements appear to have been introduced by the Monks. Thus over the door of their cells five or seven white stones in the form of a cross are frequently found, which at once proclaim their purpose. Then again, inasmuch as a round house, although easy to build, is somewhat inconvenient, a way was found of combining the advantages of both plans by making the house round or oval outside, but square or oblong within. Moreover, in order to diminish the pressure on the roof, the plan of building in steps was adopted, a good example of which occurs on Bishop's Island, near the oratory already alluded to. Although these cells and oratories alike are built without cement, it is difficult to believe that they ever could have been used unless plastered in some way either inside or out. As I stood in the little oratory of Gallarus one warm June day, I could everywhere see light and feel draught through its walls, and the same is the case with the cloghans which I have visited. If this was the case in June, one can imagine the effect in December, and can almost realize the feeling which induced Brash to write, "I can scarcely imagine that an educated saint of our

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[1] I have already referred to one instance near New Grange. A bath house, vaulted on this principle, and erected in the seventeenth century, still does duty at St. Patrick's Well, at Struel, near Downpatrick. Somewhat earlier is a very interesting turret at Auchnanure Castle, near Oughterard, the roof of which is most beautifully built.

[2] Report of the Public Works Commissioners Ireland, 1877-8.

primitive church would take up his abode in so comfortless a dwelling." In many houses of this kind, projecting stones have been left at intervals on the outside, and it may well be that these were used to fasten on thatch, sods or plaster.

Monastic Cashels—The monastic fortress was a very different building from the secular cahir from which it took its rise. While the cahir was regular in shape and was generally surrounded by two or three walls, the cashel was of such a shape as could best comprehend the buildings of the monastery, and consisted of a single wall.

Usually the area was a more or less irregular oval of 140 feet diameter. The inner side of the wall of the fort was usually lower than the outside, and was furnished with steps and a banquette. The wall of the monastery, on the contrary, was not meant for active defence, but its principal object was to shut its occupants out from the world. It had no banquette and was often higher inside than outside. Bede, in describing the monastery erected by Cuthbert on Lindisfarne, says that the mound around his house was so high that from thence he could see nothing but heaven, while in another place Bede distinctly states that the wall inside was higher than outside.

Islands.—The setting apart of Islands, especially small Islands, for religious purposes was very common among nations of antiquity—*e.g.*, Delos to Apollo, Cythera to Venus, Rhodes to the Sun. In India all the islands in the Ganges were sacred, and there is another well-known instance at Elephanta, near Bombay. Philæ, in the Nile, was another, and Anglesea and Bardsey, in Wales. The same is the case in Ireland, the whole coast of which is fringed with them—the Skelligs, Valentia and the Blaskets off Kerry, Bishop's Island off Clare, the Arran Islands, Inisboffin, St. Mac Dara's, Ardoilean and Innismurray, Tory off the North Coast, Holm Patrick, and Ireland's Eye. In the Shannon we have Scattery Island with its curious serpent legend, St. Molua's near Killaloe, and many others. Lough Derg, in Donegal (St. Patrick's Purgatory) is a world-renowned place of pilgrimage, an account of a visit to which by a Knight of Rhodes in 1396 is still extant. All large Loughs, as for example, Neagh, Erne, Corrib, Mask, Killarney, and Cork Harbour, had their sacred islands.

Churches with Cement.—All the buildings hitherto noticed are built without cement, and as a consequence of its absence the walls are never perpendicular. The stones used are never squared, and are, generally speaking, untouched by any tool. A typical specimen of the earliest buildings, in which mortar is used, is a building known as *Leabba Molagga* (Molagga's bed), near Mitchelstown. Its interior dimensions are 10 feet by 7 feet 2 inches, and the walls are 2 feet 9 inches thick. The roof is gone. The stones are squared and neatly fitted. The interior of the wall is filled with grouting, consisting of small stones over which mortar has been poured. A curious feature of this, and many other early erections, is the prolongation of the walls, east and west, into short *antæ*, this prolongation being usually of the full thickness and always of the full height of the wall. The walls are perpendicular. The western doorway is formed of three stones with inclined jambs. The east window has disappeared.

Another interesting example is the oratory of St. Molua, on an island in the Shannon below Killaloe. The original building forming the chancel of the existing structure, measures only 10 feet 6 inches by 6 feet 6 inches, the walls being 3 feet thick. The eastern window is small and bonnet-headed, widely splayed on the inside. The roof is formed on the false arch principle, the stones being dressed to the rake of the roof, which is very steep. The stones used in some cases are 3 feet long, and they vary from 4 feet to 9 inches in depth, and are so laid as to exclude rain. Under the ridge is a rectangular chamber, 2 feet by 1 foot 3 inches, having communication with the exterior, and having also communication with the interior, by means of a man-hole at the west end. This passage, which is very neatly formed, served as a ventilator, and also relieved the heavy weight of the roof. The western doorway was removed when this oratory became the chancel to a nave, which was added at a comparatively early date. This nave is 21 feet 5 inches by 12 feet 7 inches clear of the walls, but it has in great part disappeared, while the older oratory is intact. However, drawings made before the west front fell, show a doorway similar to that at Leabba Mollagga. There is strong reason to believe that this oratory was the original building erected by St. Lua, in the sixth century, and if so it is one of the oldest Christian edifices still standing in Ireland.

The next class of buildings is typified by St. Kevin's Kitchen, at Glendalough. It is 22 feet 7 inches by 14 feet 10 inches, clear of the walls, which are 3 feet 7 inches thick. The walls have a batter, and there is an eaves-course 11 feet from the ground. The western doorway has a flat lintel, with a relieving arch above. In the lintel on the outside are two circular mortices, which no doubt helped to keep a door in place. The upper part of the original east window may still be seen, but at a latter period the lower part was cut away to form a chancel arch. This opening, 5 feet 2 inches wide, is merely cut through the masonry, and rounded at the top. There is no supporting arch. But the roof is the most interesting part of this building. This is formed by a true arch of semi-circular section, 19 feet 6 inches, from the floor to the

crown. Above this is the steep stone roof, the chamber between the two having a pointed roof. The stones are dressed in the same careful way as those in St. Molua's. On the west end of the roof is perched a miniature round tower, which appears to be an addition to the original structure. The chancel is gone, but the little sacristy on its north side is a curious specimen of transition to the true arch, the vaulted roof being formed at its springing on the overlaid principle, and above on the true arch principle.

Characteristics of Early Churches.—I have thus endeavoured to show you the plans and proportions of Irish churches, from the earliest times up to the introduction of the Romanesque style, about the year 1000 A.D. There are scores of churches in Ireland still existing, which were built between the time of St Patrick and that date, while in Great Britain, hardly one is left. The distinctive features of these early churches are—(1) a simple oblong plan, (2) doorways with lintels and inclined jambs, (3) stone roofs even in the smallest churches. Mr. Freeman, in a passage which has frequently been quoted, expresses an opinion that these buildings may well be modelled on the rude temples in which the early Christians celebrated the rites of religion before Christianity became the religion of the Empire. They are certainly the earliest Christian edifices now existing in the north of Europe.

As regards minor details, (4) there is seldom a *chancel*, and (5) never an *apse* to these churches. (6) The *windows* are small, and in the earlier and ruder buildings, such as St. Breccan's in Arran, and Trinity Church, Glendalough, the windows are triangular headed. Even when rounded-headed windows are found, the heads are often cut out of one piece of stone, as at St. Mc Dara's, off the coast of Connemara, and Kill Enda, in Arran. Windows as well as doors are often built with sloping jambs. When the true arch was introduced, the trabeated construction seems to have been preferred, and thus we find flat-headed doorways with relieving arches, as at St. Kevin's, Glendalough. Sometimes these trabeated doorways are ornamented more or less elaborately. Thus, at *Temple Martin*, near Dingle, is a doorway, the outside face of which is sunk in the stone, while all round the inner edge runs a bold roll moulding. At *Banagher* (Londonderry) the doorway is set in an ashlared wall, and is surrounded on its three sides by a heavy square projection, which produces a most curious effect, while on the inside, a relieving arch is seen. At *Maghera*, in the same county, is a similar doorway, elaborately carved with the Crucifixion. The Saviour is stretched on the cross: at the sides are two figures bearing lance and sponge; beyond, the disciples and the women; while all down the sides the interlacements and spirals of Irish art are mingled with the figure of a saint slaying a demon.

The last point to be noticed in the early Irish style is the *arches*. These churches never have aisles, and the arches in each church consist either of relieving arches over doorways, or chancel arches. The earliest type has absolutely no division between the jamb and the arch, and in such buildings as St. Kevin's Kitchen, and St. Columba's House at Kells, the barrel-vault springs straight from the wall without a moulding of any kind. Later we find a slight plain impost, and later still it is enlarged and chamfered.

III.—Irish Romanesque.

By far the oldest literature of any northern European language is the Irish. There is no other which can at all compare with it. The oldest Anglo-Saxon poem, the *Romance of Beowulf*, dates indeed from the fifth century, but Anglo-Saxon is after all not English. As to France, the language spoken up to the eighth century was either Latin or Celtic, not French. But the *Chanson de Roland* dates only from the eleventh century, while the Italian language was first employed in literature by Dante early in the fourteenth century.

But as I have already stated, we have in Ireland a literature on an extensive scale far earlier than any of them, and the art of writing was cultivated there probably long before the time of St. Patrick. How thoroughly the scribe's art was understood in Ireland is proved by the *Book of Kells* still in existence, and one of the most complete and splendid specimens of penmanship that the world has ever produced. This wonderful book dates back, according to the best authorities to about the year 670 A.D. Another line of art in which the Irish greatly excelled, even in pagan times, was in the manufacture of metal work and articles of jewellery, and nowhere is there such a fine collection of jewellery of early Christian times as in the Royal Irish Academy. The work is of the finest and most intricate kind, and it appears that this art also reached its culmination in the seventh or eighth century.

Now, the point to which I wish to call attention is, that it was some two or three centuries after the production in Ireland of the wonderful illumination of the *Book of Kells*, and the intricate patterns of the Tara Brooch, before the Irish were able to apply the same system of

ornamentation to stone. I must leave it to those who are better acquainted with comparative archæology than I am, to say whether or not this is in accordance with the experience of other nations, but beyond a few roll mouldings there is no evidence that carved stone work of older date than the Romanesque ever existed in Ireland.

When the Romanesque was introduced into Ireland is not known. Most of the annals of Ireland were written in the north and middle of the island, while the south is comparatively bare of historians. On the other hand most of the Romanesque buildings are in the south, and so it happens that the chronicles do not help us very much. However, we have a record that King Brian Borume, in 1007 A.D., erected the churches at Killaloe and near Tomgraney. The church which he built at Killaloe is doubtless that known as St. Flannan's which stands just north of the present cathedral in the same churchyard. It is of the usual type, 29 feet by 17 feet, with a barrel vault having above it a chamber with a window at each end. The church itself has a small window on each side. The only ornamented portion is the west doorway, of two orders the outer one only having shafts. The jambs incline inwards, and the walls are built with a slight batter also. The chancel is gone.

As I have already stated, in noticing the primitive Irish churches, the partiality of the builders for a stone roof has had the effect of limiting their size and determining the general plan. This partiality shows itself equally in Romanesque work, though there are other reasons which served to keep Irish churches of small dimensions.

The following seem to have been the steps by which the construction advanced :—

I. Single curved roof on the false arch principle springing from the ground, as at Gallarus.

II. Single straight roof springing from top of a wall, and containing a chamber to relieve the weight, as at St. Molua's, Killaloe.

III. Double roof, the inner a true arch and the other a straight pointed roof on the false arch principle, as at St. Kevin's, Glendalough, and St. Columba's, Kells.

IV. Double roof, both arches on the radiating principle, as at Cormac's Chapel, Cashel.

But in spite of every care the weight and thrust of such roofs must be very great, and it is no wonder that so many have fallen in. Moreover the churches so constructed must be very dark unless lighted from the ends, for the builders were of course afraid to weaken the side walls by introducing windows, and thus there is rarely more than one small opening on each side.

As this system of construction became more developed, the chamber above the roof got larger and was in many cases used as an anchorite's cell. At St. Kevin's the only entrance is a hole in the vaulted ceiling, but later, as at Cormac's Chapel we find a winding staircase giving access to the chambers. At St. Columba's House at Kells, the apartment is entered also by a hole in the vault. It is 19 feet long, and divided into three apartments by cross walls and arches. The roof is ogee shaped, finished on the top by a flat stone, and so narrow that one must keep in the middle in order to walk upright. On the floor is a stone, still known by tradition as St. Columba's bed, although it is doubtful if that saint ever resided there. But however that may be, there can be no doubt that it was used as an anchorite's cell.

Ireland was, in fact, from the earliest ages, a great resort of anchorites. A large number of parishes and town lands in Ireland contain the name Desert or Dysart, such as Desert-Martin, Killadysart. These deserts signify the abode of hermits, and it would seem that in many cases hermitages were attached to monasteries, and that these chambers were used for this purpose.

At Dysert O'Dea (St. Tola's Desert) is a fine doorway, 3 feet 1 inch wide, of four orders springing successively from an octagonal pier, a square pier, a round and another square, having sculptured capitals and bases which are much defaced; but the square surfaces were covered with a surface enrichment of interlaced work. As to the arch, the outer order bears grotesque human and animal heads, the next a chevron ornament, the third, a curious scolloped pattern, and the fourth, a zigzag, terminating in curious heads either of man or serpent.

Kilmalchedar.—This is one of the best specimens of Romanesque Architecture which we possess. The name is one of those on which Mr. Marcus Keane relies for proving the Cuthite origin of many Irish edifices. He interprets the name as the Temple of the Golden Moloch. But putting aside this, we find an entry in the Martyrology of Donegal, as follows:—"A.D. 636. Maolcethair, son of Ronain, son of the King of Uladh (Ulster), of Cill Melchedair, near the shore of the sea, to the west of Brandon Hill. He was of the race of Fiatach Finn, Monarch of Erin." His oratory is still standing a little north of the church. The church consists of nave and chancel, both of which have been stone roofed, while the springing of the roof still remains. The nave is 27 feet by 17 feet clear of the walls, and the chancel arch is 5 feet 2 inches wide. The side walls are 3 feet 8 inches thick and terminate at the west end in antæ 1 foot 9 inches broad and 10 inches in projection. The most remarkable feature of the interior

is a succession of sunk panels, divided by semi-columns with scolloped capitals and moulded bases. These rest on a projecting stringcourse, 8 feet from the ground and are six in number. The second from the east on either side contains a small window. The chancel is of later date.

Irish Ornament.—As I have already stated, the oldest specimens of Irish ornament, are found in illuminated MSS. and jewellery. The principal classes of ornament are as follows:—

I. *Interlacements:* A single band or a number of bands interlaced symmetrically, so as to form a great variety of patterns.

II. *The divergent Spiral:* One, two, or three fine spiral lines wind round and round one another and meet in the centre, while their other ends form fresh spirals.

III. *Representation of animals*, lizards, birds, serpents and dogs, often stretched out lengthwise to an absurd extent, and interlaced with each other, while their tails, tongues, etc., are drawn out into bands and also interlaced. A grotesque human head, the hair of which is drawn out into bands of this kind, is a very common ornament at the corner of a capital.

IV. *Fretwork and key pattern* in endless variety.

Now, one peculiarity of these Irish Romanesque doorways is that a great deal of engraved ornament is scattered over them, ornament of the shallow kind, which never or but seldom appears in Romanesque work in other countries and seems to be distinctly derived from the same motif as that of book decoration.

The *windows* are generally small, and the principal ones are to be found at the east end, where they very often form a pair closely adjoining one another. Such a pair exists at Clonfert. Each is 8 feet high by 12½ inches wide; but so great is the splay, that on the inside of the wall the width is 7 feet 6 inches. The stone work is of the most excellent description and the inside sills finish with a stringcourse, on which rest the bases of three shafts which run up the sides and terminate in carved caps.

As the churches never have aisles, the principal interior ornament is the chancel arch, and on this all the decorative power at the command of the artist was lavished. There is a very fine arch of this character at Tuam, 15 feet 8 inches wide, all the arch members being richly carved. The most curious points about it are, however, the capitals of the supporting shafts, which have no counterparts in France or England. Indeed, the only things at all resembling them in art, are the extraordinary perversions of the human form and features so common in Irish manuscripts.

The antæ of the earlier church are sometimes retained, but often they are replaced by angle shafts running up the sides of the building and terminated by sculptural capitals.

In doorways, the inclined jambs of the earlier buildings are often found and the bases and capitals project less than in English Romanesque. Often several columns group together and a single entablature unites them all at the top. Porches are very rare.

IV.—Round Towers.

These most interesting buildings are, no doubt, well known to all of you from photographs or drawings. They are tall slender towers of about the same general plan, but varying considerably in detail. It will be better perhaps to take an example and describe it. The tower at *Kilmacduagh*, Co. Clare, is 18 feet in outside diameter at the base and 95 feet high to the eaves, the stone roof rising 17 feet higher, The base to the height of 12 feet is of roughly dressed stone in large blocks closely fitted, and in some cases interlocked. One of the blocks measures 8 feet by 2 feet 5 inches. The masonry generally is of good rubble work, with a few spauls.

In one or two cases only is the doorway at the ground level, but in this instance it is no less than 26 feet from the ground, the highest of any tower. It is of squared ashlar, the semi-circular head being formed of three stones. The jambs slope, the width being 2 feet 10 inches at the base, and the height to the soffit of the arch is 6 feet 10 inches. The wall is here 4 feet 4 inches thick. At the base of the tower the thickness of the wall is 6 feet 5 inches, while at the top it narrows to 3 feet 4 inches. On the level of the door is an offset 12 inches wide to sustain the floor, while six offsets at regular intervals above probably marked the position of six more floors. Of these offsets however, four are only 4 inches wide, and the others 6 inches wide, too narrow it would seem to support a floor without aid. In each story is a small window near where the floor would be, one is over the door and the others face in all directions, but on the top floor there are six windows, the usual number being four only. All these windows are square-headed internally, but triangular-headed on the outside. They are of squared ashlar with sloping jambs. This tower had long been in a dangerous condition, being very much out of the perpendicular, and about 1859 the cap and

some 30 feet of the walling on the south side fell in. In 1878, Mr. T. N. Deane (now Sir Thomas Deane), the Architect to the Irish Board of Works, found the remainder in a very dangerous condition, and he restored it as far as possible to its original condition. In order to place a lightning rod on the tower he found it necessary to excavate the débris which filled the interior below the door. After clearing away all the rubbish, he found that the foundations went down only 2 feet below the ground level, and that the footings on the outside extended only 1 foot 8 inches beyond the line of the wall. The tower was built on the soft earth of a graveyard, and he actually discovered three skeletons *in situ*, the bodies lying east and west.

Of these towers 118 were still in existence at the beginning of this century, but at the present 76 only are to be found, the greater number of which are in a very ruined state, 11 only being fairly perfect.

Miss Stokes, the latest writer on the subject, divides these towers into four classes according to the character of the masonry and of the doors and windows :—

I. The oldest class is formed of rough field stones embedded in coarse mortar, the doors and windows of roughly dressed stone, and square-headed.

II. The stones are hammer-dressed, but the doors and windows show the first idea of an arch.

III. In the third class the masonry is laid in horizontal courses, well dressed, and carefully rounded to the curve of the wall. The openings are of finer stone than the rest of the building, with occasional pellet on roll mouldings.

IV. The fourth class shows fine ashlar work with enriched doorways and corbels.

The round tower of Kilmacduagh, which I have described, is a specimen of the second class, and perhaps the most perfect specimen. Of the fourth class is *Ardmore*, on the Waterford coast, a very graceful tower 95 feet high, built of very good ashlar. It is divided on the outside by bold torus mouldings into four unequal stories, and a similar moulding surrounds the arris of the doorway.

That these towers were ecclesiastical in their origin and uses had never been doubted by Sir James Ware, and other early antiquaries of Ireland. Fascinated by the peculiar and weird appearance, and entirely separating them from the other antiquities around, the antiquaries of eighty years ago persuaded themselves that these buildings were of fabulous antiquitity, and were erected by *Cuthites* or some other remote and eastern nation. The ideas which are even now held on the subject by many people in Ireland, are embodied in a poem of Denis Florence MacCarthy, who speaks of them as follows :—

> "Here blazed the sacred fire, and when the sun was gone,
> As a star from afar to the traveller it shone,
> And the warm blood of the victim, have these grey old temples drunk,
> And the death-song of the Druid, and the matin of the Monk."

It will suffice to say of the authors of these views that they had never studied Irish architecture—or the large body of Irish literature still remaining. They began by forming their opinion as to the towers, and proceeded by all sorts of garbled facts and misunderstood quotations to bolster up their theory. Those were the days of deductive reasoning, and nowhere was the absurdity of the method, as applied, more clearly shown than in this case. One of General Valencey's most conclusive arguments was to range a number of Irish words side by side with a number of Japanese words, with the object of showing that the two languages, and consequently the two people were identical. To use a phrase of Curran's, these writers "Hopped with airy and fantastic levity over fact and argument, and perched on assertion which they called conclusion"—a method of ratiocination which is hardly extinct even now. Later on some antiquaries of the same school did incidentally some very useful work, for in clearing out the lower portions of some of the towers they found human remains underneath.

The foundation of real archæology in Ireland was laid by Dr. Petrie, the son of a Scotchman settled in Ireland. He was originally a painter, but gave up most of his life to archæology. In 1830, the Royal Irish Academy offered a prize for the best essay on the round towers. This was won by Petrie in an essay which entirely revolutionized Irish archæology, for he it was who first applied the inductive method to the subject.

He began by a careful investigation of the prehistoric remains, especially the forts or cahirs, and by a thorough examination of the early Christian edifices. The records were also carefully examined for all reference to buildings of any kind. These investigations made it abundantly clear :

I. That there is not the slightest reason to suppose that the Irish, prior to the introduction of Christianity, were acquainted with the arch or with the use of mortar.

II. That in no buildings of Ireland, assigned to pagan times, have any of the characteristic features of the round towers been found, nor is there reason to suppose that the builders of pagan times possessed sufficient skill to construct such edifices.

III. That round towers are invariably associated with ecclesiastical buildings, and that they were built for ecclesiastical purposes.

These are Petrie's main conclusions, but his further conclusion, that many of these towers date from the earliest Christian times is not now thought correct. Indeed, there can be little doubt that the earliest date from the ninth century. Steeples seem to have formed no part of the primitive Christian churches of Ireland.

Bearing in mind the copiousness of the Irish annals, one naturally turns to them for information. *Giraldus Cambrensis*, who wrote about 1200 A.D., speaks of "ecclesiastical towers, which, according to the custom of the country, are slender and lofty." It is evident then that round towers existed in his day.

Hitherto we have seen Ireland left to herself, and indeed it seems clear, that from the Christian era to the end of the eighth century, she was practically undisturbed by foreign interference. During all that time civilization had had time to grow, and thus, as is well known, the Irish schools were the resort of learned men and scholars from all Europe, while Irish missionaries had evangelized Scotland, the north of England, Germany, Burgundy, and Northern Italy. On the other hand, this splendid opportunity had led to little improvement in secular affairs. The annals are often little more than accounts of murders and "hostings." and dissension, while the Irish had not attained the idea that private crime was a proper subject for public punishment. On a people thus divided against itself, the Danes exercised by far greater influence than they did over England. In 787, the Saxon chronicle records the first landing of the Danes in England, and in 798 A.D., they first appeared off Ireland and plundered Lambay Island. The first regular invasion was in A.D. 818, under Turgesius, or Thorgils, who seems to have formed a regular system for conquering the country and extirpating Christianity. But in 845, Thorgils was slain by Malachy, and for nigh forty years the land was free from the Danes. It was probably during this interval that round towers were erected.

These buildings were admirably adapted for passive defence in an age when the means of attack were slight. The double door was secured with sheets of iron, and was so high above the ground that approach to it by an enemy was almost impossible. As long as provisions and water held out the inmates were safe. The abbey buildings might blaze, but inside the tower its inhabitants were safe from the flames. These towers were also well adapted for giving warning of the approach of a foe. while no doubt the sacred vessels were generally kept there. The earliest mention in history of these towers is given in the annals of the Four Masters, under the date 948 A.D. :—

> The belfry of Slane was burnt by the foreigners, with its full of relics and distinguished persons, together with Caineacher, lector of Slane, and the crosier of the patron saint, and a bell, the best of bells.

And again, in the annals of Clonmacnoise under the year 981, we read :—

> There was such boysterous stormy winds this year that it fell doun many turretts, and, among the rest, it fell doun violently the steeples of Louth and other steeples.

The first passage shows the use of the towers, and it also shows that, admirably as these towers were usually fitted for their work, they sometimes failed before the prowess of the Dane. We also find records of the fall of the tower at Clonard, which, if it had no better foundations than that at Kilmacduagh, is hardly a matter for surprise.

In Miss Stokes' "Early Christian Architecture in Ireland" will be found an interesting map, on which the round towers are all marked, and an examination of that map shows that the greater number of the towers are found either on the coast or in the great river valleys which gave the Danish ships access to the interior of the country Thus, the valleys of the Boyne, Liffey, Barrow and Nore appear to have possessed as many as forty of these structures.

The towers appear to have been built during the time that the use of the arch was coming in, the successive stages being well illustrated, until, in the case of Kildare and others, the tower is furnished with a richly ornamented Romanesque doorway.

That these towers were used for bells is very probable, but this was not their primary use. The Irish bells are always small, and the openings in the towers were not well adapted to let out sound.

V.—The Rock of Cashel.

If there is one spot more than another which is typical of Irish architecture it is the Rock of Cashel. The golden vale of Tipperary is the richest grazing ground in Ireland, and the rock rises precipitously from the middle of it to the height of 300 feet. Some miles north, at Templemore, is a gap in a mountain called the Devil's Bit, and the legend is that the Devil took a bite out of the mountain, and, not finding it to his taste, spat it out again at what is now Cashel.

Nowhere in the United Kingdom is there a group of ancient buildings so striking as those of this Mediæval Ecclesiastical Acropolis. They consist of a cathedral with central tower and transepts, and having a castle of imposing height in the place of the nave. Attached to the north transept is a very perfect specimen of a round tower; while in the same position on the south side is Cormac's Chapel, with its high roof and towers. Near is the vicar's house, and the cross at which the Kings of Munster were crowned, and the whole is surrounded by a battlemented wall of the fifteenth century. The south is the only accessible side, and the entry is through a gateway. The cathedral and lower part of castle dates from about 1270 A.D., and were probably built by Archbishop McCarwill. From the earliest times Cashel must have been a place of great importance, and its possession must have been sufficient to secure its owner the supremacy in the south, just as the hill forts of Grianan and Emania (Armagh) gave the supremacy of the north to the O'Neils.

Its name was originally Fairy's Hill, and the lives of St. Patrick relate his visit to the King Ænghus. The rock was then a seat of idol worship, but when the saint arose in the morning all the idols had fallen prostrate. The Kings of Cashel were in many cases bishops also, a circumstance which has many analogies and consequences in Irish history, into which I cannot now go, but it accounts for the fact that the rock was gradually encroached on, and at last wholly absorbed by the church. One of these king-bishops was Cormac O'Cullinan, who was killed on a warlike expedition into Leinster, and of whom the Four Masters say that, "his loss was mournful, for he was a king, a bishop, an anchorite, a scribe, and profoundly versed in the Scotic tongue."

In 1101 A.D. it is recorded that Muircheartach Ua Briain "made a grant such as no king had ever made before; namely, he granted Caiseal of the Kings to the religious, without any claim of laymen or clergymen on it, but the religious of Ireland in general."

The next king was Cormac McCarthy, who in 1127 was driven out of his kingdom by Turlough O'Connor, King of Connaught. He appears to have begun the chapel before this date. Cormac took refuge at Lismore, where he founded two churches, and accepted a "bachall." This may mean either that he became a bishop, or that he went on a pilgrimage, but, however that may be, in 1133 he raised an army, invaded Munster, and resumed his sway at Cashel.

Then we have in no less than three of the chronicles an account under the year 1134 of the consecration of a church. The annals of Innisfallen say:

"The consecration of the church of Cormac McCarthy at Cashel by the archbishop and bishops of Munster, and by the magnates of Ireland, both lay and ecclesiastical."

Cormac's reign was spent in fighting the King of Connaught. At last, in 1138, he was assassinated, and the annals of Innisfallen in recording the event describe him as a "man who had continual contention for the sovereignty of the entire province of Munster, and the most pious, most brave, and most liberal of victuals and clothing, after having built the church called Teampull Chormaic in Cashel, and two churches in Lismore, was treacherously murdered by Dermot Sugach O'Connor."

It is interesting to note that the two oldest edifices now existing on the rock, viz., the round tower and the chapel, are of free stone, while the others are of local limestone. The material is laid in courses of small ashlar, neatly dressed and laid with but little mortar. "I have seldom," says Mr. Brash, "seen a better executed piece of masonry, despite the weather wear of over seven hundred years."

It consists of a nave and chancel with altar recess, and two towers of unequal size and height between nave and chancel. An overcroft runs over both parts of the church.

The southern elevation is divided by string courses into four orders. The lowest consists of three arched panels and a doorway, all the arches being enriched with zig-zag mouldings, while the tympanum of the doorway represents a curious animal in bold relief. Above is a bold string course with the remains of another arcade corresponding to the arches underneath, while the third story has eight smaller arches. The fourth story consists of eight columns with carved caps resting on a string course, ornamented with the ball ornament. These columns and projecting leads between, support a corbel-table. The chancel is divided into three stories, but the middle one only is arcaded.

The south tower is 68 feet high, but the original stone roof is gone. It is one story higher, but considerably less in diameter than the north tower which retains its roof. The string courses and arcades in it, however, correspond exactly. There are seven string courses on the south tower, the one corresponding to the eaves-course being enriched with a ball moulding, above which is an arcade. A characteristic feature is a small window in the arcade on the east side. It is round-headed with inclined jambs, and splayed on the outside, the splay being continued round the sill.

The comparatively plain door on the south is represented on the north side by a fine porch —a very rare feature in Ireland. It projects 4 feet from the external face of the wall, and is 7 feet 10 inches deep in all. The bases and capitals are carved, the outer and the inner arch, each of three orders. The tympanum represents a man shooting a centaur. The space between the porch and the tower is occupied by an arched recess with a pentice roof, which almost covers the north wall, and shows only the top order, corresponding with that on the south side. When the chapel was first built, the space now occupied by the cathedral was probably the court of the King's palace. Thus the south porch was then more important than the north, and was consequently more elaborate.

Entering the building, we find that the nave is 30 feet by 18 feet. The wall is of two orders, the lower consisting of parallel recesses with arched heads, ornamented by chevrons, the piers supporting the arches being also ornamented. Above is a deep stringcourse, chamfered on the under side, resting on which, are stout three-quarter columns with moulded bases and fluted capitals, from which spring the seven square ribs on which the barrel vault rests. There is an elaborate doorway into the north tower, and a plainer one into the south tower. The whole arrangement is similar to that at Kilmalchedar, only more elaborate.

The chancel is separated from the nave by an elaborate arch, which is not in the centre of the nave, but much to the south of it. The arch is of three orders, and some of the shafts are twisted, while a moulding of human heads runs round the outside.

The chancel is 15 feet 8 inches by 11 feet 6 inches, and is groined with diagonal ribs moulded, the boss at the intersection being four human heads. The east wall has five human heads, while underneath them another forms the key-stone of an arch. The altar recess is panelled round by richly ornamented arcading, forming a reredos; and lately, remains of two small windows have been found, one on each side, evidently intended to throw a much-needed light on the altar.

The apartment over the nave is 27 feet by 16 feet 6 inches at the floor line, and its acutely pointed vault is 21 feet high. The lining of the vault is on the true arch principle, and is constructed of tufa, with a view to lightness. At the west end is a large fire-place. This apartment was lighted by two windows on the south side and two in the east gable. Descending a few steps, a similar chamber, but of smaller size, over the chancel is entered.

NOTE.—Those who are desirous of obtaining a general knowledge of the subject treated above are referred to "Early Christian Art in Ireland," written by Miss M. Stokes, and published as one of the South Kensington Handbooks.

ECCLESIASTICAL HEAD-DRESS.

BY

CHARLES BROWNE, M.A., F.S.A.

When, in response to a request of our excellent Secretary that I should find some subject on which to address you at one of our meetings, I set to work to consider what subject of interest to our Society I could possibly find that had not been already thoroughly discussed and treated in our Transactions, it occurred to me that, although incidental allusions had occasionally been made to that upon which I am about to address to you a few observations this evening, we have not had from any of those experts in Ritual, whom it is our great pride and pleasure to number amongst our members, any separate paper or address on the subject of Ecclesiastical Head-dress; and so I ventured to think that, although very far from pretending to be myself an expert in such matters, I might, nevertheless, put together a few notes and make a few observations upon the subject which might possibly give you some interest, even though they may do nothing more than bring together under one head several matters with which you may be already more or less acquainted, but which have not often been made the subject of a separate treatise or paper.

It is very natural, considering the dignity and importance of the head as the chief member of the human body, that it should have been from the earliest times considered worthy of especial honour and distinction; and accordingly, from the very dawn of civilisation, and in pre-historic times of unknown date, as well as all through those periods with which we have some kind of acquaintance through historical and monumental records. more or less trustworthy, down to our own day, the adornment and decoration of the head has been one of the principal means by which those persons who have inherited or otherwise attained to a recognised superiority over their fellows have been distinguished and marked out for the honour, the reverence and veneration, the "worship"—in the old English sense of the term—of those of inferior rank or condition.

Thus, in our own country, and in our own language, "*The Crown*" is commonly used as the synonym for the Sovereign; and "Crown-lands," "Crown-rights," and the revenues and possessions of "the Crown" are phrases far more frequently used than those connecting the same matters with the name of "the King" or "the Queen;" and one official representative of the Sovereign, whose duties were formerly of even a more important character than those which he still exercises, bears a name directly derived from the Crown; the Coroner, or as he is often called by rustics, who have not forgotten the earlier forms of the English tongue, "the Crowner."

The most remarkable event, however, connected with the significance of "the Crown" as the symbol of supreme Sovereignty, and which may well be regarded as having a deep ecclesiastical, as well as secular, signification, is that most striking action constituting one of the most important, or perhaps *the* most important, epoch in the later history of Western Europe, when, on the Christmas day of the year 800, the Pope Leo III. stepped down from the High Altar of the Great Basilica of St. Peter at Rome, and there, as if prompted by a sudden inspiration from on high, placed on the head of Charles the Great, there kneeling in prayer before the Altar, a crown of gold, and proclaimed him Emperor, thereby inaugurating that Holy Roman Empire, which lasted through a thousand years, down to almost our own

days, when it was destroyed by that other mighty warrior, Napoleon, for the purpose of setting up a new Empire that he fondly thought would be still more lasting than that of Charlemagne, and which we have seen twice within this century set up, and twice utterly overthrown, with slight hopes of any of its most ardent supporters living to see a third wearer of that poor mockery of an Imperial Crown.

I have said that the Coronation of Charles the Great had an ecclesiastical significance, and I think I am entitled to treat, in his case at least, and that of his successors, the Imperial Crown as an Ecclesiastical Head-dress, seeing that it was held that, by the coronation which was always performed by the Pope in person, or by a special Dignitary deputed for that purpose. Charles and all his successors who wore that sacred Imperial Crown were *ipso facto* admitted to the order of sub-deacon.

There is not, perhaps, in matters Ecclesiastical, in Christian times at least, any instance of the head-dress of a chief dignitary being used as a synonym for the wearer. But in Pagan times there is a precisely parallel case to that of the Crown being put for the Sovereign in the name of the highest of all the priestly order in the Roman hierarchy, viz., the Flamen Dialis.

The Flamens were those who were attached to the service of some one single Deity, and formed the highest order of the Priesthood, and of these the one whose duty it was to attend to the sacrificial rites in honour of the chief of all the Gods, Jupiter, was the highest in rank. His title was Flamen Dialis—the priest of Jupiter. But the word "Flamen" means merely one who wears a fillet or band round his head, and is derived from *filum*, a thread of different bright colours which was woven into a kind of riband which was tied round the head, and with which the Apex, the special badge of his priesthood, was firmly secured on the Flamen's head.

It is not surprising, seeing the great importance which was attached to the covering for the head and the mode of dressing the hair in the case of great dignitaries, that very strict and minute rules and directions should be laid down concerning this important branch of ritual observance in the performance of sacred offices. But it is remarkable how those rules and directions not only differed, but were entirely contradictory in different nations and races of mankind.

Thus, amongst the Hebrews the essential mark of reverence in the performance of sacred rites was to cover the head, as those who have attended a service at a Jewish Synagogue well know. And as is also illustrated by St. Paul's allusion (2 Cor. iii. 14) to the practice of the reader of the law in the Synagogue placing a veil over his head whilst performing his function. "For until this day," says the Apostle, "remaineth the same veil untaken away in the reading of the Old Testament; which veil is done away in Christ. But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart. Nevertheless when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away."

The same observance of covering the head during the performance of sacrificial rites was also rigorously required in Pagan times by the Roman Ritual, not only of the officiating Priest, but also of the attendant worshippers on whose behalf the sacrifice was being offered, though, with three exceptions, the reason for which is very obscure; those exceptions being in sacrifices to Saturn, Hercules, and Honour. But in other cases it was considered to be of such importance that the head of those taking part in the sacrifice should be covered that the distinguishing mark of the Flamens, of whom I have spoken, was a sharp pointed piece of Olive-wood called the "Apex," which was attached to the head with a kind of cap or head-dress much resembling a helmet, giving to the wearer the appearance of a German soldier with his Pickel-haube, without which the Flamen did not dare to appear in the street or in any public place; and the penalty for the loss of which was so severe, that on one occasion the Apex having been accidentally blown or knocked off, not only was the sacrifice, which was proceeding, summarily stopped, but the unlucky Flamen to whom the accident had happened was immediately deposed from his office, deprived of his priestly character, and stripped of all his rights, dignities, and emoluments.

The Greeks, on the contrary, were equally particular in insisting upon the head being uncovered in the performance of their sacred rites. And all Christian Catholic Communities have followed the same rule, with the exception of the Armenians, according to whose ritual the Celebrant covers his head, during the Canon of the Mass, with two veils of white silk or linen, over which, in later times, a Bishop places a stately cap ornamented with gold and jewels; and, of course, many communities of Christians that are not, and do not wish to be, considered as "Catholics," such as the Dutch Calvinists, some Presbyterian bodies, Quakers, and others, repudiate altogether the practice of baring the head to show reverence to the unseen Holy Presence which others desire to realise in their acts of worship.

But leaving the subject of priestly head-dress, in Pagan times, I will now turn to that of the different coverings for use or ornament that have been adopted in Christian times for Ecclesiastical purposes.

And first, I will say something about that which is the most distinguished of all ornamental head-coverings—the Mitre.

The word "Mitre" is derived from the Greek word Μίτρα, which, and its equivalent in Latin, *Mitra*, is the word used in the Septuagint and in the Vulgate respectively, to designate the cap worn by the Jewish High Priest, as mentioned in Exodus and Leviticus.

This Mitre of the High Priest was distinguished from those worn by the ordinary Priests (termed, in the Septuagint, κιδάρις—in the Vulgate, "Tiaras"—in our so-called authorised version, "Bonnets"—and in the revised version, "Head-tires," Exod. xxviii. 40) by having placed upon its front a plate of pure gold (called in the Septuagint, πέταλον—and in the Vulgate, "Lamina") having inscribed upon it "Holiness to the Lord."

The word *Mitre* is either derived from, or closely connected with, the word μίτος, a thread, and originally signifies something made of twisted or plaited thread. The word Mitre in classical usage was applied to at least three things. Firstly, it signified a girdle, or belt, in which sense it is used in "Homer," of the belt, girt round the body under the breast-plate. Secondly, it meant a riband, or fillet, bound round the head. And, thirdly, it signified an Oriental head-dress, probably a turban, made of a long girdle, or sash, wound round a close-fitting cap, which was worn by females and the effeminate Priests of Oriental Deities, in which case it is used by Virgil in the Ninth Æneid, line 616. (*Et habent redimicula Mitræ.* Your Mitres have strings to tie them on.) This kind of cap being that which was placed on the head of a manumitted slave came to be known as a "cap of liberty," and this title so took the fancy of the Furies, who raged during the first and great French revolution, when classical words and phrases were much in vogue, that they adopted this form of Mitre as the befitting Crown of those who went about proclaiming the new Gospel of Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality, which they enforced by the free and fraternal use of the Guillotine and the Noyades of Brittany. And it has struck me as a singular coincidence, that amongst the earliest pictures to be found in the Catacombs is one representing our Lord in the figure of Orpheus, who is actually represented as wearing this very Phrygian Cap of Liberty; so that the original Mitre is in this picture found covering the representative of Him whose representatives, in after times, have acquired the right to wear the Mitre in its later form.

Those who have closely investigated the subject declare that there is no clear or conclusive evidence of there having been any distinctive head-dress appropriated to the superior orders of the Clergy during, at least, the first thousand years of the Christian Era. There are, indeed, certain words and phrases to be found in early writers which might, at first sight, seem to imply the contrary; but a closer examination seems to show that these indications are very inconclusive, and cannot be safely relied on as proving the use, during all that long period, of anything like an Episcopal Mitre.

Thus it is found from St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and many other early writers, that it was a common practice to salute a Bishop, or entreat him to grant a favour to the suppliant, "by his Crown," *per coronam precor coronam tuam* (Bingham's *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, book II, chap. 9), but what the "Corona," or "Crown," was, whether it was merely the clerical tonsure, or was an actual coronet placed on the head, or what else was meant by it, there is no evidence whatever to show.

Again, Eusebius has preserved a letter of Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, to Victor, Bishop of Rome, in which he says of St. John, the beloved disciple, that he "was born," or "became" (ἐγεννήθη) a Priest, wearing a golden plate (πέταλον)." And later, Epiphanius says the same thing of St. James the Less, the Bishop of Jerusalem; and in a manuscript, "Passion of St. Mark," of later but uncertain date, it is said that St. Mark "wore the plate of the Priestly Mitre amongst the people of the Jews" (*Pontificalis apicis petalum in populo gestasse Judæorum*).

These expressions have been taken by some to mean that St. John, St. James, and St. Mark, were of the lineage of Aaron, and all Priests in the Jewish hierarchy. But this can hardly be the solution of the matter. For in each case these Apostles are expressly stated to have worn the πέταλον, *i.e.*, the gold plate which was attached to the Mitre of the High Priest. And even though it is possible that they might have been of the Priestly Order, they could not possibly have been High Priests amongst the Jews, as the succession of those supreme Ecclesiastical dignitaries is well known, and does not include these Apostles. And so, in despair of finding any more definite explanation of the puzzle, most authors are content to adopt the suggestion that the phrase "wearing the golden plate," "the *petalum*," is merely a metaphorical and figurative expression for being at the head of the Christian Priesthood, as the Jewish High Priest was at the head of that Order in his own nation.

Again, it is recorded that Pope St. Celestine I. sent to St. Cyril, "Phrygium," and remembering that the Phrygian Cap was one of the head-dresses which was known by the name of *Mitra*, it may be thought that this gift was of a head-dress of some sort, and that it might have been some ornamental covering for the head, specially appropriated to those of the

Episcopal Order. But there is no evidence to confirm that view, and we cannot get beyond conjecture. Indeed, Baronius thought that this very "Phrygium" was not a cap or covering for the head at all, but was a robe of some sort.

Another notice which has sometimes been thought to refer to a special Episcopal head-dress is found in St. Gregory of Nazianzum, who was the son of Gregory, Bishop of the same place; and in a letter of the Saint to his father, speaking of his Consecration, he reminds him of his setting the cap on his head. But the word here used is not μίτρα, but is that strange word κίδαρις, which, in the LXX designates the "bonnet" or cap worn by the ordinary priests in the Jewish hierarchy, which, though sometimes spoken of as a "Mitre," does not appear to have ever been considered as appropriated to the Episcopal order in the Christian Church.

Another word by which in Mediæval times the Mitre is often signified is "*Infula.*" "Infula," in the Pagan rites was a fillet or riband, which was intertwined in the hair, both of the priest and victim in the sacrificial rites. In Mediæval times it is used to signify, properly and generally, the strings or lappets with which the Mitre was intended to be tied on; but which in representations of the Mitre are almost always shown as hanging down loose behind. The word "Infula" is however, in later times especially, used for the whole Mitre: and when it is said in an account of the Consecration of Willebald in the time of the great St. Boniface, *i.e.*, in the 8th century, that he was "decked with the honour of the Priestly Infula" ("Sacerdotalis Infulæ ditatus erat honore"), it does look somewhat as if the investment with some special kind of head-dress was a recognised part of the ceremonial of Episcopal Consecration; and nearer still to the modern usage is the expression used of Burckhart (in the 10th century), that he was "Pontificali Infulâ dignus" (worthy of the Pontifical Mitre), and "Summi Pontificatus Infulæ non incongruus" (not unsuited for the Mitre of the supreme Pontificate).

But then, against its antiquity there is the very strong negative evidence that (as it is said), there is not a single Pontifical or ceremonial work of any sort earlier than the 11th century that contains any direction to invest the Bishop at his Consecration with any special head-dress, or any indication that he was to wear any such ornament at any ceremony or function. And, indeed, in a special account of the ceremonial used at High Mass on Easter Day, in the year 986, although all the Episcopal ornaments worn are set out and described in much detail, there is nothing said about a Mitre, or any kind of head-dress that could be supposed to have represented such an Episcopal Corona; and there is the positive evidence, so far as it goes, of Tertullian, who, in a tone of indignation at the suggestion of such vain ornamentation, asks, "What Apostle, or Evangelist, or Bishop, is ever found wearing a Crown ('Quis Apostolus, aut Evangelista, aut Episcopus invenitur Coronatus?')"

Passing over then all these questionable references to any special head-dress, customarily or officially worn by Bishops or High Ecclesiastical dignitaries in earlier times, it is said that the earliest unmistakable reference to such an official head-dress is to be found in a Charter or Letter of Pope Leo IX., in the year 1049, who, on the occasion of the visit to Rome of Eberhard, the Archbishop of Trier (Tréves), after placing upon his head a *Mitre*, distinctly so-called, writes, "We have adorned your head with *a Roman Mitre*, which both you and your successors may always use, *after the Roman fashion*, in the discharge of your Ecclesiastical duties." ("Romanâ Mitrâ caput vestrum insignivimus, quâ et vos et successores vestri Romano more semper utamini.")

The mention in this passage of the *Roman* Mitre and the *Roman* fashion, seems to point to the fact that this custom of a Bishop's wearing a special official head-dress on solemn occasions, was originally a local usage of the Church of Rome, whence it extended itself, as the influence and authority of the local Church of Rome increased throughout the whole Western Church. And this origin of the ornament from a Roman source will probably account for the fact that (with the exception, perhaps, of the Armenian Community), the use of the Mitre is unknown to the Eastern Church.

Again, a little later, the Pope made a solemn grant to Adalbert, Bishop of Hamburg, of the right to wear a Mitre, which he says is a distinguishing mark of the Romans ("quod est insigne Romanorum").

The use of the Mitre was not confined, even at this early date, to Bishops, but was extended to other high dignitaries; thus, in the year 1063, Pope Alexander II. granted to Bishop Burchard, "Mitres, to be worn by canons and the more eminent priests, deacons and sub-deacons" ("Mitras, Canonicis et excellentioribus presbyteris, diaconibus, et subdiaconibus portandas").

After this time, the use of Mitres by Bishops became an established custom; and from time to time the privilege of wearing them was conferred by the Popes by special grant, occasionally, to individuals, and more frequently to the heads of some Ecclesiastical communities and their successors. This latter grant was most frequently made to the Abbots, and some few Priors of the larger Abbeys and Monasteries. Many or most of these Abbots in England were

summoned to Parliament as Barons and tenants *in Capite* of the Crown; but the Mitred and Parliamentary Abbots were not always identical. The right to wear the Mitre was conferred by the Pope; the right to sit in the Great Council, and in Parliament, was conferred by the King's Writ of Summons to that Assembly; and thus it happened that in some few cases, a Mitred Abbot had no right to sit in Parliament; and on the other hand, an Abbot who was a Peer of Parliament, might not be entitled to wear the Mitre. Thus, the Abbot of Tavistock, though privileged to wear the Mitre in the reign of Henry VI., did not receive a summons to Parliament until the reign of Henry VIII, whilst, on the other hand, the Prior of Coventry, though summoned to Parliament as a Spiritual Peer, was not entitled to encircle his brow with a Mitre.

All the Mitred Abbots in England were of the Benedictine Order with the exception of two, Waltham and Cirencester, who were Augustinians.

The Mitres of Abbots were of a less costly material, and less highly ornamented than those of Bishops. Episcopal Mitres were of three kinds or degrees, one or other of which was worn according to the dignity or importance of the ceremony at which the Bishop was assisting. The ordinary Mitre (called simplex) was made of Damasked Silk or White Linen. A more costly one was made of White Damask studded with small pearls; the third, the richest of all, was made of Rich Damask covered with gems and precious stones.

The earliest form of the Mitre was very simple and elegant. Down to the end of the 13th century, they did not exceed from 3 to 6 inches in height. Pope Innocent III., was the first who introduced a Gold Circlet or Corona at the bottom where the Mitre encircled the brow. During the 14th century and afterwards, they gradually increased in height to a foot or more, greatly detracting from the gracefulness of the earlier form, and giving them a cumbrous and top-heavy appearance, which considerably diminished their elegance. If anyone should desire to see the largest collection of the ugliest forms of Mitres, he should visit the Cathedral of Mainz, where the numerous Monuments of successive Prince Archbishops, Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, will show the different stages of degradation of this ornament until it reaches, in the 18th century, the lowest step on the down grade, when we are presented with the effigy of a mighty dignitary, whose head is covered with a clumsy Mitre 14 or 15 inches in height, surmounting a full-bottomed wig with flowing curls hanging down over the sides of the cope which adorns the body of the princely prelate.

Mitres (with the exception of a few occasions, since the present revival, on which they have been worn) have fallen into general disuse in England since the period of the Reformation. They have, in a few instances, been carried at the funerals of some bishops, but the last great State occasion on which they were worn by living men appears to have been the Coronation of Queen Elizabeth. It was, indeed, stated in the *Hierurgia Anglicana* that they were worn by the bishops at the Coronation of George III.: but this was a mistake, for the contemporary accounts of that ceremony, in the Annual Register and elsewhere, and in the authorised programmes of the service, state that when, in the course of the ceremony, the lay peers put their coronets on their heads, the bishops put on, not their mitres, but—*proh pudor!*—their square college caps. And in the account of the Coronation of Charles I. which has been recently published by the Henry Bradshaw Society, it is distinctly stated that after the King had had the crown placed on his head by the Archbishop of Canterbury, "the Earls and Viscounts put on their crimson velvet caps with coronets about them, the Barons and Bishops always standing bareheaded." (*Fuller's Church History*, p. 123. Cited in *The Coronation of King Charles I.*, p. 39.)

The Mitre, of course, has been the subject of a good deal of that secondary kind of symbolical interpretation which occurs where something which is not originally designed to express any symbolical meaning is made to suggest some thoughts or ideas which may appear to have a connection more or less obvious (generally less) with the subject. Thus, no less an authority than Pope Innocent III. saw in the two peaks the emblems of the Old and New Testaments, in the two lappets the two interpretations of Scripture, the literal and the mystical, whilst others have regarded the cleft summit as representing the Cloven Tongues as of fire in the form of which it pleased the Holy Spirit to manifest Himself when He deigned to inspire the first bishops—the Apostles—and so on, and so on.

Heraldry also has something to say about the mitre. Bishops wear no crests; the crest being merely the appendage of a helmet, with which, in its military use, bishops, as such, have nothing to do. The shield, however, of a bishop, is always surmounted, or, as it is technically termed, "*ensigned*," that is, "distinguished," by his mitre, which, in the case of archbishops, is represented as issuing from a ducal coronet, an arrangement which was also adopted by the bishops of Durham to signify their Palatinate jurisdiction within their see, where they had a subordinate feudal sovereignty as Counts Palatine over the inhabitants of their diocese.

The next article of head-dress of which I will speak is rather to be called the head-dress of an ecclesiastic than an ecclesiastical head-dress. It is *The Papal Tiara;* the well-known Triple Crown of the Pope.

This distinguished ornament is worn by the Pope, not as an ensign of his ecclesiastical supremacy, but as a symbol of his temporal sovereignty; and, therefore, it should be observed that the cap round which the three crowns are placed is not (though it is often erroneously so called) a *mitre*, with its cloven top, but a conical cap, surmounted by a cross, and is always represented as being worn as the emblem of civil rule and authority, along with the keys, which are borne as the symbol of the purely spiritual jurisdiction to bind and to loose, of which he is taken to be the supreme minister on earth.

The word *Tiara*, by which this ornament is known, is an Oriental word of Persian origin. It is the word which is used in the Vulgate to represent that head-dress of the ordinary Jewish priests, which in the Septuagint is rendered κίδαρις, and in our so-called authorised version (Exodus xxviii. 40), is translated "*bonnets*," and in the revised translation appears as "*head-tires*."

The cap itself was worn in very early times, and Pope Damasus II., in A.D. 1048, is said to have been crowned with some kind of regal head-tire, probably the conical cap. But the three golden crowns were added much later. Josephus refers to a triple crown as gracing the mitre of the high priest, but the Papal Tiara was first encircled with a single golden crown by Pope Boniface VIII. in about A.D. 1294. A second crown was added by Benedict XII. in about A.D. 1334, and the third by John XXIII. in A.D. 1410. Another account, however, represents the first crown to have been placed by John XIII. as early as A.D. 965, the second by Boniface VIII. in A.D. 1294, and the third by Benedict XIII. in A.D. 1394.

The right of the Popes to wear the crown was claimed by virtue of a grant of Constantine the Great to St. Silvester, the then Bishop of Rome, and his successors, to whom when the capital of the Empire was removed to Byzantium, Constantine committed some temporal jurisdiction over the old city. But the evidence of this alleged grant, either of the civil dominion in Rome, or of the right to wear a crown as the visible ensign of such delegated authority, is of the most shadowy description.

A fashion of no very great antiquity has sprung up amongst artists of representing St. Peter with a triple row of curls round his head, as a sort of anticipatory indication of the three golden crowns with which his successors were to be distinguished, but I doubt whether this fancy has extended much beyond the school of painters trained by, or under the influence of, Overbeck, Cornelius, Hess, and other artists of that class, whose devotion to the tenets of modern ultramontanism was as marked as their eminence in art itself.

The usual head-dress, worn by the Pope on ordinary occasions, was a red or purple skull cap, called (probably from its having been originally made of camel's hair) *Camelaucus*. There was nothing peculiar in the shape of this head-covering. It was the same as was worn by ordinary persons in daily use. Its specialty consisted in its red or purple colour; a colour which was specially reserved to royal personages, and which the Pope adopted by reason of his claim to a secular principality. But when of this colour it was regarded as a very distinguishing mark of the claim of the Bishop of Rome to a regal supremacy; and thus we find, in an impassioned letter written by Peter Damian in A.D. 1070, to the Antipope Honorius II. the writer denouncing in indignant terms the presumption and pride of the Pretender to the Papal Throne, and exclaiming, "You have now, perchance, the mitre. You have, in accordance with the fashion of the Roman Pontiff, *the red cap*" ("Habes nunc forsitan Mitram: habes juxta morem Romani Pontificis, rubram cappam').

This curious word, *Camelaucus*, is preserved in modern times in the word *Camail*, which is used to designate a tippet of black worn by the French clergy, distinguished in the case of canons by being edged or lined with red or fur, and is also to be found in England as a synonym for the Almuce, or Awmuss, or Amess, the furred tippet about which we have recently had such a full and learned disquisition from Dr. Wickham Legg.

The last two words of the letter of Peter Damian, *rubra cappa*, and this mention of the French *Camail* remind me to call attention to an ambiguity in the use of the words "purple" and "cap," which sometimes causes some confusion in reading about ecclesiastical vestments. The fact is, that, properly speaking, *purple* is any mixture of red and blue, and includes all degrees and shades produced by that mixture from "royal purple," *i.e.*, crimson, which is nearly all red, with a very little blue, down to what we call "bishop's purple," *i.e.*, a deep violet, which is nearly all dark blue, with a very little red.

And, again, the word *cappa*, which is derived from, or connected with, *caput*, the head, means, primarily, a mere covering for the head, "a cap," in our own restricted use of that word. But this cap was often prolonged into, or attached to, a covering for the shoulders also. And then the word *cappa* represents that which we know by that other form of the word, viz., "a cape." [In the same way, in fact, that the Amice and the Almuce were both of them originally coverings for the head, though now they are commonly used only as "*capes*" over the shoulders.] And lastly, the hood, or covering for the head, was attached to a full and

ample vestment, enclosing the whole person, and the "cappa" becomes a "cope." Thus, the one word in Latin, *cappa*. has in English the three words "cap," "cape," and "cope," which very well indicate and distinguish the three stages of its development and use.

The highest rank in the Ecclesiastical Order of precedence next to the Supreme Pontiff, is that of the Princes of the Church, who form his Council of State—the Cardinals. They, as we know, according to their present organisation, as established by Paul II. in the 15th century, comprise three orders, viz., Cardinal Bishops, Cardinal Priests, and Cardinal Deacons. The Bishops are the Bishops of the seven suffragan sees which belong to the Province of Rome as an Archbishopric. The Cardinal Priests are the titular Priests of the Parish Churches in the City of Rome; the Cardinal Deacons are the nominal heads of certain Hospitals or charitable foundations.[1]

All, however, of the Cardinals, of whatever rank, receive their institution and admission into the order by the delivery to them, and the placing upon their head by the Pope himself, or his delegate, of a broad red hat, with the words "Esto Cardinalis"—Be thou a Cardinal. The significance of which ceremony was recognised in very grim fashion by that first Defender of the Faith, Henry VIII., who, when he heard of the Pope's having sent to Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (who was then in prison for refusing to accept the novel claim of the King to the supremacy in matters Ecclesiastical). the Cardinal's red hat, exclaimed, "Yea! is he so lusty; then shall he wear it upon his shoulders: for by God I will leave him never a head to wear it on." And he kept his word.

This hat had been from early times customarily conferred upon those persons, generally members of the College of Cardinals, who were sent by the Pope as his *Legati a latere*—*i.e.*, Plenipotentiaries, with authority to excommunicate, and even to pronounce an Interdict upon Kings and whole nations. And we see in mediæval pictures that St. Jerome who was for a time the Secretary to Pope Damasus, is frequently represented as wearing the red hat in right of his employment in that official capacity.

The Hat, however, as the special *insigne* of the Cardinals, was first ordained by Pope Innocent IV. at the Council of Lyons, in A.D. 1245. And even then, for nearly 350 years longer, those who were raised to the dignity, who had been members of any of the Monastic Orders, were not allowed to wear this magnificent head dress, but were still bound to cover themselves with only the cowl belonging to their order, until in the year 1592. Pope Gregory XIV. removed the restriction, and monks, as well as seculars, who became Cardinals, were allowed to display their dignity to the world by wearing the red hat, which, up to that time, only the secular members of the College had been allowed to exhibit.

This hat is adorned with certain tassels or fringes, hanging down from it on each side. These tassels were, originally, arranged in three rows on each side, but these were afterwards increased to five, all scarlet. Archbishops, Bishops, and Abbots, and the high dignitaries of the Ecclesiastical Courts, who were not Cardinals, were also allowed, or assumed, the privilege of wearing the broad hat with dependent tassels, but not of a scarlet colour. Archbishops had a hat with four rows of tassels of a purple (*i.e.*, a dark violet) hue. Bishops wore a hat with three, afterwards increased to four rows of tassels of green; and Abbots, Deans, Archdeacons, and other Ecclesiastical dignitaries, were content with a hat with three rows of tassels of very dark purple, or black.

The red colour appropriated to the Cardinals, was to symbolize the blood and fire through which the wearers were to be ever ready to pass in defence of their religion. And so much was the deeply religious sentiment conveyed by the scarlet hat recognised by some of the wearers, that that great saint, St. Carlo Borromeo not only wore it on every occasion during life, but even on his death-bed called for it to be placed upon his head, that he might be kept in mind up to the end of his vows to be ready to undergo even martyrdom if he had been called upon so to do.

There was a singular privilege attached to the scarlet hat, remarkably parallel to that which had been enjoyed in Pagan times by the Vestals. This privilege was, that if a Cardinal happened to be passing by when a criminal was being led to execution, by taking off his hat, and putting it over the condemned man, he placed him in sanctuary, and the culprit, however great his crimes had been, was immediately set free.

I need not say anything of the red skull-cap, the *Galerus* as it is called, with which the Cardinals cover their heads in their indoor life. The right to wear it was granted to them by the same decree that conferred the privilege of the hat, and it was indeed nothing more than part of the undress uniform of the wearers, as the hat was the most attractive part of their costume when in full dress.

[1]The latter are not necessarily even in Holy Orders, thus the late Cardinal Antonelli, the Papal Secretary of State for many years, was merely a layman until a short time before his death. And, indeed, there have been three Popes who were not in orders when they were elected. And one of these, John XV., who lived only a month after his election, died before he had been even ordained.

Leaving then the distinguishing insignia of these great dignitaries, I will pass on to that, about which, to judge from the answers to correspondents, which appear from time to time in *The Church Times*, the Editor of that widely circulated journal is periodically exercised about every six weeks or so—I mean the *Biretta*,—in reference to which I constantly see in the columns of that paper a reply to some anxious enquirer who wishes to be informed of the reason why a priest should wear a biretta, couched in the same language that used to serve as an answer to the riddle. Why does a miller wear a white hat? To keep his head warm.

Well, that is certainly true so far as it goes, but there is something more than that to be said about the Biretta. The word itself is the diminutive of the Latin *Birrhus*, which, again, is merely the Latinised form of the Greek word πυῤῥος (Pyrrhus) meaning red. The red, however, in this case, is not the red of the royal purple, but merely signifies the red colour of the fox-skin out of which the fur cap, which was originally known by that name, was made. And here, again, there occurs the same ambiguity that I have before noticed in the case of the word *Cappa;* for the word *Birrhus* has the same double application to either a cap for the head or a robe, probably a short coat or cloak with a hood to it, that is to be found in *Cappa*. Thus, in a curious passage of St. Augustine, writing to decline the offer of a costly and richly ornamented *Birrhus*, which he says might suit some great bishop, but would not suit him, who was only a poor man, born of poor parents, and which he could only make useful by selling it and distributing the money amongst the poor, he distinctly speaks of the article as *preciosa vestis*—a precious garment. And again, in the account of the martyrdom of St. Cyprian, he is stated, before receiving the stroke of the executioner, to have stripped himself of his different garments, amongst which the *Birrhus* is mentioned.

In later times, however, the *Birrhus*, or *Byrrhus*, and its diminutive form Birretta, or Biretta, was more frequently used of the cap only, which was originally (as was most natural) of a round shape, to fit the head, but was afterwards formed into a square shape, supported by four projecting ridges or ribs, one of which, again, for convenience, to make it more firmly fit the head, was suppressed, making the Biretta to assume that tripartite form which is the most familiar to us.

There was, however, a great deal of symbolism to be got out of the square shape of the cap. Thus, the four projecting ribs or ridges on the top, crossing each other at right angles, naturally and obviously represented the cross, which was ever above the head of the wearer as his guardian, and also served to remind him, every day when he put on his hat, of his duty to take up his cross. Then, the hat had four corners, and what could they be but the four corners of the world, to which, and throughout which, the wearer was bound to carry the gospel which he had to preach. Again, the symbolism of the aureola, or nimbus, taught him that the square, when placed around or above the head of the saint or hero represented in picture or sculpture, indicated that the person so distinguished was still living, and thus the square on the head of the wearer of the Biretta reminded him of *life*, whilst in the other direction the square was also the form of the bier on which the dead are carried forth, and so the square cap was ever to remind him that "in the midst of life we are in death." But when the square form was reduced to the triangular I do not find any symbolism drawn from it beyond the obvious reference to The Blessed Trinity.

There is one rather curious and interesting piece of ritualism, properly so called, connected with the Biretta, which I may just mention. In the year 1621 the Roman Catholic missionaries in China sent a petition to the then Pope, Paul V., in which they stated that in China to be bare-headed was the mark of the lowest degradation, as only criminals when dragged off to execution were deprived of, or allowed to appear without, a proper head-dress; and this being so, it occasioned a great shock to the minds of the Chinese Christian Converts to see the priest, in the performance of the most solemn rite of all, absolutely bare-headed, in defiance of all their notions of what was due to reverence and decorum; and they begged his Holiness to allow them some special exemption from the rule of laying aside all covering of the head during the Mass. To this the Pope graciously assented, and granted to those ministering to Chinese converts the special privilege of keeping the head covered during the performance of their sacred functions, provided only that they should, on those solemn occasions, use a special form of head-covering, different from any in common use; whereupon the Chinese converts set themselves to devise a "Biretta" of a very special form indeed, which was intended to represent the Heavenly Jerusalem, perfect and four-square, with its twelve gates marked out by means of rich embroidery and golden threads, and which perfectly satisfied the desire of the converts. Whether this special and unique form of Ecclesiastical Head-dress is still in use with those who minister to the Roman Catholic converts of China is a question to which I have not been able to obtain an answer.

I may also add that, as I have before observed, the use of the Biretta is not confined to the clergy, but is also occasionally employed to distinguish members of other professions. Thus, it is worn by the doctors of the different faculties in the Continental Universities, to whom it is

given as representing the Cap of Liberty, signifying their emancipation from the *Status Pupillaris*, and advancement to the rank of teachers; and in France and Germany a modified form of it is worn by advocates when pleading causes in court.

Now a few words as to the cowl or hood of the Monastic Orders. "Cucullus non facit monachum"—"The cowl does not make the monk," says the proverb, but, nevertheless, the cowl was a very distinguishing part of a monk's dress. It appears to have originally been adopted by the hermits of the desert, who found it absolutely necessary to protect their heads and necks from the burning rays of the sun, as well as from the bitter frosts, to which, in some parts, they were exposed in winter. From them it was borrowed by St. Benedict, who, in framing the rules of his Order, gave very particular directions as to its use and make. It is properly attached to the frock, and is sufficiently ample to completely cover and shelter head, neck, and shoulders. In early days its resemblance in shape to an infant's night-cap pointed it out as intended to symbolize the child-like innocence and simplicity which should be the characteristic of the monastic profession. Those who adopted it later connected it rather with the common head-dress of the agricultural labourer, and considered it as indicating the duty of serving as labourers in the Lord's vineyard, or in His harvest-field.

The shape and make of the cowl differed to some extent in all the Monastic Orders. St. Francis generally went bare-headed, but he had a cowl, not sewn on to, but separate from, the gown. About the shape of this cowl vehement controversies have arisen: one, at least, of those said to have been worn by St. Francis himself is, or was, preserved in the Church of St. Marcellus at Rome. This is round and pointed at the end, and is in shape very much like the extinguisher of a candle. The fact, however, appears to be that at different times during his ministry, both before and after the foundation of his Order, St. Francis wore several cowls, not always of the same shape, not being so particular in this respect as was St. Benedict before him, or as were some of his own disciples after him. For it appears that in or about the year 1525, one Matthæus de Baschi, a monk of the Franciscan Order, in the Duchy of Urbino, having seen a picture of St. Francis with a pointed cowl, took to wearing one of this shape himself, with the permission of Pope Clement VII. He was afterwards joined by two other monks of the same Order, named Louis and Raphael de Fossembrun, and the Pope granted them the privilege of wearing the *Caputium*, the head-dress, in the shape which they thought best represented that which St. Francis himself had worn. They were vehemently opposed at first by the rest of the Franciscan Order; but ultimately they succeeded in establishing a distinct branch of the Order, whose special cognisance was the Pyramidal-shaped *Caputium*—square at the base and pointed at the top—from which they derived the name under which they became so well known as "Capuchins."

The Monastic Cowl is still represented amongst us by the hoods, of different shapes and colours, and linings, worn by graduates of the different faculties in our Universities. The monks, especially the Benedictines, and the Franciscans, were the great patrons and promoters of learning during the Middle Ages; and they either established or procured the establishment of most of those seats of learning in which members of their Order were the most eminent teachers. And a modification of the Monastic Cowl seems to have been adopted at an early period as a distinguishing mark of those who had passed through the lower, and attained to the higher "degrees" of Scholastic learning.

Lastly, I must say something about that head-dress which, in the Roman Church, at least, is the common distinction of all those who are classed together under the name of "*Cleri*," "Clerks," or "Clergy," including not merely those who are in Holy Orders, but all, even laymen, who are dedicated to, or permanently engaged in the service of the Church—I mean "The Tonsure."

From the very earliest times there appear to have been canons, exhortations, and denunciations innumerable concerning the mode of wearing the hair and beards of the clergy, which varied continually from directions to let them grow long to the strongest injunctions to keep them close cut. But the pith and substance of all these different modes of capillary discipline seems to have been merely to ensure a grave and moderate style of wearing the hair; removed equally from the extremes of the prevalent fashion of the day, whatever that fashion might be, whether of letting the hair hang loose on the shoulders, or clipped into some fantastic shape, or into a form which announced the wearer to belong to some heretic sect, or to be a professor of some extravagant asceticism. Thus, St. Jerome denounces the practice of shaving the head by the clergy as making them to resemble the priests of Isis and Serapis. Others refer it to the practice of Jewish mourners, or to the Nazarite vow; but, at any rate, it appears certain that a special mode of wearing the hair was enjoined upon the clergy in and from about the 6th century. For in the Church of St. Apollinaris at Ravenna, a mosaic of the 6th century is to be seen representing a figure with that particular "Crown" of hair, which has become the pattern of hairdressing, now commonly recognised as "The Tonsure."

We must, however, distinguish between the "Tonsure," which is, literally, the "clipping" of the hair, and the "Rasure," that is, the shaving off of the hair from the skull altogether, or in part.

There were two modes of thus treating the hair adopted by the Greek and Latin Churches respectively. The Greeks used the form, called by them the "Pauline," and said to have been that which Saint Paul himself had adopted. This consisted in drawing a line over the skull from ear to ear, and shaving completely all the part in front of that line. This form was also used by the Celtic clergy, including the British—who, as we know, followed many of the special customs of the Eastern Church—which, after many severe contests, they were ultimately obliged to abandon in favour of those prescribed by the Church of Rome, and in ordinary use throughout the West.

The other form of tonsure—the Roman or Western—which was named the Petrine. from St. Peter, was quite different from the so-called Pauline use. In the Western Church, when a person was first devoted to the service of the Church, his hair was closely clipped all over, and this constituted the "Tonsure," strictly and properly so called. When he was admitted into Holy Orders, or became a Monk, a circular portion of the skull on the top of his head was shaven close, whilst a rim of hair was left encircling the bare space in the middle, which. as well as the shaven centre, was called the "Corona,"— the "Crown." This shaven space differed in size according to the destination of the person who was to wear it. It was largest of all in the Monks; but in Secular Priests it was much smaller; and there is now preserved in the Library of the Cathedral of St. Paul, which is one of the Old Foundation, and therefore served by a Dean and Chapter of Secular Canons, a round piece of metal, about 2½ inches in diameter, cut out of a larger plate of the same material, which was used to mark the exact size of the crown within the Tonsure which was to be worn by the clergy on the foundation of that Cathedral.

This "Crown," in the course of the ceremonial of Ordination, was anointed with the Holy Oil, and was ever afterwards considered to have acquired from that unction a character of special sanctity; so much so that to injure it was regarded as an act of sacrilege, and it was the circumstance that, in the murder of St. Thomas Becket, the principal of the deadly blows which caused his death were dealt upon his "Crown," which was shivered to pieces by the assassin's sword, that excited the horror of the nation. that could not but regard the tragic scene as a sacrilegious outrage upon the Deity more even than the audacious violation of every human law that was involved in it.

So much for the Tonsure and the Corona; and so let me conclude with that, the last and least of all the Ecclesiastical Head-dresses which I have been enabled to bring to your notice in this imperfect paper, but which is the only one about which our own Canon Law has laid down any rules, I mean the cap referred to in the 74th Canon of 1603. which, after enjoining the use by dignitaries of the Church, in their outdoor apparel, of "square caps," proceeds to enact that "No ecclesiastical person shall wear any coif or wrought night-cap, but only plain night-caps of black silk, satin, or velvet."

I could have wished to say something about the official head-dresses of female ecclesiastical personages, but the subject is a great deal too large to be treated in a paragraph or two tacked on to the end of a dissertation like this, and if to be treated of at all it must be made the subject of a paper by itself, which I, or some other member of our Society, may, possibly, at some future time, be able to lay before you, as a supplement to that which I have had the honour to put before you this evening.

NOTES ON THE MARRIAGE SERVICE IN THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER OF 1549.

BY

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THE essential part of marriage is the consent given by the bride and bridegroom in the presence of witnesses.[1] Other ceremonies may be instructive and desirable, but they are not necessary. Such, for example, are the joining of the right hands, the giving of a ring with other tokens of espousage, the blessing of these by the priest; even the blessing of the marriage itself by the priest is not essential.[2] Other customs there are which are old, but not considered by us necessary or even important. Such are the wearing of crowns, the holding of a veil over the bride and bridegroom while a blessing is pronounced, the giving to the bride and bridegroom of sops and a cup of wine hallowed by the priest, the nuptial kiss, and other practices.

All these ceremonies differed widely in different dioceses; and the Council of Trent, which one might have thought little favourable to the preservation of diocesan varieties, "earnestly hopes"[3] that they may be retained. Yet in the first reformed book of the English Church some of the old English ceremonies were abolished; others, changed; and others, new to England, introduced.

Let us pass rapidly over some of the non-essential ceremonies connected with marriage. And first the betrothal; in foreign liturgical books the betrothal took place some days before marriage, and consisted in a mutual promise to marry within a short time; then the priest dismissed the man and woman; and during the time between the betrothal and the marriage, usually forty days, the banns were published.[4] For this ceremony before marriage there appears no service in the English books printed by Dr. Henderson; nor is there any trace of it in the book of 1549. We know of course that betrothal did take place in England, as the rubrics of the Sarum manual speak of it, and it is mentioned elsewhere.[5]

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[1] Verum matrimonium non fit sine consensu animorum verbis vel aliis signis pertinentibus expresse (*sic.*) I. de Burgo, *Pupilla oculi* partis viii. caput iij. Argent. 1514. fo. cxxv.b. A.

This essential consent being mental, it follows that there is no outward and visible sign in matrimony, as indeed no less an authority than Dr. Ign. von Döllinger confesses. "Marriage became a link in the chain of the Church's means of grace, though no outward sign or vehicle, as of laying on hands, oil, or water, or the like, was ordained for it." (*The First Age of Christianity and the Church*, translated by H. N. Oxenham, London, 1866. Vol. ii. p. 221.)

[2] A deacon, as well as a layman, may be the witness to a marriage which is perfectly valid; but he cannot bless the marriage as a priest can. In fact a deacon can do no more than the civil registrar does, that is, be a witness to the expressed consent of the two parties. It is unfortunate in the interests of history that Dr. J. H. Blunt should have given currency to the reverse of the opinion of Chief Justice Tindal. (*Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, Lond. 1884. p. 450.) Dr. Blunt's notes always need the strictest scrutiny before they be accepted. (See *Guardian*, Jan. 11th, 1893, p 60.)

[3] "Vehementer optat." (*Canones et Decreta SS. Œcum. Concilii Tridentini*, xxiv. Cap. i. Ratisbonæ, 1874. p. 139.)

[4] Instances of this betrothal will be found in Martene, *De antiquis Ecclesiæ ritibus*, Lib. I. Cap. ix. Art. V. Ordines ix. xi. xii. xiii. xiv. Bassani, 1788, t. ii. pp. 134, &c. and of a later date in the Rouen *Sacerdotale* of 1640 and others (see below.)

[5] Wilkins, *Concilia*, Lond. 1737. t. ii. p. 135. Synod of Exeter 1287. Cap. vii. de matrimonio. B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws*, Public Records Commission, 1840. p. 108. Laws of King Edmund of betrothing a woman. It is most likely betrothal that Shakespeare describes in *Twelfth Night*, Act V. Sc. I. line 150.

A contract of eternal bond of love,
Confirm'd by mutual joinder of your hands,
Attested by the holy close of lips
Strengthen'd by interchangement of your rings,
And all the ceremony of this compact
Seal'd in my function, by my testimony.

Wheatly, however, considers the question put to the bride and bridegroom at the beginning of the service as "remains of the old form of Espousals, which was different and distinct from the office of Marriage and which was often performed some weeks or months, or perhaps years before."[1] And Wheatly's authority has caused other writers to express the same opinion. But the questions put in the book of 1549 exactly correspond to questions in the same place in rites which have a distinct service for the betrothal or espousals. It is so at Amiens in Ordo ix. printed by Martene, at Autun in 1544, at Rouen in 1640, at Cambray in 1562, at Bourdeaux in 1728, Triers in 1574, Bamberg in 1587, and Augsburg in 1764,[2] and many others. In fact at the espousals there is merely a promise to marry at some future time; (*verba de futuro.*) at the celebration of matrimony it is the marriage itself. (*verba de presenti.*) This is evident from the old English books; whether in the vernacular or the Latin, the question is in the present tense, not in the future: *vis habere* and *wilt thou?* which is: *art thou now willing;* not *wilt thou be ready hereafter.*

And here one may just note another assertion of Wheatly: that the woman is told to stand during the marriage on the left hand of the man "by the Latin and Greek and all Christian Churches," and that the Jews are the only persons who act otherwise.[3] As a matter of fact even the English dioceses varied among themselves in this point, and there is no settled rule in the West. In the Orthodox Greek Church,[4] if the comment of Goar be correct, they would seem to have really done as Wheatly says; the man being on the right, the woman on the left of a spectator entering the church. But the Copts put the bride on the right hand of the man, which is the reverse.[5]

Wheatly's statement is true of the Sarum printed books, of York, Exeter, and No. IX. of Dr. Henderson's collection; but the woman stands during marriage on the right of the man in the manuscript Sarum *Manuale*,[6] at Hereford, and in No. X. (St. Asaph) of Dr. Henderson's collection. Further, during the nuptial mass the position of the man was reversed at Sarum, York, and Exeter, the bridegroom kneeling on the left of the bride. Care must therefore be taken to notice what part of the service the rubric is dealing with.

Nor is Wheatly more fortunate with the customs of the Church of Rome. From the early printed *Sacerdotalia* of this church, it would appear that a custom exactly opposite to that which he affirms to be universal prevailed at Rome during the sixteenth century. The woodcuts in the marriage service show the bridegroom standing on the left of the bride; and the *Rituale Romanum* of Gregory XIII. directs this position. The early Italian pictures of marriage show this. Several instances are collected together in a note to p. 177 below.

While the spousal mass is being said the *Sacerdotalia* direct a change to be made in position, as the Sarum and York books do, and the bridegroom kneels on the right of the bride. In the Pian Missal and the Pauline *Rituale* there are no directions of any kind upon these points.

As instances of the variations the following may be taken: At Lyre the woman knelt at the mass on the right of the man. At Limoges during the marriage, and at Arles during the nuptial mass, which contained the marriage service, she stood at the left of the man. At Verona in 1609 she stood during the marriage on the left of the man, and the woodcuts corroborate the directions. At Avranches in 1769, the same. In the churches of Poland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the priest put the bridegroom on his own right and the bride on his own left for the marriage. At Salamanca in 1532, the bride heard the spousal mass kneeling at the left of the bridegroom. The French print reproduced on p. 170, shows the bridegroom kneeling on the left of the bride.

But in some books, though a direction is given, yet its meaning cannot be known with certainty at the present day. For example, at Rouen in 1640, the man during the betrothal is directed to stand on the left of the priest; but during the nuptial mass he is to kneel towards the piscina; which in England is always on the south side, but its place at Rouen I do not know. So, too, at Bourdeaux in 1728 it is said that the man is to be on the right, and the woman on the left, during the marriage; and this is the direction given in many of the ritual books: but whether the right of the priest is meant, or the right of one looking at the altar, is

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[1] Charles Wheatly, *A rational illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, Chap. x. Sect. 4. § 5. Cambridge 1858. ed. Corrie, p. 494.

[2] In order to avoid constant repetition of the same references, the authorities for the local customs are brought together under one heading, at the end of the paper, where it is hoped the reader may readily find the reference to the book of the church or monastery spoken of in the text.

[3] Wheatly, *op. cit.* Ch. X. Sect. ii. § 4. [4] Jac. Goar, *Euchologion*, Lut. Paris. 1647. pp. 380 and 384 Note 5. See also Simeon of Thessalonica, *Opera omnia*, De matrimonio, cap. cclxxviii., Migne, col. 507. [5] H. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Wirceburgi, 1863. t. ii. p. 365. [6] See p. xviii. of the preface to Dr. Henderson's Edition of the York Manual.

not said. At Augsburg in 1764 appears the same indefinite direction, with a sort of complaint that in some churches the opposite is followed.[1]

The prayer for the blessing of the ring, found in all the old English books, has disappeared entirely from the book of 1549.[2] But, as before, the ring is put upon the book with gold and silver, called tokens of spousage.[3] It is right that the ring should be associated with the gold and silver; for it, like the coins, is a gift from the bridegroom to the bride. It is only one of the *arrhæ*, which may be any jewel or precious ornament, as the Roman *Rituale* of Gregory XIII. edited by Cardinal Severina in 1584 testifies.[4] They are really the gifts with which the wife is purchased. (*coemptio.*) If this view be right there would seem no impropriety in giving more than one ring: and accordingly we find in some foreign books a formula for the blessing of rings, in the plural, intended to be given to the bride. At Rouen, as printed by Martene, the rubric expressly says: Let the ring remain on the third finger of the bride with any others that the man may please to give her: and rings in the plural are spoken of in the *Rituale* of Gregory XIII. J. B. Thiers, however, speaks of this practice with the greatest severity, considering that it favours the institution of polygamy,[5] and it was forbidden at Paris in 1786. In some rites the jewels or coins are held by the bride in her hand while the ring is put upon her finger. (Limoges, Bourdeaux 1728. Paris 1786. Rhemes 1821.) It is no uncommon thing in some of the German *Agenda* to find that a ring is not held necessary and is spoken of as a local custom. There is no delivery of a ring ordered in the book printed by the Jesuits at Nangasaki for the use of the Japanese in the early seventeenth century.

At Triers we note that coins or *arrhæ* are delivered to the spouse in the place of the ring. It would seem that the *arrhæ* generally include ring and gifts; just as in the Prayer Book the expression "oblations" includes both the sacramental bread and wine and any other gifts that may be made at the same time.[6] One of the gifts among the Jacobite Syrians is a golden cross; so also amongst the Copts, where clothes are given as well, especially a girdle, which with them is a token that the wearer is a Christian.[7]

Two rings, of gold and silver, one for the bride and the other for the bridegroom, are in use amongst the Orthodox Greeks, according to Goar;[8] and in some Latin dioceses in the eastern parts of Europe at the present moment (Gran, Colocza) two rings for the same purpose are blessed. At Bourdeaux in 1596,[9] Toledo in 1673, and Salamanca in 1532, Aquileia in 1575, there was the same custom.

At Freising the priest wears a violet stole for the blessing of the rings. At Bologna the curate was vested in a cope.

Pliny tells us that in his days the ring given to the woman was of iron,[10] but Tertullian[11] and

[1] *Stante viro ad dexteram, muliere vero ad sinistram* (contra quam in nonnullis Ecclesiis sinistrissime fœminas ad dexteram ponunt.) *Rituale Augustanum*, Aug. Vindel. 1764. p. 255

[2] It may be noticed that according to Goar (*op. cit.* p. 384, note 3,) there is no prayer for the blessing of the ring among the Greeks. It is sufficient that it has been laid upon the Holy Table. Several of the early German *Agenda* also contain no prayer for the blessing of the ring, as the ring in Germany was not a constant gift at marriage. The Rev. Dr. Achille Ratti, one of the Doctors of the Ambrosian Library at Milan, has been kind enough to make for me a special search amongst the manuscript and printed copies of the *Ritualia Sacramentorum* of the Church of Milan, and he finds no blessing of the ring in the marriage service before the time of St. Charles.

[3] These words were left out in the second book. Bishop Cosin proposed to restore them in this fashion: "a ring and other tokens of spouseage, as gold, silver, or bracelets." (*Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D.* Surtees Society, 1872. Part II. p. 74.) The Bishop elsewhere tells us that "it is a general custom still to observe this order [the practice of giving gifts of gold and silver] in the north part of the kingdom." (*The Works of . . . John Cosin*, Oxford, 1855, Lib. of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Vol. V. p. 493.) But Hooker speaks of it as "already worn out" in his time. (*Of the Lawes of Ecclesiastical Politie*, Book V. § 73. Lond. 1632. p. 398.)

[4] In this *Rituale* as soon as the sign of the cross has been made upon the new married couple and they have been sprinkled with holy water comes: "De benedictione arrharum. Si sit consuetudo in sponsalibus . . . . benedicendi arrhas ut armillas, monilia. zonas, fascias pectorales, inaures. gemmas, margaritas, aut alias res, facit ibi deferri eas ab uno ex Acoluthis vel Clericis in aliquo vase vel linteolo, et alter Acoluthus vel Clericus aderit. uno vasculo et aspersorio aquæ benedictæ, ut supra," etc.

[5] J. B. Thiers, *Traité des Superstitions qui regardent les Sacremens*, Livre X. Chap. iv. § ix. 4th ed. Avignon 1777, t. iv. p. 455.

[6] See the Bishop of Salisbury's (Dr. John Wordsworth) *The Holy Communion*, Sec. ed. Oxford & London, 1892. p. 263.

[7] H. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Wirceburgi, 1863. t. i. p. 174: t. ii. pp. 364 & 385.

[8] Jacobi Goar, *Euchologion*, Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1647. p. 380. See also G. V. Shann, *Book of Needs*, London, 1894, p. 52. Mr. W. J. Birkbeck tells me that in Russia they nearly always have the name of the betrothed engraved inside.

[9] J. B. Thiers, *op. cit.* § viii. p. 454.

[10] C. Plinii Secundi, *Nat. His.* Lib. xxxiii cap. 4. Lond. 1826. t. viii. p. 4306. "Etiam nunc sponsæ muneri ferreus annulus mittitur, isque sine gemma."

[11] Tertullian, *Apolegeticus*, cap. 6. (*Opera*, Migne, I. col. 302.) "cum aurum nulla norat præter unico digito quem sponsus oppignerasset pronubo annulo." The difference between Pliny and Tertullian has been explained by supposing that one is speaking of the betrothal ring, the other of the marriage ring.

Clement of Alexandria[1] speak of it as golden. Simeon of Thessalonica, who died in 1429, speaks of the iron ring being given to the woman and a golden ring to the man.[2] In the middle ages in the West the marriage ring had become one of the precious metals.[3] It is directed to be silver in the mediæval orders of Lyons, Paris,[4] Auxerre, and Rouen, printed by Martene; also in No. IX. of the English orders printed by Dr. Henderson, where it is further directed to be without gold or any sort of precious stone.[5] In the St. Asaph order (No. X. of Dr. Henderson) it is said to be of gold. "Wyth this gold ryng y ye wedde."

At first the coins given to the bride were of current money; later on they became small medals struck for the purpose. Mr. H. A. Grueber, F.S.A., secretary of the Numismatic Society, tells me that at Lima these small medals are still struck for many weddings and thrown to the persons who attend the marriage. Traces of the custom are even now to be seen in the bronze and silver medals which are distributed at Royal marriages.

In France there seems to have been a variety of these coins in common use. Mr. Grueber has had the goodness to show me one of them in the British Museum, among the French *jetons*

FRENCH MARRIAGE JETON.

in silver, of which the accompanying cut is a representation. Mr. Grueber attributes it to the later half of the seventeenth century. Martene gives a drawing of one which bears the legend *Denier tournois pour épouser;* and several others are reproduced by De Fontenay. It was the custom for the bridegroom to give to the bride thirteen of these little pieces, either in a purse, as at Bourdeaux in 1728, or in a box of silver or enamel.[6] In France thirteen was the common number. It was so at Autun in 1545, at St. Omer in 1606, at Bourdeaux in 1728; and in the ancient orders at Limoges and Amiens printed by Martene. Thirteen, Martene says, was also the number at Rhemes in 1585, of which ten were reserved for the priest. At Amiens three were reserved, with the rest the priest did what he pleased. At Bourdeaux in 1728 the priest kept one piece, the others were given to the bride. At the monastery of Lyre the coins were to be divided amongst the poor. At Salamanca in 1532 thirteen *denarii* and one *obolus* were to be given to the bride. In England we find that the coins were sometimes given away. In No. IX. of Dr. Henderson's collection the money is given to the clerks or poor according to the custom of the country; and in No. VII., after the money has been given to the bride, they do what they like with it. There would thus seem to be mediæval authority for the rubric in the second book of Edward VI. that the ring shall be laid upon the book "with the accustomed duty to the priest and clerke."

After the delivery of the ring, the printed edition of the York Manual, and a manuscript of the Sarum Manual direct the bride to fall at her husband's feet; and the Sarum book further orders that she shall kiss his right foot.[7] The York book directs this courtesying to take place only when the bride has received land as her dower. This ceremony was known elsewhere; for in *Ordo iv.* of Martene the bride falls at her husband's feet at the same time in the service as in the Sarum and York books. Giles Fletcher, who was ambassador from our Queen Elizabeth to Russia at the end of the sixteenth century, says: "So the marriage knot being knitte by the Priest, the Bride commeth to the Bridegroome (standing at the end of the altar or table) and falleth downe at his feete, knocking her head upon his shooe, in token of her

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[1] Clemens Alex. *Paedagog.* Lib. iii. cap. xi. Migne t.1. coll 631—634.

[2] Simeon, *loc. cit.*

[3] Postmodum vero pro ferreis sunt aurei constituti et pro adamante gemmis ornati. (Durandus, *Rationale*, Lib. I. cap. 9. § 10. Venetiis, 1568). Early in the fourteenth century Dante speaks of a gem in the marriage ring. "Disposata m'avea con la sua gemma." (*Purgatorio*, Canto v. last line.)

[4] It was to be of silver at Paris as late as 1786, without precious stone, engraving or letters.

[5] Brit. Mus. Harl. 2860. fo. 31. The words are distinctly: *Sine auro et sine lapide aliquo.*

[6] De Fontenay, *Manuel de l'Amateur de jetons*, Paris 1854. p. 103. At Bourdeaux the French rubric speaks of the *Benediction des erres ou treizain*, a meaning of *treizain* not noticed by Littré.

[7] I have looked through all the printed editions of the Sarum Manual in the British Museum but do not find this direction in them.

subjection and obedience. And the Bridegroom again casteth the cappe of his gowne or upper garment over the Bride, in token of his duetie to protect and cherish her."[1]

Bodenstedt says that among the Armenians the bride kneels at the feet of the bridegroom when she meets her future husband on the day of the marriage.[2]

The falling at the feet of the husband does not appear in the book of 1549. If Cranmer had but the printed Sarum *Manualia* and *Missalia* before him, this circumstance might account for the discontinuance of the practice; for though all are well aware of his Lutheran and even Zwinglian opinions, yet it does not appear that he was inclined to follow the innovators in their slack teaching on the subject of matrimony. The modern upholders of the rights of women would never endure this ceremony for one moment: and I fancy that pride, not superstition, has a great deal to do with a practice which J. B. Thiers denounces: the bride was accustomed to let the ring fall from her finger as soon as it was put on.[3] Necessarily she would stoop to pick up the ring, or make some attempt at this; and so a reason would be given for her bending or courtesying at her husband's feet, and the appearance of worship paid to him would be got rid of.

It is to be feared that St. Augustine is inclined as little as St. Paul to favour modern ideas: for he says that one of the characters of a good *materfamiiias* is that she is not ashamed to call herself the servant *(ancilla)* of her husband.[4]

In the Ely Pontifical (No. V. of Dr. Henderson's collection) both bride and bridegroom are directed to kneel at the priest's feet immediately after the giving of the ring, as the rubric in the Book of Common Prayer since 1662 has commanded.

The joining of the right hands in marriage is very ancient and widespread amongst Christians and heathen. Tertullian, one of the early fathers, speaks of the joining of hands as practised at marriages.[5] In some English books (York, Sarum, Hereford, Exeter,) the joining of the right hands took place while the man and woman plighted their troth, as in the book of 1549: but at Westminster and in No. IX. of Dr. Henderson's collection the priest joined both hands at the very opening of the service, while at Evesham there is no mention of such ceremony in the original text, though added in the later hand. In none of the older English books, however, is the ceremony so striking as in the book of 1549, accompanied as it is by impressive words of which there will be more to say hereafter.

The early Roman *Sacerdotalia* direct the priest to join the right hands together directly the man and woman have given their consent, saying: *ego vos conjungo in matrimonium,* and he wraps the hands in the stole folded in the form of a cross. Much the same directions are given in the *Rituale* of Gregory XIII., but in the Roman book of 1606 the stole is no longer ordered to be put over the right hands of the new married couple, and the same omission is also made in the *Rituale* of Paul V. In a large number of the foreign diocesan books, however, the covering of the joined hands with the ends of the stole is still ordered notwithstanding the omission of the ceremony in the *Rituale* of Paul V. There seems no evidence that it was ever done in England.

At Prague in 1848, instead of the ends of the stole, there was an alternative custom of putting a 'rose' upon the hands of the new married couple. "Ubi consuetudo est quod rosa ponatur super junctas manus sponsorum sacerdos dicit: Matrimonium etc." From enquiries made by Count Léon de Mniczech of the Countess von Blome, it would seem that this custom is now entirely unknown in Bohemia, so that at this moment it cannot be ascertained what the 'rose' was.

The joining of hands and covering with the stole remain in the manual printed by the Jesuits for use in Japan, although there is no indication of the use of a ring. Mr. W. J. Birkbeck tells me that the Easterns consider the sacrament to be accomplished when the priest joins the hands of the bride and bridegroom, not when they give their consent to one another. The joining of hands takes place some time after the mutual consent has been given.[6]

A very ancient practice was the holding of a veil, called in English the care-cloth, over the new married couple; but it has disappeared in the book of 1549. In the English pre-Reformation books it is to be found in those of Sarum, York, Hereford, Exeter, Westminster, Evesham, and the Welsh order No. X., supposed by Dr. Henderson to be of St. Asaph; with the exception of

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[1] G. Fletcher, *Of the Russe Common Wealth*, Lond. Thomas Charde, 1591. Chap. 24. fo. 101.

[2] F. M. Bodenstedt, *Ein Tausend und ein Tag*. Berlin 1850. quoted by Denzinger, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 471.

[3] J. B. Thiers, *op. cit.* § xi. p. 457.

[4] S. Augustini episcopi *Sermo* xxxvii. Cap. vi. (*Opera*, Migne, t. v. col. 225.) "Agnoscat, inquam, se ancillam, nec timeat conditionem."

[5] Tertullian, *de virginibus velandis*, cap. xi. Migne, *Opera omnia*, t. ii. col. 904.

[6] Goar, *op. cit.* p. 394. note i.

the York and Exeter books, the care-cloth was apparently to be held over the heads of the new married couple from *Sanctus* in the spousal mass to *Pax* just before Communion.[1]

This veil or canopy is held over them by clerks in surplices; four, according to Sarum and Exeter; two according to York; while at Hereford four clerks held the veil over their backs. At Lyre the veil was held by four persons; at Lyons, and Soissons in modern times by two persons only, as in the accompanying print lent by Mr. J. N. Comper.

FRENCH PRINT OF A MARRIAGE POSSIBLY BETWEEN 1815 AND 1820.

Showing a veil held over the heads of the bride and bridegroom by two children; the bridegroom kneeling on the left of the bride, a lighted candle by their side; also the preservation of the early custom of the altar lights being set, not on the altar, but on the ground at the altar-ends.

In the Roman *Sacerdotalia*, the veil is put over the head of the bride, but only over the shoulders of the bridegroom, apparently to avoid covering his head while in church. It was the same at Arles. At Rouen in 1640, there is a curious direction to cover the children with the veil (if any have been born before matrimony) at the same time as their parents, so as to ensure that the offspring be made legitimate by the ceremony.[2] By the Canon Law, as at the present day in Scotland, though not in England, marriage later on makes the children born before marriage legitimate.

This nuptial veil seems to be of very great antiquity, part of the heathen customs of the Roman commonwealth. The bride was there veiled with a *flammeum*, so called on account of its red or flame-like colour; later on this veil began to be put over the bridegroom as well as the bride, as the printed Roman *Sacerdotalia* show; and in England and elsewhere merely held by the clerks over the heads of the new married couple. The veil is spoken of not only in the early printed Roman *Sacerdotalia* but also in the *Rituale Romanum* of 1584. This book was published after the Roman Missal of Pius V. in 1570. Now this missal contains no note of the use of the nuptial veil, nor do I find it spoken of in any later edition. There is also no mention of the veil in the Roman *Ordo Baptizandi*, etc., of 1606, nor in the *Rituale* of Paul V., from which we may infer that the practice had been given up as an ordinary custom at Rome, just as

[1] I cannot help thinking that the Exeter direction is the more reasonable: Post Sanctus prosternant se sponsus et sponsa ad gradum altaris: in oracione dominica [dominica *is omitted in* Sarum *and others*] extenso pallio super eos, etc. In some churches, as Auxerre, Arles, and Triers, it is said that the new married are not to be covered with the veil until the blessing is ready to be given.

[2] From Littré (*Dictionnaire*, s. v. poêle) this would seem to have been a recognised custom throughout France.

it was given up in England in 1549. Indeed so forgotten was the custom in Italy that when in 1789, at the marriage of a prince of the house of Savoy, the practice was restored, it was denounced as an innovation, and a pamphlet had to be written in proof of its antiquity.[1] It continued, however, in France into the present century. Mr. J. N. Comper has allowed me to reproduce a French print, drawn apparently immediately after the restoration, in which two children standing on stools hold the veil over the heads of the new married couple. Not many years ago at a marriage in London a blue silk veil was held over the heads of the bride and bridegroom by four clergymen in surplices during the benediction by the celebrant.

There may be a relic of this veil at Bologna in 1593. The curate is to put upon the neck of the bride and bridegroom a white veil made like a fillet after the fashion of a stole, and he is then to join them together in matrimony.[2] At Arles the priest was to put a veil over the shoulders (*scapulas*) of the bridegroom and the head of the bride, and then a *jugalis*[3] over the shoulders of both (*humeros.*) So, too, at Salamanca in 1532 the minister at the spousal mass covered the new married couple with a linen cloth, covering the man's shoulders and the woman's head, as in the Roman *Sacerdotale* spoken of above; and over the linen there was put around them a hallowed girdle (*cingulo benedicto*) and the minister of the mass said to them: Iugum enim meum suave est: et onus meum leve. There is perhaps a play upon the word *jugalis.*

What the hallowed girdle was I do not know. There may be an allusion to it in St. Isidore of Seville who speaks of the new married persons being bound by the deacon[4] after the blessing with a fillet purple and white in colour. The crowns amongst the Greeks, considered by them so important a part of the marriage ceremonies, are, according to Goar and Smith, made of olive branches "stitched over with white silk and interwoven with purple,"[5] the two colours of the fillet described by St. Isidore.

The Armenian bride wears a veil, of red colour, which covers her from head to foot, says a writer of the end of the last century.[6] And the red colour would seem to show its descent from, or affinity with, the Roman *flammeum.* The purple of the Christian veil mentioned by St. Isidore had most likely its source in the red of the pagan *flammeum.* At Toledo in 1554 the veil was either purple or white.

In modern times the veil seems to have been wholly white. It was so at Paris in 1786, at Lyons, Soissons, and Lisieux. In the *Rituale Romanum* of Gregory XIII. where the veil is mentioned for the last time in a Roman *Rituale* it is to be of silk or linen. This was also the material of the care-cloth in English inventories.[7]

In England according to Polydore Vergil the bride wore a garland of wheat on her head or carried it in her hand, as she returned home; and wheat was thrown upon her head also on entering the house as an omen of fruitfulness.[8] In Chaucer's *Clerk of Oxenforde's Tale* they dress a crown on patient Grissel's head when she is to be married; but it should be noted that she is to marry a marquis.[9] In Russia also Giles Fletcher tells us they fling corn out of the windows on the new married pair in token of plenty.[10]

The Sarum, Hereford, Exeter, Westminster, and Evesham books direct that at the end of mass the priest should bless bread and wine, or some other drink, in a suitable vessel, and give them to the bride and bridegroom. Probably the bread was put into the liquor and made a sop of. This was no longer ordered in 1549, but it appears to have continued as an ancient custom. Shakspere, no doubt describing an Elizabethan marriage in *The Taming of the*

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[1] Matthaei Gianolio, *De antiquo ecclesiæ ritu expandendi velum super sponsos in benedictione nuptiarum*, Vercellis, 1789. Ex Patrio typographeo.

[2] "Il Curato . . . . ponga al collo de sposi la benda bianca di velo à guisa di stola, e li congiunga in matrimonio." p. 83. The practice is spoken of by Selden, *Uxor Ebraica*, cap. xxvi.

[3] I do not know what a *jugalis* is, whether different from the care-cloth or the same as that already put on the new married couple. This is the only instance that Ducange cites.

[4] "Nubentes post benedictionem a Levita invicem uno vinculo copulantur." (B. Isidori . . *de officiis*, Lib. ii. cap. xix. Venetiis, 1558, fo. 38. b.) but Hittorp's ed. (Paris, 1610.) reads benedictionem vitæ (? vittæ) uno invicem vinculo. It may thus mean either that the fillet is blessed, or that the minister binds the two persons together.

[5] Goar, *Euchologion*, Paris, 1647. p. 397. Thomas Smith, *Account of the Greek Church*, London, 1680. p. 189.

[6] Giovanni de Serpos, *Compendio storico . . . . della nazione Armena*, Venezia, 1786, t. iii. p. 166.

[7] See Dr. Murray's *New English Dictionary*, s.v. Care-cloth.

[8] Polydore Vergil, *loc. cit.*

[9] Line 185. Richard Morris ed. Vol. ii. p. 290.

[10] G. Fletcher, *op. cit.* fo. 102.

Shrew,[1] speaks of the drink brought at the end of the ceremony and of the sops in it. The drink was muscadel, upon which Howard Staunton comments that the custom of taking wine and sops was almost universal, and "the beverage usually chosen was *Muscadel*, or *Muscadine*, or a medicated drink called *Hippocras*."[2] This we have seen is in accordance with the Sarum rubric which speaks of 'Vinum vel aliud quid potabile in vasculo.'

Of this vessel we have an account given to us by Polydore Vergil, who visited England at the end of the fifteenth century, and described some of our marriage customs. He says that on their return home from church, there is borne before the new married couple, instead of a torch,[3] a vessel of gold or silver.[4] Such a vessel there would seem to be still at Kidderminster, though called by some a chalice or communion cup. This cup was given to the town of Kidderminster in Elizabethan times to be carried before the bride and bridegroom. It is therefore, most likely, such a vessel as Polydore Vergil says was carried in England a hundred years before; and there can be no profanity in using it as a loving cup, for which indeed it was at first intended. It seems to be no sort of chalice or communion cup. Brand speaks of "two Masers that were appointed to remayne in the Church for to drynk yn at Brideales," being in an inventory of the church at Wilsdon in 1547, and of "a fair Bride Cup of silver gilt, carried before her," *i.e.* the bride, at Newbury.[5]

The early printed Roman *Sacerdotalia*, with a host of foreign books, direct the same blessing of the bread and wine that is to be given to the new married couple. At some churches only wine is given, as at Amiens; and in some German books the wine is called *Amor S. Johannis* in some connexion with the legend of the casting out of the serpent from the cup by St. John Evangelist. (Augsburg, 1499. Salzburg, Würzburg, and many others.)

At Paris in Cardinal Bourbon's time, according to Martene, the blessing of the bread and wine took place at the door of the house before the new married entered. At Limoges, at the end of mass, the priest broke a hallowed host (*hostiam benedictam*) and gave to each of the new married couple his or her part in token of marital love. This "host" was in all likelihood an obley or singing bread, not consecrated in the canon of the mass; but the expression raises a question about which there has been some debate. The same may be said of a rubric at Triers in 1574, which directs the priest to break the bread on the altar and give one part to the bridegroom and the other to the bride, with wine. Does this mean that the blessed bread and wine are substitutes for communion, or are they the relics of a love-feast after communion? That the new married people were to receive communion at the time of their marriage seems shown by the fact that the earliest marriage services in the Roman sacramentaries are nuptial masses.[6] In the pontifical of Arles printed by Martene the marriage itself takes place after the Canon of the Mass, before the *Pax*. At Soissons in 1753 it is after the offertory. In the book of 1549. it was therefore only a return to primitive custom to order that "the new married persons (the same day of their marriage) must receive the holy communion." At the same time it would seem that in these days it would be impossible to enforce the rubric. Still, even if

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[1] When the priest
Should ask, if Katherine should be his wife,
'Ay, by gogs-wouns,' quoth he; and swore so loud,
That all amazed the priest let fall the book;
And as he stoop'd again to pick it up,
This mad-brain'd bridegroom took him such a cuff,
That down fell priest and book, and book and priest;
'Now take them up' quoth he, 'if any list.'
Tranio. What said the wench when he rose again?
Gremio. Trembled and shook; for why he stamp'd and swore,
As if the vicar meant to cozen him.
But after many ceremonies done,
He calls for wine: 'a health!' quoth he; as if
He had been aboard, carousing to his mates
After a storm: quaff'd off the muscadel,
And threw the sops all in the sexton's face.
Taming of the Shrew III. ii. 155.

[2] Howard Staunton, *The Plays of Shakespeare*, Lond. 1858. vol. i. p. 276. John Brand (*Observations on Popular Antiquities*, London, 1813. vol. ii. p. 63.) notes from Leland's *Collectanea* that "wyne and sopes were hallowed and delyvered" to Philip and Mary at their marriage at Winchester; and he refers to Robert Armin's *History of the Two Maids of Moreclacke*, 1609, for the use of muscadine. Nearly all the learning on this subject that has appeared since 1813, is to be found in Brand's book.

[3] And with hir fuyrbrond in hir hond aboute
Daunceth bifore the bryde and al the route.
Chaucer, *The Marchaunde's Tale*, 483—4.

[4] Polydori Vergili *de rerum inventoribus* Lib. i. cap iv. Basileæ, 1570. p. 24.

[5] Brand, *op. cit.* pp. 45 and 64.

[6] In the Gelasian Sacramentary there is "Pax vobiscum. *Et sic eos communicas.*" (H. A. Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1894. p. 267.)

it be a counsel of perfection, it should be kept before the eyes of Christians. In the *Rituale Romanum* of Gregory XIII. printed in 1584 it seems to be taken for granted that the new married communicate in the nuptial mass, directly after the priest; and in the later editions of the modern Roman mass book (not in the earlier Pian) a suggestion is made of the same thing, that the new married shall communicate in the nuptial mass immediately after the priest; and when the marriage is to be blessed by a prelate the pontifical assumes that they shall do so.[1] The Ambrosian *Rituale* directs that communion shall be offered (*praebetur*) to them. According to Goar mass is said before the marriage among the Greeks and it might be thought that the bride and bridegroom would naturally be communicated in this mass;[2] though this seems inconsistent with what is said later on that communion with the presanctified species is given after the crowning, and before the cup of wine hallowed by the priest is given to them to drink. Ordinarily in Russia, Mr. W. J. Birkbeck tells me, marriages take place before vespers, that is three o'clock in winter and four o'clock in summer. But amongst the rich, evening weddings are very common. The stricter people still marry immediately after mass; and the Eastern ritualists acknowledge that it was the earlier custom to marry before mass, in order that the new married might communicate.[3]

The accompanying of the bridal party to church with instruments of music, etc., seems to have been as great a nuisance in England as in France. Archbishop Whitgift complains of the bagpipes and fiddlers who disturb the congregation,[4] and J. B. Thiers quotes numerous *Ritualia* and decrees of Synods forbidding music within the church at the time of marriage, even so much as to sing *Credo* and *O Salutaris Hostia* at the mass.[5] The *Charivari* used at second marriages, as a sort of insult, is quite a different thing from orderly music, and it is repeatedly forbidden by councils and ritual books both in the middle ages and in more modern times.

Having thus glanced at some of the middle age ceremonies of marriage, there are three changes in the marriage service of 1549 to which I should like to draw more particular attention. First, the address at the beginning of the service. Secondly, the direction to put the ring on the left hand. Thirdly, the addition of the words: "Those whom God hath joined, etc."

I. Some years ago when I was working at the history of the relations of the breviary of Cardinal Quignon to the Book of Common Prayer I asked Dr. Ince, the Canon of Christ Church at Oxford, who as Regius Professor of Divinity is the keeper of the Allestree Library, to examine for me the copy of the Book of Common Prayer, preserved in that library, which is enriched with a number of manuscript notes by Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford, once upon a time Dr. Ince's predecessor in the Divinity Chair. I cannot mention Dr. Lloyd's name without expressing some of the gratitude which I feel for his great services to the study of liturgy in this country. It is to him, most likely, that we owe the existence of our Society and other kindred associations for the study of ecclesiological and liturgical topics; for to Dr. Lloyd may be traced the first beginnings of the revival of these studies which has marked the last sixty years of this century. When a young man Dr. Lloyd served a parish in the north of London in which lived a number of French clergymen, driven from their homes by the French Revolution. The *emigrés* were noticed by him to assemble at stated times for the recitation of the breviary. He was led to inquire into the book; and he found that its structure reminded him of the Matins and Evensong of the Book of Common Prayer.[6] Later on Dr. Lloyd became Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford; and to illustrate his lectures on the Prayer Book breviaries were brought down from the library and shown to his class.[7] Amongst his hearers were several of the writers of *Tracts for the Times;* and Dr. Lloyd's teachings were delivered to a larger circle when Tract No. 75 was published by J. H. Newman; and a permanent monument of Dr. Lloyd's influence was raised when Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ* appeared. Mr. Goldwin Smith regards

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[1] J. Catalani, *Additamenta ad Pontificale Romanum* tit. iv. de benedictione nuptiarum, in *Pontificale Romanum*, Parisiis, 1852. t. iii. p. 471. It should also be noted that the bride and bridegroom are themselves to say *Amen* after the words said in giving them communion. This is the only instance in the Roman rite that I know of at the present day where the communicant is told to answer *Amen;* as he does still at Milan, and used to do at Paris and elsewhere. In the Church of Scotland it is still ordered.

[2] Iac. Goar, *Euchologion*, Lut. Par. 1647. pp. 380. 392. 394 note c.

[3] There is no recommendation of communion at the time of marriage in the American book of common prayer, either in the earlier edition, or in the revised edition of 1892.

[4] Abp. Whitgift, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 353 Parker Soc. quoted in Philip Stubbes' *Anatomy of the Abuses in England*, New Shakspere Society, 1877–9. p. 309.

[5] J. B. Thiers, *op. cit.* ¶ xv. p. 462.

[6] I don't mean to say that Dr. Lloyd discovered this point. It was known even to correspondents of the *Gentlemen's Magazine* in 1795. (vol 65. Sept. p. 727.)

[7] For the knowledge of this fact I am indebted to the late Dr. Liddon, Canon of St. Paul's.

"the French Revolution as the greatest calamity in history":[1] and a Christian worthy of the name can hardly be expected to look upon its mad work with favour: yet here is a somewhat surprising result out of such a disaster: the starting of a fresh study of a part of Christian antiquity, which has had great influence in directing the thoughts of men to a region of history that the authors of the revolution would have done their best to obliterate.

I have often thought that Cardinal Newman may have drawn his knowledge of the connexion of the Quignon breviary with the book of common prayer from the lectures which Dr. Lloyd delivered in Oxford. Dr. Ince was unable, however, to gain further support for this opinion from the manuscript notes made by Dr. Lloyd; but Dr. Ince found in the comments on the marriage service that Dr. Lloyd had noticed a very close relation between the address at the beginning of the present English service and that in the same place in a seventeenth century Paris *Rituale*. Dr. Ince's discovery greatly interested me; and when passing through Paris in May 1892 I was enabled by the courtesy of Monsieur Léopold Delisle to examine all the editions of the Parisian *Ritualia* now in the national library at Paris. In only one edition did I find an address which corresponded with that in the Prayer Book, viz. in that printed by order of Archbishop de Gondy in the middle of the seventeenth century. None of the others showed an address like this. Now the wording of the address of the Paris book follows that of the English book of 1549 very closely. Both begin by stating that matrimony was ordained of God in paradise and adorned by the first miracle at Cana, and they then both state the three ends of marriage: First, the procreation of children; secondly, the avoidance of sin; and thirdly, the mutual help and comfort that one ought to give the other. Now the resemblance between these two addresses is so great that one is forced to entertain one of two opinions; either that the French book has copied from the English book; or that both have drawn from a common source. Now it seems unlikely that the Archbishop of Paris would copy the English service: and the opinion that both draw from a common source is strengthened by the fact that similar addresses, going over the same ground, though the wording may be more diffuse, are to be found in many diocesan books. For example in the *Pastorale* of St. Omer in 1606, the address is very like the English, but somewhat longer. The Rouen *Sacerdotale* of 1640 contains the mention of the institution of marriage at the beginning of the world and of the three ends of matrimony. So, too, are there addresses in the German *Agenda* like those in the English and Parisian books: amongst which we may note that of Mentz, the primatial see of Germany, in 1551, which speaks of the institution of marriage in Paradise and the miracle of Cana, together with the three ends of marriage. So also the Würzburg *Agenda* of 1564, the Salzburg *Agenda* of 1557, and *Manuale* of 1582, the Strassburg *Agenda* of 1590, the Mechlin *Pastorale* of 1588, the Passau *Pastorale* in 1608, the *Sacerdotale* of Brixen in 1710. The *Rituale* of Augsburg as late as 1764 contains an address like that of the English book, but it leaves out the mention of the miracle at Cana. The *Manuale* printed by the Jesuits for use in Japan in 1605, gives an address with the mention of the institution of marriage in paradise, the miracle at Cana, and the three ends.

A late English Roman Catholic book for the administration of the Sacraments gives in its appendix an address before marriage which begins by speaking of the institution of matrimony in paradise, and its being honoured by the first miracle at Cana, and it then sets forth the three ends of matrimony, as the procreation of children, a remedy against concupiscence, and the benefit of conjugal society.[2]

It is clear then that the materials out of which the English and Parisian addresses were made were known to many. Cranmer does not seem to have taken that of the book of 1549 from any English service book;[3] probably therefore it has some German origin. Mr.

[1] Goldwin Smith, *Nineteenth Century*, Sept. 1886. p. 316. Mr. Goldwin Smith can hardly be said to be a person prejudiced against revolution; he gave up his chair of history at Oxford to live in America rather than dwell under the shadow of the old institutions of a country like England.

[2] *Ordo Administrandi Sacramenta et alia quædam officia Ecclesiastica ritè peragendi in Missione Anglicanâ.* Appendix, Chapter III. p. 19. No place or printer, but the date 1759 appears on title of appendix.

[3] Cranmer had two manuscripts of John de Burgo's *Pupilla Oculi* in his library (see Mr. Burbidge's article in *A Dictionary of Book Collectors*) and in the part which treats of matrimony (Partis viii. Cap. i. sect. C.) may be found two of the ends of matrimony *procreatio prolis* and *remedium sanctitatis contra peccatum* with mention of its institution in Paradise. The third is not so clearly expressed, though the grace conferred is shortly spoken of in Sect. D.

There is something also in Chaucer's *Marchaundes Tale* verses 198—211. like the three ends of marriage:

Ther spekith many man of mariage,
That wot no more of it than wot my page
For whiche causes man schulde take a wyf.
If he ne may not chast be by his lif,
Take him a wif with gret devocioun,
Bycause of lawful procreacioun
Of children, to thonour of God above,
And not oonly for paramour and for love;

Procter[1] has, indeed, pointed out that the three ends of marriage are to be found in John a Lasco: and I find more than these; viz. the mention of the institution of matrimony and of the miracle at Cana in the long address of 12 octavo pages which precedes the setting forth of the three ends of marriage.[2] But the three ends of marriage (*proles, fides pudicitiæ, sacramentum solationis*) are by no means particular to John a Lasco. They may be found fully set out in a number of diocesan *ritualia* which do not give any address to the bride and bridegroom, but contain preliminary rubrics which deal with the nature of matrimony, and the like.[3] Also they may be found in several mediæval writers, schoolmen like St. Thomas[4] and Peter Lombard[5] and may be traced up to St. Isidore of Seville[6] and even to St. Augustine himself.[7]

According to Covel the Greeks also teach the three ends of marriage to be: i. Procreation of children; ii. to avoid incontinency; iii. mutual comfort and society.[8]

Cranmer, in all likelihood then, drew up his address at the beginning of the marriage service from materials given him, if not by John a Lasco, perhaps by some other German refugee, inspired by the ancient *Agenda* of his country. These *Agenda* again drew their ideas from the writers on the Canon law and the schoolmen, ideas which may be traced far back into Christian antiquity. Cranmer inserted these foreign materials into the middle of the old Sarum address, retaining its beginning and its ending,[9] and making it substantially the form which we now have. He also added an address to the bride and bridegroom beginning *I require and charge you*, for although in the Sarum and Hereford books the priest is to ask the man and woman if they know of any impediment yet no *formula* is given. In the York book a *formula* is given, and like that in the book of 1549 the day of doom is mentioned to heighten the solemnity of the appeal.

II. Happening one day to show to Dr. Aidan Gasquet at the British Museum the address in the Paris *Rituale*, he suggested to me that there was another point in the marriage service that should be worked out: the hand on which the ring was placed, whether right or left. I was then too busy with other pursuits to follow out the learned Benedictine's suggestion;

And for thay schulde leccherye eschiewe,
And yeld oure dettes whan that it is due;
Or for that ilk man schulde helpen other
In meschief as a suster schal to the brother,
And lyve in chastite full hevenly.

Ed. Morris, vol. ii. p. 324.

[1] Francis Procter, *A History of the Book of Common Prayer*, Lond. 1892. Occasional Offices, p. 438 note.

[2] Jo. a Lasco, *Opera*, Ed. Kuyper, Amstelodami, 1866, Vol. ii. pp. 251-263. I find nothing like it in Osiander and Brenz' book. (A. L. Richter, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen*, Leipzig, 1871. Bd. I. S. 209.)

[3] See especially the Catechism of the Council of Trent, published first, I believe, in 1566. *De matrimonii Sacramento*, Cap. VIII. §§ 10–14. It would no doubt have great influence on the teaching of the post-Tridentine *Ritualia*. In the *Rituale Romanum* of Gregory XIII. (p. 505) we read: "Cumque Matrimonium a Deo sit institutum, tum præcipue ad sobolem procreandam, quæ ad Dei cultum educetur; tum etiam in remedium incontinentiæ, et ad vitandum fornicationem, sancte illo post modum uti, religiose colere, honestum ducere, honorifice pertractare, se ipsos mutuo diligere, et fidem sibi dederint inviolatam usque ad mortem perpetuo servare debebunt." In the Brixen *Sacerdotale* the three ends are given as: "susceptio prolis, remedium concupiscentiæ, mutua conjugum obsequia." The curate is told to give an address on these three heads in the *Ordo celebrandi matrimonium* of St. Charles Borromeo. (*Acta Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis*, Mediol. 1599. Pars iiii. p. 554.)

[4] St. Thomas, *Tertiæ partis summæ theologicæ. Supplementum* Quæstio XLI. art. i. and XLII. art. i.

[5] Petri Lombardi . . . . *Sententiarum* Lib. iv. Distinct. xxxi. De tribus bonis conjugii. Venetiis, 1572. fo. 401. b.

[6] Beati Isidori Hispalensis, *De officiis Ecclesiasticis*, Lib. ii. cap. 19. Venetiis, 1559. p. 39. This is a reprint of Cochleus' edition, and it mentions Cranmer in the preface. "Nuptialia autem bona tria sunt, proles, fides, sacramentum."

[7] St. Augustine, *De genesi ad litteram*, lib. ix. cap. vii. *Matrimonii triplex bonum* . . . . fides, proles, sacramentum.

[8] John Covel, *Some account of the present Greek Church*, Cambridge, 1722. p. 221.

[9] There is a little more than the old Sarum address left in the early edition of the American book of Common Prayer. In that of 1892 the remembrance of the institution of marriage in the time of man's innocency and of the miracle at Cana has been put back; but it may be supposed that modern prudery would have been shocked by the mention of the ends of marriage. It is hard to be patient with those who are horrified by a little plain speaking in church, but who suffer their families to read modern novels which an elder generation would have thrown out of the window.

Dr. John Henry Blunt (*Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, Lond. 1884. p. 451. note) complains of "unnecessarily coarse words" which "were erased by Cosin in his revised Prayer Book." There is nothing in the edition of Cosin's Prayer Book published by the Surtees Society (*Correspondence of John Cosin*, 1872. Part ii. p. 73) that justifies Dr. Blunt's statement that Cosin erased the words "like brute beasts which have no understanding." It would rather seem that he approved of them; for he quotes them in his notes on the book of Common Prayer. (*Works*, Lib. of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Oxford, 1855, Vol. V. p. 156.) St. Charles Borromeo, whose piety no one can impeach, inserts the words from Ps. xxxii. [31 Vulgate] *sicut equus et mulus quibus non est intellectus* in his Instructions before Marriage. (*Acta Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis*, Mediol. 1599. Pars iiii. p. 550.)

but an enforced idleness during the last few months has given me the opportunity of considering the question a little more fully.

Now in England before 1549 it would seem that the ring in marriage was put upon the right hand of the bride. Polydore Vergil, travelling in England towards the end of the fifteenth century, tells us that the bridegroom put the ring on the ring finger of the right hand of the bride.[1] In the Sarum manual and in the Evesham book the bridegroom leaves the ring on the fourth finger (that is counting the thumb as the first finger) of the right hand.

But in the book of 1549 the bridegroom is directed to put the ring on the fourth finger of the woman's left hand; and the same direction has been retained in the various revisions of the prayer book ever since.

A great number of the older books, like St. Isidore of Seville,[2] do not tell us upon which hand the ring is to be placed; though the ring is usually ordered to be left on the fourth finger, which is called *medius* or *medicus*.[3] When the hand is indicated in the old books it is nearly always the right.

But there are a few instances in which a direction is given to place the ring on the left hand. At Lyre, a monastery in the Norman diocese of Evreux, the ring was in the end put on the left hand: and the directions are so curious that they are worth giving at length from Martene:

"Here the bridegroom takes the ring, and together with the priest puts the ring upon the first three fingers of the right hand of the bride, saying at the first finger: *in the name of the Father;* at the second: *and of the Son;* at the third: *and of the Holy Ghost.* And then let him set the said ring upon one of the fingers of the left hand, and leave it there, so that from henceforth the bride may wear it on the left hand for a difference between her estate and the episcopal order, by whom the ring is publicly worn on the right hand as a symbol of full and entire chastity." Now John Stephen Durant, who died in 1589, according to Zaccaria, says that the bishop should wear his ring on the ring finger of the left hand, and that the same finger is adorned in marriage with a ring; though a few sentences after he seems to say that the bishop should always wear his ring on the fore finger of the right hand.[4] The Roman Pontifical from 1520 to the present day directs that the ring shall be put on the bishop's right ring finger at his consecration.[5]

The words of William Durand, Bishop of Mende, who died in 1296, are usually understood to mean that the bishop wears his ring on the index finger.[6] Gavantus reconciles the statements of Durand and the rubric of the Pontifical by saying that out of mass the bishop wears the ring on the index finger, but when saying mass he wears it on the ring finger, of the right hand.[7]

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[1] Polydori Vergilii *op. cit.* Lib. V. Cap. v. p. 409. Apud Anglos . . . vir annulum insignem . . . sponsæ digito qui minimo dextræ manus proximus est indit.

From the English monumental effigies I have not been able to gather decided evidence in favour of the right or left hand. Some married women have rings on all the fingers of both hands, or wear rings on the ring finger of both hands. The following are the cases most to the point that I have noticed. Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, who died in 1475, wears rings on the middle or third finger of the right hand. (T. & G. Hollis, *Monumental Effigies*, Westminster, 1840-2, part vi. No. 7.) Margaret, wife of Sir John Talbot, about 1550, wears rings on both forefingers, the ring finger of the right hand and the little finger of the left. (*Ibid.* part vi. No. 10.) Lady Crosby, who died at the end of the fifteenth century, wears rings on the little and forefingers of the right hand. (Stothard, *Monumental Effigies*, Lond. 1817. p. 99.) The most marked instance is that of the Countess of Essex in Little Easton Church. The ring is on the ring finger of the right hand. (J. G. & L. A. B. Waller, *A Series of Monumental Brasses.* Lond. 1864.) If both hands could be seen in the effigy of Andrew Effyngar and his wife in All Hallows' Barking, the evidence would be in favour of the left hand; for the woman has a ring on the ring finger of the left, the man on ring finger of the right, hand.

In the portrait of Queen Mary Tudor in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries, two rings adorned with gems are on the ring finger of the left hand, none on the right. It may be remembered that this queen was married after 1549.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] There can be no doubt that *medius* and *medicus* are often the same: we have the authority of Ducange for the opinion. But it was not always so understood in the middle ages. The Exeter Pontifical (ed. Ralph Barnes, Exeter, 1847. p. 259.) speaking of the finger on which the ring is to be left says: "non in medio sicut in pluribus libris scriptum est; sed in quarto digito." And in some places, as at Westminster, I doubt if they counted the thumb as the first finger. See also the Autun book, p. 112. where *medius* seems to be the longest finger.

[4] J. S. Duranti, *De ritibus ecclesiæ catholicæ*, lib. ii. cap. ix. § 37, Lugd. 1606. p. 268. Cf. Macri, *Hierolexicon*, *sub voce* annulus, Venetiis 1712. p. 36.

[5] *Pontificale secundum ritum SS. Ecclesie romane*, Venetiis, L. A. de giunta, 1520. The same finger is, ordered in the benediction of nuns and abbesses.

[6] "Porro secundum quod capiti, scilicet Christo convenit anulus digiti, donum significat sancti Spiritus. Digitus enim articularis atque distinctus Spiritum sanctum insinuat." (Gul. Durandi, *Rationale*, Lib. III. cap. xiv. Venetiis, Perchacinum, 1568.)

[7] Bartholomaei Gavanti, *Thesaurus Sacrorum Rituum*, Pars II. Tit. I. August. Vindelic. 1763. ed. Merati t. i. p. 152.

The King of England has the ring at his coronation put upon the fourth or ring finger of his right hand.[1] It is the same with the King of France.[2]

St. Charles Borromeo in the fourth provincial council of Milan is particular to say that the ring must be put on the left hand of the bride, not the right;[3] and this language would make one think that an alteration was being made; though the Rev. Dr. Achille Ratti of the Ambrosian Library at Milan tells me that in the Ambrosian books before the time of St. Charles he has been unable to discover any particular direction as to the hand on which the ring in marriage is to be put. The custom ordered by St. Charles has I find continued in the Ambrosian books to this day.

At Salamanca in 1532 the ring was put on the left hand of the bride, but on the right of the bridegroom. At Aquileia in 1575 the hand of the bride is not indicated, but the bridegroom's ring is put upon the ring finger of the left hand. At Ferrara in 1608 the ring was to be put on the left hand of the bride.

To return to the books which order the ring to be put upon the right hand. The Greeks, according to Goar, put the rings upon the right hand both of the bride and the bridegroom.[4] The Copts put a golden ring upon the right hand of the bride, and the prayers which accompany the putting on of the rings amongst the Jacobites would almost justify the belief that it is the right hand with them.[5]

In the West, the ring is directed to be put on the right hand in the ancient *Ordines* printed by Martene from Rennes, Limoges, Rhemes, and Liège; in the early printed *Agenda* of Colone in 1521, Noyon in 1546, in the *Manuale* of Cambray in 1562, in the post-Tridentine books of Ghent in 1576, Mechlin in 1589, Bologna in 1593, Perugia in 1597, St. Omer in 1606, Rouen in 1640, Toledo in 1673, Ypres in 1693, Poland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Soissons so late as 1753. Thiers says it was the right hand at Bourdeaux in 1596.[6] It was also the right hand with the Jesuits in Paraguay in 1721. Even at the present day it is the right hand at Gran, the primatial see of Hungary, and at Colocza, another archiepiscopal Hungarian church. Also in the early printed Roman *Sacerdotalia* from 1535 to 1579 and in the *Rituale Romanum* of Cardinal Severina in 1584 the ring is directed to be put on the right hand. This is also the direction in a book claiming to be Roman, *Ex decreto sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini*, printed at Paris in 1594.[7]

But before the seventeenth century had well begun the Roman books had made a change, and the hand on which the ring is to be put was altered to the left. I find this first in a Roman book for the administration of the sacraments printed in 1600.[8] The same appears in the *Rituale* of Paul V. published in 1614 which is the authorized book of the Roman Church at this moment. It might be looked for that the publication of this book would have a great influence on the diocesan *ritualia* published after 1614. And this is the case. With few exceptions the more modern French and German books direct the ring to be put upon the left hand. The English Roman Catholic books, which in James II.'s time resisted the change,[9] have abandoned the Sarum and adopted the Roman custom in this particular at least since 1759.

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[1] Coronation Service in W. Maskell's *Monumenta Ritualia*, Lond. 1847. vol. iii. p. 116. W. Jerdan. *Rutland Papers*, Camden Soc. 1842. p. 18.

[2] *Le sacre et couronnement de Louys XIV.*, Reims, 1654. Sheet E. leaf 8.

[3] *Acta Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis*, Mediolani, P. Pontius, 1582. Pars I. fo. 84. b.

[4] Goar, *op. cit.* p. 382. G. V. Shann, *op. cit.* p. 56.

[5] Denzinger, *op. cit.* t. ii. pp. 365 and 389.

[6] J. B. Thiers, *op. cit.* § viii. p. 455.

[7] The early Italian paintings do not give a unanimous answer to the question whether the ring was put upon the right hand of the bride, or if during the marriage she stood on the left of the priest. The bride extends her right hand to receive the ring and stands on the left of the priest who faces the spectator in the following pictures of the marriage of the Virgin: Agnolo Gaddi (who died 1387) in the Duomo at Prato, Giotto in the Arena Chapel at Padua, Bernardino Luini at Saronno, Lorenzo di Viterbo, Pietro Perugino in the church near Spello. In the marriage of St. Francis with poverty, the same.

The opposite is the case in the marriage of the Virgin by Ghirlandajo in S. Maria Novella, Florence. Our Lady extends her left hand and stands on the right hand of the priest. In the marriage of St. Cecilia by Francia at Bologna, the same. In the *Sposalizio* by Raphael in the Brera at Milan, Blessed Mary stands on the right of the priest, and extends the right hand. There are thus seven in favour of the right hand in Italy; two in favour of the left.

I have taken these facts from the drawings of the Arundel Society and from photographs which Mr. Dewick has been kind enough to show me.

[8] *Ordo baptizandi et alia Sacramenta administrandi ex Romanæ Ecclesiæ ritu*, Venetiis apud Juntas, 1600. I am indebted for this reference to the Rev. E. S. Dewick. Also I find the same direction in one of my own books with the same title, published at Venice by Sessas, 1606. fo. 93.

[9] *Ordo baptizandi aliaque Sacramenta administrandi . . . pro Anglia Hibernia et Scotia*, Londini, Hen. Hills, 1686. p. 32.

We may remember that Cranmer did not think it beneath the dignity of the Primate of the Church of England to invite the opinion of a foreigner upon the new published book of Common Prayer; and that Bucer was graciously pleased to pass a favourable judgement, on the whole, upon the new marriage service. His opinion is so favourable that it raises the suspicion that perhaps he may have had some share in the work. Bucer says that from the ring finger of the left hand there is a nerve which passes to the heart.[1] Now the question arises: Did Bucer or John a Lasco introduce from Germany the new opinion that an anatomical peculiarity lay in the ring finger of the left hand, not of the right? and did Cranmer, not to be behind the times, change the right hand of the old English manual into the left hand, favouring the desire for reckless and wanton shiftings and changes which nowadays we call the spirit of progress? It would have been well for Cranmer's reputation if he had made experiments in matters of no greater importance than the hand on which the marriage ring is to be worn.

Putting Bucer and the foreigners aside, there may have been these reasons for the change of hand. Aulus Gellius[2] and Alexander ab Alexandro[3] state that the ancients wore the marriage ring upon the left hand. Now both of these authors are to be found in Cranmer's library, for a catalogue of which, so far as known, we are indebted to the Rev. Edward Burbidge, Prebendary of Wells.[4] So that if Cranmer had become acquainted with these opinions he might have thought it well to return to the practice of putting the ring on the left hand, and thus to follow the old Greek and Roman customs, as the general humanist tendency of his time would bid him. And the same influence from classical antiquity may have been at work with St. Charles Borromeo and the authorities of the Roman See in determining that the left hand rather than the right should have the ring put on it. The latter would also probably be not unwilling to establish some difference between the ring of matrimony and that of bishops and nuns.

How firmly the opinion was held that there was some anatomical peculiarity in the fourth finger, whether it were of the right or left hand, may be gathered from the writers on Canon Law and from liturgical books.[5] In these it is nearly always given as a reason for setting the ring on the fourth finger that thence a vein proceeds to the heart. Other writers say that it is a nerve or an artery. Sir Thomas Browne in his Vulgar Errors has seriously to refute the opinion that there is any anatomical peculiarity in the ring finger.[6] Vicary, who was probably known to Cranmer, for he was Sergeant Surgeon to four English Sovereigns in succession, published his book on anatomy in 1548, and even at that day he speaks of no anatomical peculiarity of the fourth finger, or of its special connexion with the heart.[7] So that if Cranmer had been content to take the advice which lay near to him, that of his own countryman Vicary, he would have been saved the reproach that can now be brought against him of being ready to listen to vain imaginings on a level with those of a Low-German astrologer like Lemnius,[8] and to sacrifice to foreigners the existence of an old English custom, of no great importance, perhaps, but still English, one, indeed, the prevalence of which amongst the Greeks with other Orientals as well as the Latins, would almost seem to have a right to be called Christian.

It is wonderful that the Puritans made no onset against this change of the ring from the right to the left hand; they had a text ready from the old Testament, always more to their taste than the new, from the prophet Jeremiah, quite as much to the point as many of their quotations in favour of 'scriptural' customs, "Though Coniah the son of Jehoiakim King of Judah were the signet upon my right hand yet would I pluck thee thence." (xxii. 24.) Here it is clearly the 'scriptural' custom to wear the ring on the right hand. The Puritans, however, were too bent on making frivolous objections to the Book of Common Prayer to be able to detect any of the real flaws in it.

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[1] Martini Buceri *Censura super libro sacrorum* etc. Cap. XX. in *Scripta Anglicana fere omnia*, Basileæ 1577. fo. p. 489. "Ita annuli insertionem in proximum minimo digitum manus sinistræ: in quo digito aiunt nervum quendam prodeuntem de corde finiri."

[2] Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Attic.* Lib. X. cap. x. Lond. 1824 t. i. p. 561. "Veteres Graecos annulum habuisse in digito accepimus sinistræ manus, qui minimo est proximus. Romanos quoque homines aiunt sic plerumque annulis usitatos."

[3] Alexander ab Alexandro, *Genialium Dierum* Lib. ii. cap. xix. Paris, 1532. fo. 44. b. "Quem quidem prior ætas in sinistra ferebat."

[4] In *A Dictionary of Book Collectors.* I owe a separate copy of the catalogue to the courtesy of Mr. Burbidge.

[5] I notice that the last edition of the Ambrosian *Rituale* (1885.) omits the words about the ring finger, "nam et in eo digito vena quædam esse dicitur quæ ad cor usque pervenit," which Dr. Achille Ratti tells me are in all the earlier editions. The Armenians in 1807 give this reason for the fourth finger. (Denzinger, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 451.)

[6] Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, Book 4. Chap. iv. London, Sec. ed. 1650. p. 157.

[7] Thomas Vicary, *The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man*, Ch. vii. Early English Text Society, 1888. p. 53.

[8] Levini Lemnii Medici Zirizaei *Occulta naturæ miracula*, Lib. ii. Cap. xi. Antverp. Gul. Simonem, 1559. fo. 123. b. The title to the chapter is: Digiti sinistræ manus qui infimo proximus est præstantia. He tells us how the doctors always use the ring finger of the left hand to stir up their drugs: and makes other statements, equally true, no doubt, of the great cures that he has wrought by rubbing this particular finger.

In many of the mediæval books the ring is put first on the thumb of the bride, with the words *in nomine patris;* then on the second or forefinger with the words *Et filii;* then on the third or middle finger with the words *Et spiritus sancti:* last of all on the fourth or ring finger with *Amen.* This was the rule at Sarum, York, Hereford, and the Welsh Manual No. X. in Dr. Henderson's collection. But at Evesham and in No. VII. and No. IX. of Dr. Henderson's collection the ring is not put on the middle or third finger, which is passed over. At Westminster it would seem that the marriage ring was left on the middle or third finger: the words run: "*ad tercium* et spiritus sancti amen." At Liège, Mechlin, and Colone (1626) it was to be on *digito annulari . . . . aut alii secundum morem loci.*

It would be too tedious to review in like manner the other mediæval formulæ; but there are one or two which seem worthy of being noted. At Amiens the bridegroom puts the ring on the thumb and little finger together at *In nomine patris:* on the fore and middle finger at *et filii;* and on the ring finger at *et spiritus sancti.* In one of the forms used at Limoges the ring was put on the fore finger at *in nomine patris,* and so on.

In 1549, these changings of the ring from one finger to the other were omitted, and the bridegroom was directed to put the ring at once "upon the fourth finger of the woman's left hand." Now this alteration made the English ceremony like that practised at Rome; for in the Roman *Sacerdotale* of 1537 the bridegroom puts the ring at once on the fourth finger of the bride saying *in nomine,* etc., and the rubric is continued in the books printed down to the *Rituale* of Paul V. in which no change is made in this matter.

The same direction as at Rome is given in all the modern Ambrosian *Ritualia* that I have seen. Most of the French diocesan books printed after the publication of the *Rituale* of Paul V. also conform to its directions: even at Rouen as early as 1640.

The English Roman Catholics have retained the Sarum customs in this respect down to the present time. In an edition of the Roman *Rituale,* adapted for England, printed in 1892, I see that the Sarum practice is retained in this respect, though the ring is put on the left hand, not the right.

III. A third change may be found in the marriage service of 1549. The priest, on joining the right hands of the bride and bridegroom says: Those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder. It would seem that this important addition of words taken from the Gospel, was suggested by the book of Herman, Archbishop of Colone. Of this an English translation appeared as early as 1547, but I will quote from that which was published in 1548,[1] said to be the better.

"Than if perchaunce they haue ringes, lette them put them one vpon an others finger, and so lette the ministr (*sic*) ioine their ryght handes to gether and saye that, that God hath ioyned, lette no man disseuer. And lette the pastour saye more ouer wyth a lowde voice, that maye be hearde of all men.

"For asmuche as than thys John N. desireth thys Anne to be hys wyfe in the Lorde, and this Anne desireth thys John to be hyr husband in the Lorde, and one hath made the other apromisse of holie, and Christian matrimonie, and haue nowe boeth professed the same openly, and have confirmed it with giuinge of ringes ech to other, and ioyning of handes, I the minister of Christ and the congregacion pronounce that they be ioyned to gether wyth lawfull and Christian matrimony, and I confirme this theyr mariage in the name of the father the sonne, and the holie Goste. Amen."

The versicle from the Gospel, Those whom God hath joined, etc., is not to be found in the early Colone *Agenda* of 1521. And in none of the early English books edited by Dr. Henderson do I find any trace of these words. Some few foreign books have them. Amongst the Armenians, in the far East, we find that, after the marriage has been blessed and the bride and bridegroom are returned to the house of the bride, the priest joins their right hands together and says a prayer which ends with these words of the gospel.[2] At Gnesen in Poland in 1549 the priest said immediately after assent had been given: Q[u]os deus coniunxit: homo non separet. Et ego vos coniungo, etc. They still remain in *Ritualia* for the whole kingdom of Poland which were printed between 1639 and 1730. At Salamanca in 1532, the priest was told that he might say if he liked after the consent was expressed, though he is warned that the words are not of the substance of the rite: Ego ex parte dei omnipotentis et sancte matris ecclesie vos sponso et hoc sacramentum inter vos firmo in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti. amen. Quos deus coniungit homo non separet. Dios os haga bien casados.

At Limoges, in the collection of Martene, the words *Quod Deus conjunxit,* etc., are pronounced as soon as the ring has been given: at Milan, as soon as the bride and bridegroom

[1] *A simple and religious Consultation of Us, Herman by the grace of God Archbishop of Colone* etc London, John Daye and William Seres, 1548. ¶ Of blessynge of mariages. fo. CCXXVI. b.

[2] Denzinger, *op. cit.* t. ii. p. 458.

have given their consent, and the words may be found in the Ambrosian books from the time of St. Charles to the present day: at Lyons, Rouen, Soissons, Coutances, Lisieux, Seez, Avranches, and Belley, after the priest had said *Ego vos in matrimonium conjungo.* The declaration would seem to be an addition made to these French books during the reforms of the last century. The Rouen book of 1640, for example, does not contain it, while that of 1740 does. At Prague in 1848, the words precede *Ego conjungo vos.*

I do not find the words in any of the early printed Roman books; but in the *Rituale* of Gregory XIII., edited by Cardinal Severina in 1584, they appear in the same place as at Milan. As soon as the man and woman have given their consent, the priest joins their right hands and says the words *Quod Deus coniunxit, homo non separet.*[1]

It may perhaps be noticed that in the marriage of a King of the English, Æthelwulf, (the father of Alfred the Great) with Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, in the year 856, these words were pronounced at the giving of the ring: Accipe annulum fidei et dilectionis signum atque conjugalis conjunctionis vinculum, ut non separet homo quos conjunxit Deus, qui vivit etc.[2]

If we look over the changes made in the marriage service of 1549 and try to balance our loss and our gain, what do we find?

In the first place we have lost the old English rule of blessing the ring and of placing it on the right hand, together with a custom, not very intelligible, of putting the ring on several of the fingers before leaving it finally on the fourth. If the ring be only part of the gifts given by the man to the woman, in purchase of her as his wife, there does not seem any good reason why the ring should be blessed, or any of the other *arrhæ.* In the second of these changes, we have been followed by the authorities of the Roman Court and of all who bow to Rome; in the third we have merely adopted the old Roman practice which has since, it would seem, prevailed over the old diocesan custom everywhere, except among the English Roman Catholics.

Secondly; although the mediæval custom of giving *pain béni* and drink to the new married couple was discontinued, yet a much more serious duty was insisted upon, that of receiving the Holy Communion on the day of marriage.

Thirdly; the address at the beginning of the service has had inserted into it passages drawn from the schoolmen, and even from a remoter antiquity, sources which give greater authority to the address.

Fourthly; the joining of the right hands, though still accompanying the words of consent, has been repeated and made into a striking ceremony, accompanied by a declaration that those whom God hath joined no man may put asunder. The importance of this addition, especially in these days when Christian law and parliament law are in direct antagonism, cannot be overrated. A declaration like this goes far to reconcile one to the loss of the more unimportant mediæval customs: and we may almost come to the conclusion that on the whole we have gained by the revision of the service. For this we cannot be too thankful, even if we be a good deal surprised; remembering that Cranmer's love of foreign novelties seems to have been as great as that of a modern curate just returned home from an ecclesiological tour in France and Belgium.

For the incompleteness of this paper I must beg the Society's indulgence. It has been put together during intervals of illness, and its facts have been gathered from such books only as lay immediately about me, or such as my friends were kind enough to bring to me. I am especially grateful to the Rev. William Cooke, M.A., F.S.A. Hon. Canon of Chester, one of our Vice-Presidents, for his kindness in searching for me amongst the writers on the Canon Law, of which he has so large and important a collection; and any inaccuracies that I have committed in this subject, of which I am wholly ignorant, are due not to the information that he has given me, but to the errors of the scribe.

I must further express my gratitude to the Reverend Achille Ratti, one of the Doctors of the Ambrosian College at Milan, for his kindness in undertaking for me a research into the early sacramentaries of the Church of Milan, the results of which he has allowed me to embody in the foregoing paper.

[1] These words were retained in the American Prayer Book of the last century and in the late edition of 1892, for a copy of the standard edition of which I am indebted to the courtesy of the General Convention through Dr. Huntingdon. Though the marriage office has been greatly curtailed, yet these important words remain. In shortness the American office almost rivals some of the mediæval rites, but it is not so short as that of the Constanz *Agenda* of 1570 which begins with *In principio erat verbum* and a short address in German, followed by the mutual contracts and the collect *Deus qui potestate,* which ends the service.

[2] J. C. Trombelli, *Tractatus de Sacramentis,* Bononiæ 1779, De matrimonio t.iii. p. 335. Quoted from *Capitular. Regum Francorum,* tit. iii. Venet. t.ii. p. 209.

APPENDIX.

In this Appendix are printed in part two of the addresses spoken of in the foregoing paper, in section i. p. 174. The German address is put first, as it was printed only two years after the first book of common prayer; and it seems likely that from some similar document Cranmer took his idea of the exhortation. One of the proposals laid before the Council of Trent was that the administration of every sacrament should be preceded by an address setting forth its nature and benefits. The French address is that noticed by Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Oxford, in his notes on the prayer book in the Allestree collection. Since the paper was read, Dr. Ince has had the kindness to show me the original book in the Allestree Library, and the copy of the Parisian Ritual from which Dr. Lloyd took these notes.

The word "Paradise" which appears in the first line of both addresses was only left out of the prayer book at the last revision in 1662. In 1549 it ran: "an honorable estate instituted of God in paradise." In "die gemeyne unnd vihische vermischung" of the Mentz address there appears a reminiscence of "sicut equus et mulus quibus non est intellectus" in the Instructions of St. Charles Borromeo, and of "like brute beasts which have no understanding" in our Prayer Book.

Agenda Ecclesiæ Moguntinensis, per . . . . Sebastianum, Archiepiscopum Moguntinum, etc., Moguntiæ excudebat Franciscus Behem Typographus, A.D. 1551.

Fo. LXXII. *Ordo ad introducendum sponsum.*

Ubi Matrimonio iungendi ad fores Ecclesie peruenerint, Sacerdos in foribus templi consistens, ad eos conuersus exhortationem faciat in hunc sensum.

. . . . Dann ja Gott den Ehestandt im Paradiss selbst eingesetzt, unnd mit sondern genaden befestigt hat, das er nit durch die Erbsündt verwüstet, unnd durch die straff der Sündtfluss nit vertilget worden ist.

Unnd als dieser stand volgender zeit bei Jüden und Heyden, in missbrauch geratten war, hat Christus Gottes Son, unser Heiland, den Ehestand von allem missbrauch reinigen, unnd in seine vorige rechte unnd gebürliche ordnung wider einbringen, unnd unter menschlichem geschlecht, und bey seinen Christen biss ins endt erhalten wöllen, unnd er selbst sampt seiner werden Mutter und lieben Jüngern die hochzeit in Cana, mit seiner gegenwertigkeit und erstem wunderzeichen verehret, wie auch der Apostel den Ehestand ehrlich rhümet, und den Eheleuten die säligkeit zusagt, wo sie im Glauben unnd heiligung bleiben. Daher dann alle Christen diese Gottes einsatzung nit gering. sonder hoch unnd heilig achten unnd halten sollen, unnd auss Gottes wort vernemen, das Gott den Ehestand fürnemblich umb diese ursachen eingesetzt hat.

Erstlich, das der Ehestand ein ehrliche beywonung unnd beste, unnd volkomenste vereinigung eines Mans unnd Weibs sein solt, auff das die gemehrung unnd erhaltung menschlichs geschlects auff erden, und die Kinder zucht in gewissen zielen behalten, unnd sonst die gemeyne unnd vihische vermischung verhütet würde. Damit Gottfürchtige Eheleut in einer rechtmessigen beywonung kinder gewinnen, und die selben in Gottes forcht, mit gemeynem fleiss auffziehen, unnd also nit allein iren zeitlichen gütern gewisse erben, sonder auch unserm Gott wol abgerichte Gotssfürchtige diener und Christen nach inen auff erden verlassen möchten.

Zum andern, das sonst verbottene Bulerey, schandt und unzucht vermeidet, und die blödigheit der Natur, durch die behülff der Ehe vor sünden erhalten würde.

Zum dritten und fürnemblich, hat Gott von anfang in erschaffung der menschen, den Ehestand eingesetzt, das er in verpflichtung des Mans und weibs, ein gros Sacrament, und eigentlich zeichen geben wolt, der wunderbarlichen unnd aller genadenreichsten vereinigung, so Christus mit seiner KIRCHER annemen, und der hefftigsten liebe, die er an seiner Kirchen erweisen würde.

Darauss dann Eheleut u.s.w.

Rituale Parisiense ad Romani formam expressum authoritate illustrissimi et Reverendissimi in Christo Patris D.D. Joannis Francisci de Gondy Parisiensis Archiepiscopi editum, Parisiis, Cramoisy et Clopegan, 1654.

P. 293. *De sacramento Matrimonii rite administrando.*

P. 318. Form of betrothal.

P. 321. *Ordo celebrandi Sacramentum Matrimonij.*

P. 324. *Exhortatio ad sponsum et sponsam de Sacramento Matrimonii.*

Le mariage a esté institué de Dieu au Paradis terrestre ; du depuis honoré par la presence de Iesus-Christ nostre Sauueur ; et en la nouuelle Loy par luy esleué à la dignité du Sacrement, qui confere la grace à ceux qui le reçoiuent auec les dispositions requises et necessaires. Or il y a trois fins pour lesquelles il a esté institué, qu'il importe que vous sçachiez. La premiere, c'est pour auoir des enfans, et prendre vn soin particulier de les instruire des mysteres de nostre foy & de les esleuer à la vertu & crainte de Dieu, afin qu'ils puissent donner gloire sur la terre, et puis estre vn iour du nombre des esleus (*sic*) dans le Ciel. La seconde est pour s'entr'aider l'vn l'autre à supporter toutes les incommoditez & tribulations de cette vie ; car Dieu ayant creé Adam au Paradis terrestre, dit : *Il n'est pas bon que l'homme soit seul, faisons-luy vn aide semblable à luy ;* d'où nous apprenons que la femme doit seruir d'aide à l'homme, & l'homme pareillement doit seruir d'aide à la femme auec laquelle il est marié. La troisième fin est pour éviter fornication & toute espece de luxure, comme aussi pour seruir de remede à la concupiscence ; suiuant la doctrine de Saint Paul, au septième chapitre de la premiere Epistre aux Corinthiens.

C'est pour ces fins seulement, et non pour d'autres que vous deuez contracter mariage, &c.

LIST OF THE LITURGICAL BOOKS REFERRED TO IN THE FOREGOING PAPER.

Alet : *Rituel Romain . . . . d'Alet*, Paris, 1667.
Ambrosian : *see* Milan.
Amiens : Martene, Ordo IX.
Aquileia : J. F. B. M. de Rubeis, *Dissertationes Duæ*, Venetiis, Simon Occhi, 1754. Diss. II. Cap. xxx. p. 393.
Arles : Martene, Ordo V.
Autun : *Institutio eorum, quibus incumbit ministrare Sacramenta . . . . Iacobi Hurault Episcopi Heduensis.* Lugduni, Sebast. Gryphius, 1545.
Augsburg : *Obsequiale sive benedictionale secundum ecclesiam Augustensem*, Aug. Vindel. Erhard Ratdolt, 1489.
——— *Rituale Augustanum*, Aug. Vindel. Labhart, 1764.
Auxerre : Martene, Ordo VI.
Bamberg : *Agenda Bambergen.* Ingolstadii, David Sartorius, 1587.
Belley : *Rituel du diocese du Bellev*, Lyon, Pelagaud et Lisne, 1838. 3e éd. t. ii.
Bologna : *Rituale Sacramentorum . . . . ad usum Ecclesiæ Bononiensis*, Bononiæ, Victor Benatio, 1593.
Bourdeaux : *Rituel Romain . . . . pour l'usage du diocese de Bordeaux*, Bordeaux, de la Court, 1728.
Brixen : *Sacerdotale Brixinense*, Brixinæ, Schuechegger, 1710.
Cambray : *Manuale sive officiarium curatorum insignis ecclesiæ Cameracensis*, Cameraci, F. Brassart, 1562.
Canosa : J. M. Giovene, *Kalendaria Vetera MSS. aliaque monumenta*, Neapoli, 1828, p. 101.
Chalons-sur-Marne : Martene, Ordo XI.
Clermont : *Rituel du diocese de Clermont*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1733.
Colocza : *Rituale Romano-Colocense*, Budæ, typ. univ. Pest. 1838.
Colone : *Agenda ecclesiastica . . . . secundum diocesim Coloniensem*, Coloniæ, Peter Quentel, 1521.
——— *Missale Coloniense*, Coloniæ, G. Greuenbruch, 1625.
Como : *Sacramentarium Patriarchale secundum Morem Sanctæ Comensis ecclesiæ*, Mediolani, 1557.
Constanz : *Agenda seu obsequiale . . . . ecclesiæ et episcopatus Constantiensis*, Dilingæ, Sebald Mayer, 1570.
Coutances : *Rituale Constantiense*, Constantiis, Tanquerey, 1846.
Evesham : *Officium Ecclesiasticum Abbatum*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 1893. ed. by the Rev. H. A. Wilson.
Exeter : *Liber Pontificalis of Edmund Lacy*, edited by Ralph Barnes, Exeter, W. Roberts, 1847.
Ferrara : *Sacramentale Sanctæ Ferrariensis Ecclesiæ*, Ferrariæ, Victor Baldinus, 1608.
Freising : *Rituale Frisingense*, Monachii, J. Jaecklin, 1673.
Ghent : *Liber ecclesiæ Gandavensis*, Gandavi, Petrus Clericus, 1576.
Gnesen : *Agenda siue obsequiale secundum rubricam ecclesiæ metropolitanæ Gneznensis*, Cracovie, H. Scharffenberg, 1549. [British Museum, 3365, b. 25.]
Gran : *Rituale Strigoniense*, Budæ, typ. univers. 1858.
Henderson, W. G. *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis ecclesiæ Eboracensis*, Surtees Soc. 1875, pp. 25, 17*, 157.*
Hereford : *Missale ad usum percelebris ecclesiæ Herfordensis*, ed. Henderson, Leeds, McCorquodale, 1874, p. 437.
Japan : *Manuale ad Sacramenta Ecclesiæ ministranda D. Lodouici Cerqueira Japonensis Episcopi*, Nangasaquii, In collegio Iaponico Societatis Iesu, 1605.

Liège : Martene, Ordo XIV.
——— *Parochiale*, 1592, p. 185, quoted at length in John Selden's *Uxor Ebraica*, cap. xxvi. *Opera*, Lond. 1726, vol. ii. col. 672.
Limoges : Martene, Ordo XII.
——— *Rituale seu Manuale Lemovicense*, Lemovicis, Martial Barbou, 1678.
Lisieux : *Rituale Lexoviense*, Paris. J. B. Coignard, 1744.
Lyons : Martene, Ordo VIII.
——— *Rituel du diocèse de Lyon*, Lyon, Aimé de la Roche, 1787.
Lyre : Martene, Ordo III.
Martene, Edm. *De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*. Lib. I. cap. ix. artt. iii.—v. Bassani, 1788, t. ii. p. 124.
Mechlin : *Pastorale, Canones, et Ritus Eccles.* Antverpiæ, Chr. Plantin, 1589.
Mentz : *Agenda Ecclesiæ Moguntinensis*, Moguntiæ, Spengel, 1551.
Milan : *Rituale Ambrosianum*, no date or place, about 1480. [Bodleian Library, Oxford, Auct. vi. Q. vi. 39.]
——— *Acta Ecclesiæ Mediolanensis*, Mediolani, 1599, Pars. IIII. p. 554.
——— *Rituale Sacramentorum ad usum Mediolanensis Ecclesiæ*, Mediolani, 1645.
——— *Idem*, Mediolani, Benj. de Sirturis, 1736.
——— *Idem*, Mediolani, Agnelli, 1885.
Noyon : *Manuale Insignis Ecclesie Noviomensis*, Parisiis, P. Attaignant, 1546.
Paraguay : *Manuale ad usum Patrum Societatis Iesu qui in Reductionibus Paraquariæ versantur ex Rituali Romano ac Toletano decerptum*, Laureti, typ. PP. Soc. Iesu, 1721.
Paris : Martene (Cardinal Bourbon) Ordo X.
——— *Rituale Parisiense ad Romani formam expressum*, Paris. P. Targa, 1646.
——— *Idem*, Parisiis, Cramoisy et Clopejan, 1654.
——— *Pastorale Parisiense*, Paris, Cl. Simon, 1786, in three volumes.
Passau : *Pastorale ad usum Romanum accommodatum . . . . in Diœcesi Passaviensi*, Monachii, N. Henricus, 1608.
Perugia : *Liber ritualis pro recta sacramentorum et sacramentalium administratione ad parochos Diœcesis Perusinæ*, Perusiæ, V. Columbarius, 1597.
Poland : *Rituale Sacramentorum ac aliarum Ecclesiæ Cærimoniarum ex decreto Synodi provinci. Petricovien. ad uniformem Ecclesiarum Regni Polon. usum editum*, 1639.
——— *Rituale Sacramentorum . . . . pro ecclesiis Regni Poloniæ, etc.* Thorunii, Joh. Can. Lauririus, 1691. The colophon gives : Gedani, Ioh. Zach. Stollius, 1700.
——— *Rituale Sacramentorum ac aliarum ecclesiasticarum Cæremoniarum ex Majori Romano, tum Rudniciano et Radsieiowiano Rituali ad Uniformem Ecclesiæ et Cleri Varmiensis et Sambiensis usum.* Typis Collegii Brunsbergensis Soc. Iesu anno 1730.
Præmonstratensian Canons : *Rituale Præmonstratense*, Paris, F. Leonard, 1676.
Prague : *Manuale Ritualis Pragensis*, Pragæ, 1848.
Regensburg : *Rituale Ratisbonense*, Salisburgi, J. B. Mayr, 1673.
Rennes : Martene, Ordo II.
Rhemes : Martene, Art. iii. § iv.
——— *Manuel pour l'administration des Sacramens*, Charleville et Reims, Raucourt, 1821.
Rome : *Libri sacerdotalis de officio sacerdotis curati . . . . secundum ritum Sancte Romane et apostolice ecclesie*, Venetiis, V. a Rabanis, 1537, 4°.
——— *Sacerdotale iuxta s. Romane ecclesie, etc.* Venetiis, apud heredes Petri Rabani, 1554, 4°.
——— *Liber Cathecuminorum* (sic) *iuxta ritum sancte Romane ecclesie . . . . et aliis officiis*, Venetiis, apud Petr. Bosellum, 1555, 8°.
——— *Sacerdotale, etc.* Venetiis, D. Nicolinus, 1579, 4°.
——— *Rituale Sacramentorum Romanum Gregorii XIII.* ed. Card. Severina. Romæ, 1584, 4°.
——— *Sacra Institutio Baptizandi aliaque Sacramenta . . . . iuxta ritum Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ.* Ex decreto SS. Concilii Tridentini restituta. Parisiis, apud Societatem Typographicam Librorum Officii Ecclesiastic. ex decreto Concilii Tridentini, via Jacobæa, 1594.
——— *Rituale Romanum Pauli V.* Coloniæ Agripp. Ioan. Kenchius, 1620.
——— *Rituale Romanum Pauli V.* Romæ, de Romanis, 1816.
Rouen : Martene, Ordo VII.
——— *Sacerdotale seu Manuale Ecclesiæ Rothomagensis*, Rothomagi, Laur. Maurey, 1640.
——— *Ordo ministrandi sacramenta iuxta usum Ecclesiæ Rotomagensis*, Rotomagi, le Boullenger, 1740
St. Omer : *Pastorale Ecclesiæ Audomarensis*, Audomaropoli, Bellet, 1606.

Salamanca : *Manuale secundum consuetudinem alme ecclesie Salmanticensis*, Salmantie, Ioan. Iunta. 1532.

Salzburg : *Libellus Agendarum circa sacramenta . . . . secundum antiquum usum Metropolitanæ Ecclesiæ Salisburgensis*, Salisburgi, I. Bauman, 1557.

——— *Manuale Parochorum . . . . pro provincia Salisburgensi*, Ingolstadii, D. Sartorius, 1582.

Sarum : *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, p. 17* of Appendix to *Manuale et Processionale ad usum insignis Ecclesiæ Eboracensis*, Surtees Soc. 1875, ed. Dr. Henderson.

——— *Missale ad usum insignis et præclaræ ecclesiæ Sarum*, Burntisland, ed. F. H. Dickinson, 1861.—83. col. 830.*

Seez : *Rituale Sagiense*, Sagii, Jul. Valin, 1834.

Soissons : *Rituel du diocese de Soissons*, Paris, A. Boudet, 1753, t. i.

Spires : *Agenda Spireñ.* [? Spires, Peter Drach.] 1512. [British Museum, 3366, b, 22.]

Strassburg : *Agenda Ecclesiæ Argentinensis*, Coloniæ, Gerv. Calenius et hæredes Ioan. Quentel. 1590. 4°.

——— *Rituale Argentinense*, Argentinæ, I. F. Le Roux, 1742.

Toledo : *Manuale Sacramentorum secundum usum alme Ecclesie Toletane*, 1554. 8°.

——— *Rituale seu Manuale Romanum . . . . appendice ex Manuali Toletano*, Antverpiæ, Moret, 1673.

Toulon : *Rituel Romain, pour l'usage du diocese de Toulon*, Lyon, Perisse, 1778.

Triers : *Libri officialis sive Agendæ S. Ecclesiæ Trevirensis pars prior*, Aug. Trevirorum, I. Rotæus, 1574.

Verona : *Rituale Ecclesiæ Veronensis*, Veronæ, B. Merli à Dounis, 1609.

——— *Rituale Ecclesiæ Veronensis*, Veronæ, J. A. Tumerman, 1756.

Westminster : Bodleian Library, Oxford. (Rawl. c. 425.) The marriage service of this manuscript will be printed in fasc. III. of *Missale Westmonaster.* edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society.

Würzburg : *Agenda Ecclesiastica secundum usum Ecclesiæ Wyrzburgensis*, no place, Jo Baumann, 1564.

York : *Manuale et Processsionale ad usum insignis Ecclesiæ Eboracensis*, Surtees Soc. ed. Henderson, 1875.

Ypres : *Manuale Pastorum . . . . ad usum Episcopatus Iprensis*, Ipris, Ant. de Backer & J. B. de Moerman, 1693.

MONUMENTAL BRASSES IN SURREY.

BY

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Surrey cannot display such a fine series of these memorials as either of its adjoining neighbours, Kent or Sussex. There is nothing in the county to compare with the magnificent example at Cowfold in the latter, nor with the beautiful series at Cobham in the former county, although the family of Cobham of Sterborough—a branch of the great house of Cobham of Cobham—have left numerous memorials in Lingfield Church. However, the county possesses a few examples which will repay careful attention; it contains the earliest military figure, and indeed the earliest brass, in this country. This figure used to be considered the earliest in existence until the discovery of the brass of Bishop Ysowilpe, 1231, in the church of Verden, Hanover. Surrey still enjoys the distinction of possessing the smallest armed figure, not a mere child, in the effigy of John Yerd, Esq., *c.* 1480, at Cheam. This curious little figure is only 6¾ inches in height. There once existed a figure of his lady of similar proportions. Unfortunately the original stone has been destroyed, and the figure itself narrowly escaped a like fate. One other example, unique so far as is known, is at Beddington, but now concealed under the choir stalls, it represents Philippa Carew, 1414. a small full length figure, with the demi-effigies or busts of her thirteen brothers and sisters—a most curious and interesting example. The total number of brasses with effigies is 136, roughly divided into:

Ecclesiastics	17
Military Figures	26
Civilians	62
Ladies alone	26
Miscellaneous	5
	136

From this it will be seen that the civilians far outnumber any other class, whilst most are of late date, mainly in the end of the sixteenth century. Amongst them are a good many royal servants—at Thames Ditton, a sergeant of the confectionery to Henry VIII., and a gentleman usher to Henry VIII. and Edward VI.; at Richmond, "an officer for the remooving wardroppe of bedds to Queen Mary"; at Addington, a master of the household to Henry VIII.; at Leatherhead, a chief sergeant of the cellar to Queen Elizabeth, with an epitaph by Thomas Churchyard, the then laureate; at Cheam, to a sergeant of the cellar to Charles I., and various others. There are good groups of brasses at Beddington, Cheam, Camberwell, Leigh, Lingfield, Thames Ditton and Stoke D'Abernon.

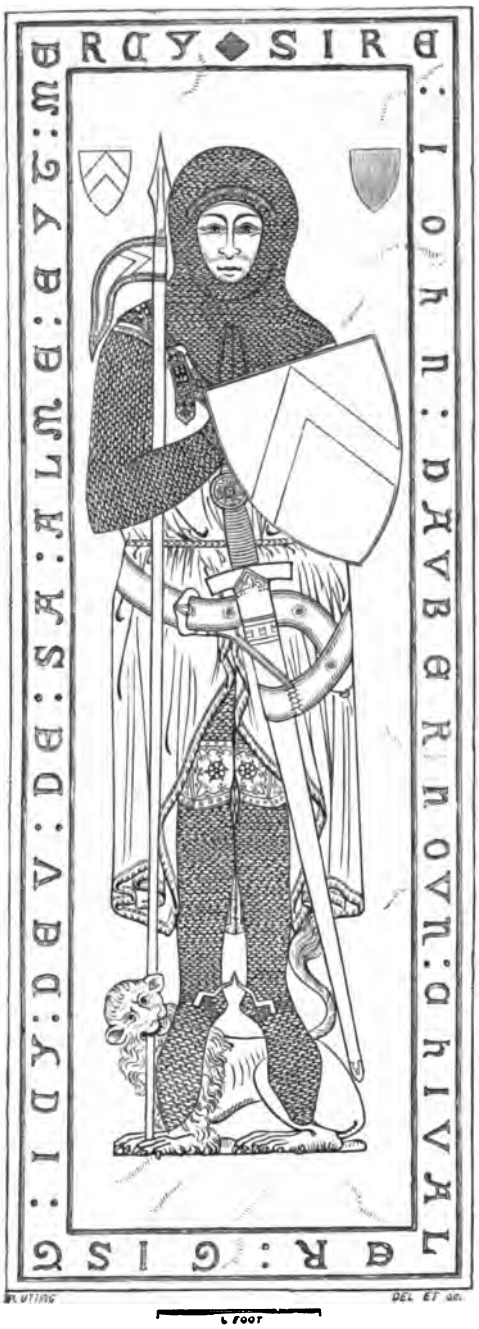
The series of ecclesiastics is poor; it contains, however, one early figure of great interest and one small kneeling episcopal figure also of some interest. The early and only fourteenth century priest in the county is the undated figure at Ockham, to Walter Frilende, rector and builder of the north chantry of that church. It is a large half-effigy in mass vestments, the chasuble ornamented with a pall-shaped orphrey, the amice lies loose about the neck and is ornamented with the fylfot cross. The apparels of the alb do not encircle the wrists. There was a similar figure at Denham, Bucks., evidently engraved by the same hand, but unfortunately stolen some forty or fifty years ago. The date of both figures is about 1360–70, and it is possible they may be of foreign workmanship, perhaps French. Then follow three well-cut and

well-designed examples, also in mass vestments, from Shere, 1412, Oxted, 1428 (imperfect, the upper part lost), and Puttenham, 1431, all of the best period and workmanship. Next are three figures from Lingfield, commemorating masters and priests of the college founded by Baron Cobham. The first is a half-effigy to John Wyche, master, deceased 1445, the second a small half-effigy to James Veldon, a priest of the college, deceased 1458, and the third a full-length effigy of John Swetecok, master of the college, deceased 1469. All are in mass vestments. Of date 1478 is the small kneeling figure of John Bowthe, bishop of Exeter, 1465–78, at East Horsley. Kneeling figures of ecclesiastics are not common, and when they do occur furnish several details not usually shown on brasses. In this case the orphrey running down the back of the chasuble and the form of the mitre with its dependent *infulæ* are well shown. The face is, of course, seen in profile. The hands are raised in prayer and the crozier is held between the left arm and the body. The bishop is in full episcopal vestments with the exception of the tunic and gloves.

At Byfleet is a good example of a canon in cassock, surplice and almuce; it commemorates Thos. Teylar, rector and canon of Lincoln. The brass was prepared in his lifetime in 1480, he dying in 1489, but the date was never filled in. At Carshalton, is the upper part of an effigy to Walter Gaynesford, 1493, holding a chalice and wafer. Effigies in mass vestments also occur at Cranley, 1507, a very small half-effigy; at Lingfield, 1503 (under seats); Bletchingley, 1510; Streatham, 1513; and Betchworth, 1533, a very late example with chalice and wafer, the latter inscribed I.H.C. in Roman capitals. The figure is carefully engraved but the vestments are very stiff and a great contrast to the early figures. At Croydon is an effigy of a common type to Gabriel Silvester, 1512, in cope. A figure similar in all respects remains at Orpington, Kent, and there are others in various parts of the country, giving the idea that this type was kept in stock. A palimpsest brass at Cobham shows on the reverse the effigy of a priest in mass vestments holding a chalice and wafer, the former inscribed on the bowl, "Esto in Ihs," the latter "Ihs" in black letter. The date is about 1510.

Of the 27 military figures in the county none, except the two at Stoke D'Abernon and the one at Lingfield, are of great importance. The well-known effigy of Sir John D'Abernon, at Stoke D'Abernon, is in complete mail, with the exception of the knee-pieces, which are of *cuir-bouilli*, or prepared leather. Over his armour is worn the long surcoat with fringed edge and fastened round the waist by a cord. The sword is suspended in front of the body from a very broad girdle, and on the left arm is a small heater-shaped shield, suspended from a narrow belt richly ornamented with roses and fylfot crosses. This shield is charged with the D'Abernon arms—*az.*, a chevron *or*—the blue ground of the field still preserving its enamel. This is the true enamel on copper, very different from the composition used in later times to reproduce colour. Passing under the right arm, the shaft held in the lion's mouth, is a long spear with a small pennon charged with the D'Abernon arms attached to the head. Small shields, one on each side of the head, and a marginal inscription in Lombardic letters, each letter separately inlaid, completed the design. One small shield, also enamelled, remains, but the inscription cannot now be made out, owing to the loss of the letters and the decay of the stone. Messrs. Waller, in their magnificent work on *Monumental Brasses*, describing this example, say that, "considered as a work of art, it will be found that the figure is ill-proportioned, but the arrangement of the drapery judiciously contrived; whilst, as a production of the burin, this brass is not excelled by any posterior example; each link of the mail is distinctly represented and the mere work of graving up so large a surface must have cost many weeks of patient labour."

Sir John was succeeded by his eldest son, also a Sir John, who, dying in 1327, was buried in the church of Stoke D'Abernon. His effigy belongs to a type of which but few examples remain and is valuable as showing the gradual addition of plate armour. The body is still covered by the hawberk, but the hood is no longer a part of it, having now become a separate and distinct piece, called the camail, overlapping the shoulders and chest and partly covering the cyclas; the top of the head is protected by a small bascinet of plate, termed a cervelière, but differing from the bascinet proper in that it only reaches half way down the head, being in fact a sort of skull cap—it is fastened to the camail by laces. The hawberk is pointed in front and has short sleeves showing plate vambraces below; the arms from the shoulder to the elbow are further protected by the addition of plates and the armpits and elbow joints by roundels. Under the hawberk appears the quilted skirt of the haqueton and between the hawberk and the cyclas appears the pourpoint, in this example studded with rosettes and having a fringed border. The cyclas, which has now superseded the long flowing surcoat, is a sleeveless garment shorter in front than behind and laced up at the sides. The knees are now defended by plate genouillères and the shins and feet have plates respectively termed jambs and sollerets, strapped over the mail armour. The hands are bare and on the left arm is a small heater-shaped shield charged with the D'Abernon arms, but no trace of colour remains. The



SIR JOHN D'ABERNON, 1277.

STOKE D'ABERNON CHURCH, SURREY.

SIR JOHN D'ABERNON II., 1327.

STOKE D'ABERNON CHURCH, SURREY.

sword is suspended in front of the body from an ornamented belt loosely encircling the hips. Above the figure are the remains of a cinque-foiled ogee canopy, the earliest example known. The inscription, much mutilated, is on a narrow fillet of brass, in Lombardic letters. A third slab in the chancel of this church formerly bore an inscription and four shields of arms; one of the shields alone remains bearing the D'Abernon arms with a label of four points. This is the memorial of William, son and heir of Sir John II., who died in 1358 and was the last male representative of the family. The further development of plate armour is well shown in the fine figure of Sir Reginald Cobham, second Baron Cobham, of Sterborough, 1403, in Lingfield church. With the exception of the camail and various gussets of mail at the joints, the figure is in complete plate. The bascinet is acutely pointed and encircled by a richly jewelled orle; the head reposes on a tilting helmet, having the curious crest of the Cobham's—a Saracen's head. To the breastplate is attached a short skirt of taces, the arms, legs and feet are completely encased in plate. Over the breastplate is worn a tight-fitting jupon, fringed at the edges. The bawdric supporting the sword and dagger is of rich workmanship and the scabbards of both weapons are highly ornamented. The marginal inscription, in ten hexameter verses, in raised black letter, is very finely cut and contains the curious phrase *dapsilis in mensis*—"sumptuous in hospitality." The brass to his kinsman, Sir John Cobham, second Baron Cobham of Cobham, 1354, at Cobham, Kent, contains a somewhat similar expression, for he is termed "le cortays viandour." A late inscription at St. Mary Cray, Kent, to Richard Manning, 1605, gives a similar idea—"Housekeeper good and joyed moch to welcom frem and frynd."

A SERGEANT-AT-ARMS, 1420, WANDSWORTH CHURCH.

Reginald Lord Cobham, was one of the foremost men of his day. He was frequently summoned to Parliament and distinguished himself in the French wars. In 1387 he was appointed one of the fourteen commissioners to undertake the government of the kingdom, for which, being condemned in the Parliament held at Shrewsbury in 1397, he was obliged to quit the realm. Taking refuge in Brittany he met with Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, and returned with him in 1399. Shakespeare, Richard II., Act 2, Scene 1, alludes to their meeting and its results, when the Earl of Northumberland reports to the Lords:

> "I have from Port le Blanc,
> A bay in Brittany, received intelligence,
> That Harry Hereford, Reignold Lord Cobham,
> * * * *
> All these, well furnished by the Duke of Bretagne,
> With eight tall ships, three thousand men of war,
> Are making hither with all due expedience,
> And shortly mean to touch our northern shore."

Sir Reginald died in 1403, and by will directed his body to be buried in Lingfield church at the head of his father's tomb.

The figure of John Hadresham, who died on the feast of the apostles Simon and Jude, 1417, also in Lingfield church, is a good typical example of complete plate armour with roundels at the armpits and fan-shaped elbow pieces. A similar figure at Wandsworth to an unknown Sergeant-at arms, 1420, much worn and mutilated, has the mace suspended head downwards on his right side in place of the usual dagger. It is much to be regretted that the inscription is broken away just where the surname occurs. This representation of the mace is unique. At Oakwood the small figure of Edward de la Hale, 1431, is also in complete plate, similar to the above examples. He wears in addition the collar of SS. A fine figure at Beddington (now under the seats) to Roger Elmebrigge, 1435, shows the gradual lengthening of the taces with the addition of smaller plates called tuilles overlapping the thighs. There is a somewhat similar headless figure in the old church at Albury.

At Crowhurst are two very interesting and instructive figures to John Gainsford, senior, 1450, and John Gainsford, 1460, father and son. The father is represented with a gorget composed of splints, his shoulder and elbow pieces are of reasonable size, but the skirt of

taces is very long and cumbersome; the son appears in a plate gorget with a mentonière, shoulder pieces with straight upright ridges and large unwieldy elbow pieces. For the long skirt of taces is substituted a short skirt with two large and pointed tuilles strapped in front, whilst his knee pieces have large plates overlapping from behind. Both are good typical figures and similar examples may be found in various parts of the country.

The figure of a man in armour, *c.* 1470, at Camberwell shows the elbow pieces at their largest and most extravagant size. The figures of John Welbeck, 1478, at Putney, and of John Weston, 1483, at Ockham, show the breastplate further strengthened by the addition of demi-placcates, the tuilles are now much smaller and more numerous. At Carshalton the kneeling figure of Nicholas Gainsford, *c.* 1490, has the hands held apart, so showing very clearly the defences of the body. In this example the gauntlets and drawn sword are placed on the ground at his feet. The remainder of the series, ranging in date from 1498 to 1595, calls for no special comment, the skirt of mail again makes its appearance and gradually grows larger and larger until it becomes almost a petticoat. The taces decrease in proportion whilst the tuilles vary in size and number. Examples may be found at Merstham, 1498; Shere, *c.* 1525; Camberwell, 1532; Addington, 1540; Lambeth, St. Mary, 1545; Cobham, *c.* 1550; Charlwood, 1553; Thames Ditton, 1559; Croydon, 1562; Godalming, 1595.

The figures of the ladies furnish us with a variety of costume and it is curious to notice how their costume coincided with that of the men, as the shoulder pieces of the warrior increased in height and size, so the sleeves of the ladies increased, and as the armour gradually became more cumbersome and unwieldy, so the ladies' dresses became more starched and stiff; again, at the time when the civilian's tunic had large balloon sleeves so had the ladies' dresses, and so on all through the series.

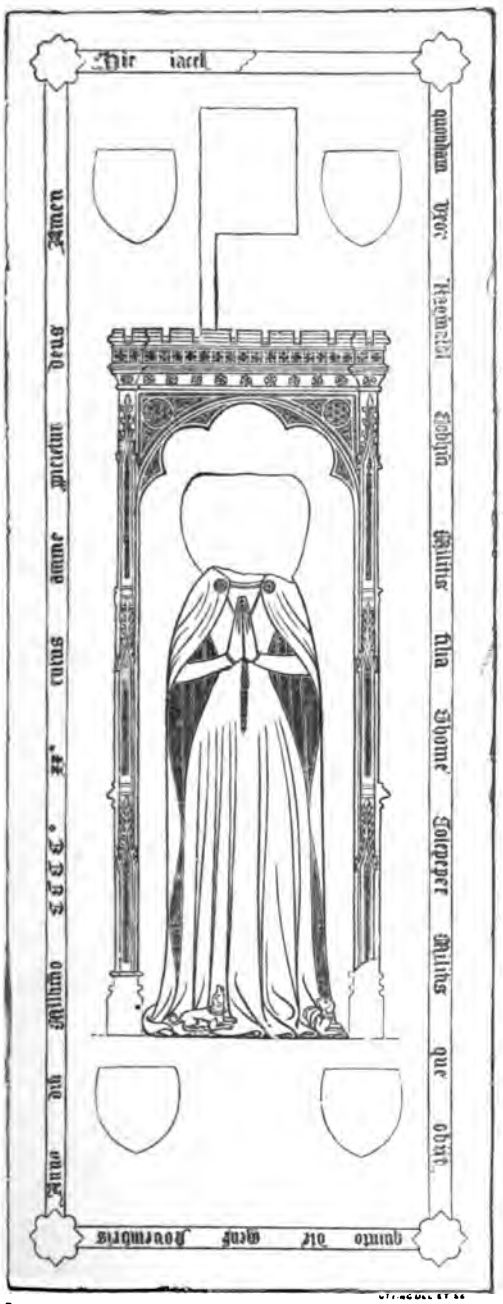
The earliest figure of a lady in the county is the fine effigy at Lingfield to Lady Elizabeth, a daughter of Ralph, Lord Stafford, and first wife of Sir Reginald, second Baron Cobham of Sterborough, 1376. This lady wears the nebule head-dress in which the hair is done up in rows and confined in net-work, her kirtle fits close to the body and has innumerable buttons on the sleeves, that curious garment termed the sideless cote-hardie also appears and is as usual edged with fur, over all is the mantle fastened across the chest by a small cord kept in position by two brooches. There is a precisely similar figure amongst the Cobham (Kent) series, to Maud, wife of Sir Thomas Cobham, of Rondal, 1380, and without doubt engraved by the same hand. Of date *c.* 1420 there is a very fine figure of an unknown lady at Horley, wearing the horned dress with the veil looped up, an overgown with very deep full sleeves and high waist. That she was a lady of some importance is shown by the collar of the SS. and probably belonged to the Saloman family, though an inscription bearing date 1516 would attribute the figure to one Joan, wife of John Fenner. This is clearly a case of appropriation. One interesting little detail deserves notice. Originally there was a small effigy of a son in the lower dexter corner, a similar example occurs on the fine brass at Trotton, Sussex.

KATHERINE STOKET, C. 1420, LINGFIELD CHURCH.

Of about the same date is a very small half effigy at Lingfield, to Katherine Stoket, representing her with veil head-dress and mantle. She is doubtless the same Katherine Stoket mentioned in Lady Joan Cobham's will as "my principal chamber woman."

The figure of Lady Eleanor Cobham, 1420, also at Lingfield, shows the tight-fitting kirtle and mantle. There is a good square-headed canopy with the unusual feature of a banner rising from the top. The missing portions have been ably restored by Mr. J. G. Waller since this block was made.

Of date 1414, the interesting little figure of Philippa Carew, previously mentioned, has the hair fastened by a jewelled fillet, the cuffs of the kirtle are large and reach to the knuckles, whilst the overgown has a large stiff collar and deep sleeves.



LADY ELEANOR COBHAM, 1420, LINGFIELD CHURCH.
(*See page* 190.)

At Beddington, 1433, and Kingston, 1437, are fine effigies of ladies with horned head-dresses; the former has an overgown with deep full sleeves and no mantle, the latter a tight-fitting kirtle only, but with the addition of the mantle. The detail of this Kingston figure is very fine. The lady is said to have been a daughter of the celebrated Alice Perrers, the mistress of Edward III. and afterwards wife of Sir William Wyndsore. At Stoke D'Abernon, 1464, and Pepper Harrow, 1487, are good examples of widow's attire; the former has the small figures of her children engraved on the skirts of her dress, a somewhat unusual feature. The ladies at Ockham, 1483, and at Carshalton, *c.* 1490, appear in that curious and unwieldy head-dress known as the butterfly or wired head-dress, a fashion necessitating the figures being turned sideways in order to show it to advantage. The introduction of the pedimental or kennel shaped head-dress, and its long popularity, renders the succeeding figures somewhat monotonous; two of the ladies, however, appear in heraldic mantles, viz., Lady Jane Iwarby, 1519, at Ewell, and Lady Katherine Howard, 1535, at St. Mary, Lambeth. To the kennel-shaped head-dress succeeded the "Paris Hede" or Mary Queen of Scots head-dress, so well known from portraits of this period. Nearly all the later figures have the ruff and the stiff embroidered petticoates so much in fashion at this time.

Of small effigies with long hair usually attributed to maiden ladies, there are four examples—at Lingfield, *c.* 1450; Bletchingley, *c.* 1470; Barnes, 1508; Shere, *c.* 1520. Three have unfortunately lost their inscriptions, but at Barnes the inscription says, "dyed virgins."

The figures of civilians, although numerous, are not of great importance. There are two at Cheam of the last quarter of the fourteenth century, one a full length effigy but mutilated, the other, a small half-effigy, both have lost their inscriptions. At East Horsley is a good half-effigy, *c.* 1400, and there are fine full length figures at Beddington, 1432; Kingston, 1437; and Leigh, *c.* 1450. At Nutfield the inscription accompanying the figures of a civilian and wife, *c.* 1465, states that William Grafton was "quondam clericus istius ecclesiæ." The Lambeth registers are unfortunately imperfect at this period, so that no information can be obtained from that source. The kneeling figures of John Hertcombe and wife, 1488, at Kingston, are curious, the indent above the figures being apparently intended to represent the Saviour in an aureole seated on a rainbow. The remainder of the series is mostly of a commonplace type. The small plate in Holy Trinity Church, Guildford, to the memory of Maurice Abbot and his wife Alice, 1606, together with their six sons, deserves mention (see p. 192). Three of these sons rose to distinction, the third became Bishop of Salisbury, the fourth Archbishop of Canterbury, and the fifth Lord Mayor of London.

Of children alone there are several small figures, the earliest is at Leigh, to Susanna Arderne, *c.* 1440-50, she also appears on the brass to her parents. At Merstham are two curious little effigies, representing Peter and Richard, sons of Nicholas and Elizabeth Best. Peter, who died in 1585, wears a long gown fastened round the waist by a narrow girdle, to which his handkerchief is attached. The effigy of Richard, who died in 1587, exhibited (it was stolen about 1845) the old plan of dressing infants in swath-bondes or swaddling clothes, which were long swathes of linen or other materials wrapped round the underclothes. A plaited bib was generally pinned on the breast as in this case, where the pins were very clearly shown. A child was swathed in its "chrysom" and was itself also termed a chrysom until it was a month old; if it died before reaching that age, its chrysom served as its shroud. At Stoke D'Abernon, 1516, is another good example of a chrysom, marked on the forehead with a cross. At Oxted are the effigies of three infant sons of Sir Thomas Hoskins; one of these, aged five years, "who aboute a quarter of an houre before his dep'ture did of himselfe w^th^out any instruction speake thos wordes: and leade us not into temptation but deliver us from all evill, beinge the last wordes he spake." There is a similar example at Headcorn, Kent, where it is recorded that John Byrd, aged six years, "in the time of his sicknesse delivered many godly exortations to his parents, takinge his leave of them with such unexpected expressions as are not common in so younge a childe."

A CIVILIAN, C. 1370, CHEAM CHURCH.

HERE LIE THE BODIES OF MAVRICE ABBOT & ALICE HIS WIFE, INHABITANTS OF THIS TOWNE OF GVILD = FORD, WHO LIVED TOGETHER MARIED 58. YEARES. & HAD. 6. SONES ALL WHOME THEY LEFT ALIVE. SHEE DYED THE. 15. OF SEPTEMBER. 1606. BEING. 80. YEERE OLD AND HE THE. 25. TH OF THE SAME, MO^H^ NETH AND YEERE. BEING OF AGE. 86. YEERES. BOTH IN ASSVRED HOPE OF A IOYFVLL RESVRREC^TION.

MAURICE ABBOT AND WIFE ALICE, 1606, HOLY TRINITY CHURCH, GUILDFORD.

Amongst the miscellaneous brasses are two examples of crosses, one at Beddington to Margaret Oliver, a servant of the Carew family, 1425, now under the seats, and a long, plain cross at Pepper Harrow to Dame Joan Brokes, 1487. It is worth noting that at the former church there are three other indents of crosses similar to that of Margaret Oliver. The curious and repulsive fashion of constantly bringing our frail condition into notice is illustrated by three skeletons at Weybridge. These may be dated *c.*

1520, but appear to have been reappropriated at a later period with the addition of suitable inscriptions. There are four representations of the Trinity, but all of the usual type. A curious little plate at Cobham, *c.* 1500, shows the Adoration of the Shepherds.

THE RESURRECTION, FORMERLY IN CRANLEIGH CHURCH.

At Cranleigh there was formerly a good representation of the Resurrection on the tomb of Robert Hardyng, Alderman and Goldsmith of London, 1503. This tomb was destroyed at a "restoration" in 1845 and the plate stolen. It has lately been recovered in a London auction-room and will be returned to the church.

Of canopies and other accessories there are but a few examples, the earliest, as mentioned before, is the cinque-foiled ogee canopy above the effigy of Sir John D'Abernon II., at Stoke D'Abernon; a similar-shaped canopy at Horley is also very fine, whilst the examples at Lingfield and Beddington have embattled super-canopies in addition. The centre finial of a canopy at Carshalton terminates in a representation of our Lady of Pity, a rare feature.

There are ten examples of palimpsest or re-used brasses, of which by far the most interesting is the one at Cheam. The obverse represents Thomas Fromond, his wife, ten children, the Holy Trinity, a shield and inscription. The reverse shows it to be entirely made up of fragments of earlier brasses. On the reverse of the male figure is the lower portion of a lady kneeling at a desk; on the reverse of the female effigy is the lower portion of a kneeling civilian with rosary; on the reverse of the sons is a portion of a canopy with the upper part of the figure of St. John the Evangelist (see p. 194); on the reverse of the daughters, a few engraved lines only; on the reverse of the Trinity, a heart supported by two hands and inscribed, "Ihc̄ est Amor me," over the heart a scroll, "Libera me dñe de morte," in the angles, "Ihu mc̄y;" on the reverse of the inscription is an effigy in a shroud, all these date *c.* 1500; on the reverse of the shield is another charged with the arms of the See of Lincoln, dating *c.* 1420. This interesting example is hung in a wooden frame so that both sides may be seen.

At Betchworth is a shield bearing a merchant's mark with the initials W. H. on one side and on the other the arms of the Fitz Adrian family. A shield on another brass at Cheam, bears on the obverse the arms of Courtenay impaling Yerd, and has on the reverse a merchant's mark.

At Camberwell is an inscription dated 1538, with a portion of an earlier one on the reverse; another dated 1582 is cut from a large Flemish brass and shows a portion of a marginal inscription, "bis bino mense secund," with small figures of weepers. A shield, also in the same church, is cut out of part of a shrouded figure. The armed figure at Cobham, *c.* 1550, shows on the reverse the effigy of a priest, *c.* 1510, with chalice and wafer. An inscription at Sanderstead also bears an earlier inscription on the reverse. At Walton-on-Thames is a very curious instance, but in this case it may safely be concluded that the original design was submitted and not approved; this conclusion is strengthened by the fact that the engraving is very lightly done as though the designer was in some doubt as to whether he was right in his idea of the incident to be recorded. The brass

represents John Selwyn, Keeper of Her Majesty's Park at Oatlands under the Hon. Charles Howard, Lord Admiral of England, his wife Susan, and their eleven children; above the figures is the plate in question, and is the only portion of the brass engraved on both sides. When Queen Elizabeth was hunting at Oatlands, it is said that Selwyn "in the heat of the chase, suddenly leaped from his horse upon the back of the stag, and not only kept his seat gracefully, in spite of every effort of the affrighted beast, but drawing his sword, with it guided him towards the Queen, and coming near her presence, plunged it in his throat, so that the animal fell dead at her feet." The first engraving represents Selwyn with a short beard, without hat, and holding with one hand the stag's horns, whilst with the other he plunges the sword into its neck. The whole design is tame and was evidently not approved; on the second the stag is tearing along at a furious pace, Selwyn, with hat and cloak, the latter flying out behind him, sits on its back without holding the horns, but leaning well forward, plunges the sword into its throat. Altogether a much more spirited composition.

ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST, FROM A PALIMPSEST BRASS IN CHEAM CHURCH.

A word in conclusion may be said upon the modern practice of placing brasses on the walls of the church. Brasses should never be divorced from their original slabs; if from any circumstance it becomes absolutely necessary to remove them from the floor, the stone should be lifted entire and placed against or let into the wall.

CREST OF SAUNDER FAMILY, 1553, FROM A BRASS IN CHARLWOOD CHURCH.

The Society is indebted to the Council of the Surrey Archæological Society for the use of the blocks illustrating this paper. Illustrations of other Surrey brasses will be found in the *Collection of the Surrey Archæological Society; Manning and Bray's History of Surrey; Boutell's Monumental Brass* and *Monumental Brasses and Slabs.*

PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE GOTHIC OR ENGLISH ALTAR AND CERTAIN DEPENDENT ORNAMENTS.

BY

J. N. COMPER.

This paper is an attempt to touch on the ideal of the altar and its ornaments, and of such other ornaments of a church as most depend upon the altar, or influence its adornment. I have considered that this ideal is best expressed by the term *Gothic* or *English*, because it is to be found in the general average customs of the English churches, which came to perfection in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but lingered in a more or less mutilated form until, only in our own time, they have been positively contradicted. And at the outset I will admit that I find this ideal to lie in the old order of these things, not merely because it is Gothic and English, but because its customs seem to me to excel, in reasonableness and beauty, any that it has ever been given to men to invent in the service of religion.

Yet, in order that the ideal may have weight, it must be shown not only that it has at one time been national (and in the main, more than national in its extent), and is neither original, nor eclectic, nor founded on the exceptions of any given period, but that it is still binding upon us.

By what is known as the "ornaments rubric" in *The Book of Common Prayer*, the customs of the period of the fully-developed Gothic architecture, unless they can be shown to have changed by the year 1548-9, or to have been altered in that year by the authority of Parliament, are handed on intact to us; we are given no new liberty, and no new obligation is laid upon us. The customs of that time are held up to us as the ideal to which we are bound to conform.

Much has been done lately in clearing away misapprehensions of what these customs are, and in fixing the ornaments retained in that year. I cannot pretend to give any fresh evidence; but rather I would acknowledge my indebtedness to many in whose various works I have found it already collected. And in particular to not a few who have assisted me with the kindness of their personal help; first amongst whom, in order of time, the Rev. G. H. Palmer and the Rev. W. C. Bishop, jun., and last, viz., in the verification and addition of references before printing, Dr. J. Wickham Legg and Mr. W. H. St. John Hope, have spared neither time nor trouble in helping me in a task which little leisure and small acquaintance with books would have otherwise rendered extremely difficult.

A little more stress than has perhaps been usual I would lay upon the evidence of pictures, and on that of the Flemish pictures of the fifteenth century in particular. We have no pictures nearer home than these that can be so entirely relied upon as accurate in what they show. Miniatures, even though they be English ones, might prove unsafe guides if taken by themselves. Owing to their small size and often purposely contracted perspective and general freedom of treatment, they might justly be deemed barely conclusive were they not borne out by these larger pictures, whose accuracy no one could question after close examination of them. To go no farther than our National Gallery, a careful comparison of these Flemish pictures with other work will show convincingly that they stand alone, amongst all schools of painting, in their

absolute fidelity to nature, even in the smallest details, and in the way this carefulness of detail is maintained throughout the whole of each work. There is very little in the customs shown by such of these paintings as I shall refer to, or in the miniatures (the majority of which, though painted in England, are Flemish or French work), that is peculiar to Flanders or France. It is not difficult to separate what is common to English Gothic in them and what is distinctively foreign; apart from the fact that we have our written witness, which is in itself a sufficient check against error in this direction. Again, besides pictures and this written witness, gathered from such sources as contemporary descriptions, inventories, accounts, wills and decrees, there are the fabrics of our chancels, concerning which the order was given, and stands to-day, that they are to "remain as they have done in times past"; and also such ornaments in them as have escaped entire destruction in the long history of defiance to this rule. But, as with the miniatures, still more here is caution needed in drawing conclusions. From Queen Mary's time onwards, if not earlier, certain alterations, quite apart from wanton destruction, have been made which are easily overlooked. And the existence of an ornament, even in its completeness, is not in itself sufficient to explain its use. Just, then, as the written witness alone can establish what the ornaments are, so, in cases where tradition has been broken, it is only the pictures that can adequately interpret their use.

It is from these various sources that I gather conclusions that differ substantially in detail, and altogether, so it seems to me, in principle, from some of the ecclesiological customs common amongst us at present. And although the old customs had assumed forms so debased and careless that there was excuse for the impatience and the ignorance of the old traditions they enshrined, which, instead of reforming them, thrust them aside to make way for innovations (some copied from the latest developments abroad, some apparently the inventions of the innovators, but all mischievous in their common result of breaking, at a critical time, our external continuity with the past), yet we are not without warning that it is an ignorance that is disastrous from whatever point of view we regard the matter. But here, and elsewhere, I only repeat what has been said in the paper communicated by Dr. Wickham Legg to this Society in 1887, *On some Liturgical Customs now falling into Disuse.*[1]

I would, however, approach the subject from the special point of view of architecture. It is only in this that I have anything fresh to say. I would show one ornament in its relationship to another, and so bring out the reasonableness and beauty of the whole; and negatively the failure even in beauty attendant on neglect of an exact obedience to our traditions. This age, it must be admitted, is conspicuous for the absence of any national style of architecture. While, on the contrary, it might perhaps be truly said of the late middle age, if we take into account all that the term may include, that architecture was its strongest characteristic. Surely, then, it is rash to think that we can now of all times ignore with impunity the rules of architecture so strictly observed then. And the rashness will appear even greater when we remember that these rules were observed, in their chief points, however incompletely, until the principle of obedience was re-asserted with a new emphasis in the days of the Oxford movement, even to the extent of a return to Gothic forms.

And I would make good my claim that the customs, which I have distinguished as Gothic, are the most reasonable and beautiful, on the very simple ground that they are the expression of that style of architecture which alone is adequately characteristic of Christianity, because it is the only purely original style that Christianity has produced. Architecture indeed was to find a higher level than it ever knew even under the Greeks; but it is not surprising that it took thirteen or fourteen centuries of development upon the Roman architecture, as Christianity found it, to reach this level. Having reached it, it is true that it fell away, looking back to the very paganism it had conquered; but it left us with the "Gothic" as our last national style. For such the "renaissance" cannot claim to be; since it was but the incoming of that individualism distinct from national development from which we suffer now. It was no step forward but a return, though it betrayed itself at first in detail of form only, to a past—and what is of consequence to us, to a pagan time. The renaissance so-called of architecture, it ought not to be forgotten, began abroad as the expression of an affected paganism, only real in its disbelief in Christianity.

If this could be realized by those who are anxious, either as a general rule or in exceptional cases only, to introduce Italian ornaments and customs; also the fact that they are designing something that is quite new in England, and which is contradictory of the whole history of our English churches; then much of the evil that, since the days of the Oxford movement, has begun to threaten us might be averted. Even the latest Georgian church contains within its awkward shell the essential characteristics of our old churches; it only requires the old details restored to it to give it beauty. Doubtless, to the popular eye, such a restoration would alter

[1] *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.* London, 1890. Vol. II., pp. 113, *et seqq.*

it out of all recognition; but it would do no violence to it. On the other hand, if we wall-up its east window and erect a modern Italian altar, with a *baldachino* or a "high dorsal" over it, though we have perhaps altered it less externally, we have done violence to the whole history of English ecclesiology.

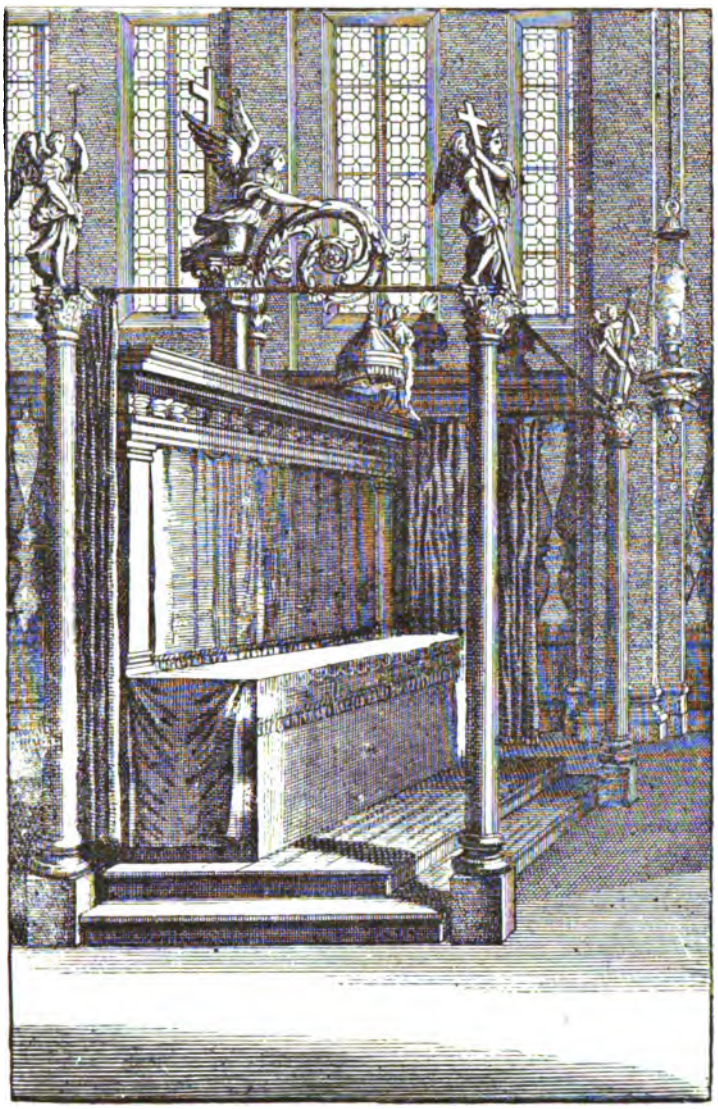


FIG. 1.—ALTAR WITH HANGING PIX IN THE FORM OF A DOVE.

From *Cærimoniale Parisiense*. Parisiis, 1703, p. 25.

The accompanying engraving illustrates the truth of this paradox, in immediate bearing on the altar itself, although in another country. Dr. Wickham Legg has most kindly supplied me with this instance, from his *Cæremoniale Parisiense*, of the date 1703. It will be seen from this picture that the old Gothic ornaments of the altar, common to England and to France, are untampered with as regards their essentials, though every detail is clothed in the latest classical forms. To the hasty glance there is nothing Gothic about it; but if we penetrate beneath the surface appearance, it reveals almost startlingly how well tried and deeply rooted were the Gothic customs, that they survived more than two centuries of the renaissance, and are to be found even amongst the French classicism of the eighteenth century. In other words, these customs remained superior, as they ever should do, to the changing fashions of their clothing. For while the old customs of the Church in each country and the essentials of its ornaments were respected, and none who loved the Church lifted their hands against

them, their clothing of necessity changed with the change of style in architecture. It is only in our own days that men have been so theatrical as to clothe their houses in one style and their churches in another. It was right that if one changed the other should change also; since as long as any breath of life was left in architecture, no man could work sometimes in the details of one period and sometimes in those of another, as the scene painter of the modern stage must do.

But compare with this picture even the best examples of modern altars that profess to be Gothic, and we find that exactly the opposite process to what it records has taken place: that is to say, modern or renaissance arrangements have been clothed in Gothic forms and made to thrust out what are Gothic essentials.

Not that this further departure from our old customs under cover of the re-introduction of what is only superficially Gothic, was ever intentional. Yet. while the first mistakes made were only from want of knowledge we now suffer far more seriously from want of recognition of any such moving and restraining powers as principle and precedent, even if we do not pride ourselves in being ignorant of them, or in setting them aside.

Far different was it with the beginning of the Gothic movement, because it was consciously felt to be the revival of that architecture which alone is distinctively Christian and distinctively English. It sprang up as the inevitable result of the re-assertion of Catholic theology of half a century ago. It was as far removed from æstheticism and theatricalism as when, six centuries earlier, the Gothic style of architecture first broke out into life. If anything new marked its revival, it was rather a greater sternness, a too painful striving after symbolism, which was the outcome of its horror of what is meaningless and unreal.

The greatest characteristic of what is Gothic, viz., its quiet, practical common-sense and truth to nature (a harmony with nature so complete that it seems to have shared in the absence of self-consciousness and toil in beauty; that characteristic of nature pointed out by her Creator for our consideration[1]), may have been obscured by a too rigid formality, but it was not flatly contradicted, as it is by the sensational theatricalism and æstheticism of to-day.

The special endeavour of the present paper, in considering these ornaments in detail, is to assert this Gothic principle of common-sense and truth to nature, by contrast with the unreasonableness and theatrical spirit that marks our present customs with regard to them. The principle of obedience to *The Book of Common Prayer*, which should move us to be ruled by the old customs, has been more often insisted on; their inherent naturalness and healthfulness perhaps less so. And men have shown themselves more eager, under the cover of the ornaments rubric, uncritically to accumulate ornaments and ceremonial, than to continue or correct what they may find in use, after the pattern laid down for them. Yet how can corrections or additions be made, according to this pattern, without some insight into the Gothic spirit by which it was produced?

I.—THE EAST WINDOW.

I have divided my subject into twelve points, which, as far as is possible, I have kept distinct. The first, because it strikes the most obviously characteristic note of our generally square-ended churches, is the east window. Yet of necessity, the greater part of what has to be said about this comes under the headings of the reredos and chancel screen.[2] Here I would call attention to the three following points:

First, the east window is an invariable ornament of every English church that has been built from early Gothic times down to the end of the first period of the Oxford movement, inclusive, with only such exceptions as are given by a few college chapels, which terminate in altar screens against their adjoining buildings. Secondly, it is large in proportion to the scale and magnificence of each church. As an extreme case, take that of Tintern, besides later examples such as those of Selby, York, and Fountains. And thirdly, its sill, even at its highest, is always what we now consider very low. To mention three chance parish churches, the sill of the east window of three lancets at Cantley, in Yorkshire, is 6 feet 3 inches above the altar pace; of a window of the latest possible "perpendicular" in the adjoining parish of Hatfield, 6 feet; of a "decorated window" of five lights at Geddington, Northamptonshire, 7 feet 3 inches.[3]

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[1] See St. Matthew vi. 28 and St. Luke xii. 27.

[2] See pp. 210, 212, and 218-221, below.

[3] The unusual case of Long Melford, where the sill of the east window is 17 feet 6 inches above the altar pace (see E. Lauriston Conder, *Church of the Holy Trinity, Long Melford, Suffolk.* London, 1887. Longitudinal section opposite to p. 16) really affords no exception to this rule, as the large eastern chapel makes a low window an impossibility. At St. Peter Mancroft, Norwich, the sill of the east window is now 15 feet 6 inches above the present altar pace; but probably there were two more divisions of glass, bringing the sill 6 feet lower. Certainly the window jambs run down below the lead of the present vestry roof, which is 4 feet 6 inches below the present sill; and beneath the sill the space between the jambs is filled in merely by bricks.

The east window being so prominent a feature of an English church, it is but natural that painted glass (itself the fitting product of the religion of light) should have reached such a height of beauty and gloriousness as it did in this country in the fifteenth century. Little of it remains, but there is enough to show that no fairer, nor more suitable, termination of the perspective of a church could be found than this.[1]

II.—THE PIX FOR THE EUCHARIST.

But the perspective of a church did not terminate merely in the painted glass of the east window. It would be more truly said to centre in the pix for the eucharist, which hung suspended in front of its glass, as against a jewelled nimbus. Surely here we have the key to the whole arrangement of the English parish church.

No more central nor dignified position for the tabernacle of the divine presence could be found than this, above the high altar and yet not attached to it; nor one, at the same time, more suggestive of the spiritual and immaterial. It has well been likened to St. John's vision of the holy city let down from heaven: *ecce tabernaculum dei cum hominibus.*[2]

And it is significant, that as the holiest place of the heathen temple, and even of the temple of the old covenant, lay shrouded in the blank mystery of darkness; so the Christian temple, when it had at length passed beyond these earlier traditions by which it first was modelled, should surround the mystery of the divine presence by a flood of light from painted windows, glistering like the sky at sunrise.

At Salisbury, in the inventory of 1222, we meet with the "Item, corona una argent. cum cathenis iii. argent. cum columba argent. ad Eukaristiam."[3] But in the inventory of 1536: "A Pyx of Ivory bound above and beneath with silver and gilt, having a squared Steeple on the Top, with a Ring and a Rose, and an Escutcheon in the bottom, having within a case of Cloth of Gold, with J. H. S. on every side set with pearls. Item, a round Pyx, silver and gilt, with the Sacrament, weighs eighteen ounces."[4]

The receptacle for the eucharist in the doves, to judge from some remaining examples, was very small, and was not locked; and it is significant if at Salisbury the use of the dove was abandoned.[5] Far more generally in the later Gothic period in England, as appears from inventories and other documents, the pix took the form of a cup. Indeed Mr. St. John Hope tells me he knows of no other mention of a dove in England, and that even contemporary English custom would make it more probable that the early Salisbury pix was not itself of this form. It is so described as equally to allow the interpretation that the dove was upon the height of the *corona*, as was the pelican at Durham; or holding the pix in its mouth as in the late tapestry of Montpezat, of which Dr. Rock gives a woodcut.[6] At St. Paul's, seventy-three years later (1295), the following items appear in an inventory under *Cupa et Pixis ad Eukaristam*: "una cupa argentea tota deaurata, cum opere levato de leunculis, et aliis bestiis, cum cathena argentea appensa, ad usum Eukaristæ appendenda ultra Altare in Festis, de dono H. Regis, ponderis ciii s. Item una Pixis argentea deaurata, cum opere cocleato, et cathena argentea, ponderis ii. marc. et v d."[7]

Possibly the last pixes made, or ordered to be made, in this country, were by command of Henry VII. "Forasmoche," he says, "as we have often and many tymes, to our inwarde regrete and displeasure, seen at oure Jen, in diverse and many Churches of oure Reame, the holie Sacrament of the Aulter kept in ful simple and inhonest Pixes, specially Pixes of copre and tymbre; we have appointed and commaunded the Tresourer of our Chambre, and Maistre of our Juellhouse, to cause to be made furthwith Pixes of silver and gilte, in a greate nombre, for the keping of the holie Sacrament of th' Aultre, after the faction of a Pixe that we have caused to be delivered to theim, every of the said Pixes to be of the value of iiii*l.*, garnished with our armes, and rede Roses and Poortcolis crowned: of the which Pixes we woll, that to the laude and service of God, th' onour of the holie Sacrament of th' Aulter, the weale of our soule, and

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[1] See, *e.g.*, the glass of this date in All Souls' and New College ante-chapels at Oxford, and in the cathedral and parish churches at York.

[2] See Rev. xxi. 2, 3.

[3] *Registrum Sancti Osmundi.* Rolls Series. London, 1884. Vol. II., p. 129.

[4] William Dodsworth. *An Historical Account of the Episcopal See, and Cathedral Church of Salisbury.* Salisbury, 1814, p. 229. Also J. E. Nightingale. *The Church Plate of the County of Wilts.* Salisbury, 1891, p. 237.

[5] See Archbishop Peccham's Decree, note 1 on p. 202, below.

[6] Daniel Rock. *Church of our Fathers.* Lond. 1853. Vol. III., part ii., p. 204.

[7] William Dugdale. *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London.* Lond. 1818, p. 311.

for a perpetual memorie of us, every house of the iiii ordres of Freres, and in likewise every Parisshe church within this our Reame, not having a Pixe, nor noon other honest vessell of silver and gilte, nor of silver ungilted, for the keping of the said Holy Sacrament, have of our gifte in our life oon of the said Pixes, assone and spedely as goodly may be doon." [1]

No doubt the general shape of these was the same as that of a pix shown in a miniature of an early fifteenth century MS., described as French, which is visible immediately under a small cone-shaped and fringed canopy, and has no other cloth or veil. It hangs from a bracket projecting from a tall pillar in front of the central mullion of the window, and behind the low reredos.[2] A pix in actual use at St. Pol de Leon, in Brittany, is suspended in a somewhat similar way to this.

The bracket at once recalls the famous description in the *Rites of Durham*, which, though so well known, I cannot refrain from quoting here. "Over the High Altar did hang a rich and most sumptuous Canapie for the Blessed Sacrament to hang within it, which had two irons fastened in the French Peere,[3] very finely gilt, which held the canapie over the midst of the said High Altar (that the Pix did hang in it, that it could not move nor stir), whereon did stand a Peliccan, all of silver, uppon the height of the said canopie, verye finely gilded, givinge hir bloud to hir younge ones, in token that Christ did give his bloud for the sinns of the world; and it was goodly to behould, for the blessed Sacrament to hange in, and a marveilous faire Pix that the holy blessed Sacrament did hange in, which was of most pure fine gold, most curiously wrought of goldsmith worke. And the white cloth that hung over the Pix was of very fine lawne, all embroydered and wrought about with gold and red silke, and four great and round knopes of gold, marvelous and cunningly wrought, with great tassells of gold and red silke hanginge at them, and at the four corners of the white lawne cloth, and the crooke that hung within the cloth that the pix did hang on, was of gold, and the cords that did draw it upp and downe, was made of fine white strong silke."[4]

And in an inventory of 1517, of the goods of the municipal church of St. Lawrence, Reading, there was a "canape of tissue for the Sacrament and a lawnde with iiij botons wrought with gold, and tassells of gold for the pix." [5]

A pix cloth answering very much to the description of these at Durham and Reading, is still in existence at Hesset Church, in Suffolk. I quote the Rev. W. Cooke, who speaks of it as "square, measuring on each side 2 feet 5½ inches; made of linen, worked into a pattern resembling lace by the drawing out of some threads and the knotting of others. Around it is a silk fringe of rose and yellow, one inch in width, the colours alternating in spaces of an inch and a half. At one corner a gilt ball is still appended with a tassel of silk, of the same colours as the fringe; the other balls, three in number, have become detached. In the centre is a round hole, in diameter rather more than an inch, bound with silk ribbon that shows a quarter of an inch on each side." [6]

How these cloths fell in folds round the pix can be very faintly traced in the Islip roll, a parchment in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, which shows the presbytery of Westminster at the time of the funeral of the last abbot but one before the suppression. This roll (*circa* 1532) contains ink drawings of the very highest merit, though now obscured in places, and is of the greatest value, as it gives an exact representation of the high altar at that time. Beneath the beam which carried the rood, Mary and John and the two cherubim, and upon the stone screen which still exists (though the reredos is gone) was another screen of open timber; and in the middle of this screen a table stepped up in the middle, with two leaves to open and shut. And over the table (or triptych) projected a great tester of timber, and close up against the face of this, and immediately over the altar, hung a triple crown; and from beneath it fell the folds of the cloth which concealed the pix, and is shown about half the diameter of the lowest crown.

The triple crown is met with again in Lydgate's *Life of St. Edmund;* but the pix in this

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[1] Thomas Astle. *The Will of King Henry VII.* London, 1775, pp. 37, 38.

[2] British Museum. Add. MSS., No. 16,997, fol. 120. This pix (and that shown in the tapestry of Montpezat, which is also without a pix cloth) clearly could not stand, and must have been opened at the side. The canopy is white and is only twice the diameter of the pix.

[3] The altar-screen of French stone.

[4] *A Description of all the Ancient Monuments. Rites and Customes belonginge or beinge within the Monastical Church of Durham before the Suppression.* Written in 1593. Surtees Society, 15. London, 1842, pp. 6, 7.

[5] C. Kerry. *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading.* Reading, 1883, p. 108.

[6] *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History.* Bury St. Edmund's, 1874. Vol. IV., p. 329.

miniature is visible through a transparent veil which surrounds it like a bag.[1] Also in the Inventory of St. Margaret Pattens, 1470, we read: "Itm a Cowpe of laton to put in the sacrament. Itm a Canape with iij Crownys of laton to hang ov'e the sacrament."[2] Nor is the timber tester peculiar to an abbey church. Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite quotes descriptions of two. The first at Clun Church, Shropshire: "over the central east window" (of three lancets) "is suspended from the roof a canopy composed of thirty panelled squares in oak, and at its western angles and centre are three angels."[3] The second, at All Saints' Church, Goosey, is thus described by Mr. J. H. Parker: "Over the altar a flat perpendicular tester, painted with emblems of the Crucifixion, etc., and above this, on the east wall, a painting of the Crucifixion."[4] He adds that it has since disappeared.

It is remarkable that several other miniatures, both English and French, also show circular but much larger canopies than that in the miniature above mentioned, suspended from the roof over the altar, but without any trace of the pix beneath them.[5] Possibly the chapels pictured in these miniatures were not parochial, and had not the privilege of reservation granted them. Be that as it may, it was binding on every parish church to reserve the eucharist, and there are many instances in inventories, such as the one at Reading already given, of canopies for the pix, of various materials, that probably took a circular form. Sometimes the canopy appears to have been covered with leather.[6] At West Grinstead, in Sussex, there is still in existence a lever in the roof, above the high altar, which would seem to point to the use of such a canopy as these. By its simple mechanism, both pix and canopy could be drawn down within reach of the hand, and being let go, would right themselves to their usual position in front of the window.

Nothing could be simpler than such an arrangement; and should the church adjoin to the priest's house an electric bell that would ring there each time the pix was drawn up or down, would give all the security required, in addition to well-barred screens and locked doors; but otherwise more protection is no doubt called for in these days. And already Dr. Rock, in advocating the restoration of the use of the suspended pix amongst the English Roman Catholics, pointed out that the pix could be hung high enough to be far above reach; and the hidden chain, which let it down, connected with a bell that would give warning if it were tampered with.[7]

Clearly by this, or any such mechanical contrivance as the particular circumstances of each case may suggest, the suspended pix may be made even more secure than the fixed coffer on the altar.[8]

Yet when, in the fifteenth century, the same need of greater protection for the pix than the then existing arrangements gave, presented itself to Lyndewode, as appears by his gloss on Archbishop Peccham's decree of 1280, it is strange that no such safeguards should have occurred

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[1] British Museum. Har. MSS., No. 2,278, fol. 53. Mr. C. Krall has a circular cup, of hammered copper gilt in his collection, which bears a very striking resemblance to the pix shewn in this definitely English miniature. The circular steeple is gone from the lid; without it the vessel is 7½ inches in height. The lid hinges on one side, and on the other the eyes remain by which it was secured with a pin, attached by a chain to the cup at a point now only indicated by a hole. The stem is slender and has a small knop and a flat base 5¼ inches in diameter; and it is remarkable that the inside of the base is gilt and as carefully finisned as the rest. I understand it was the universal practice to leave the inside of the base of a gilt vessel ungilted, so that the metal of which it was made might be seen by inverting it; but only thus. This would almost conclusively show that the cup in question was seen from beneath; that is, that it was suspended above the eye. Another cup, believed to be also of English workmanship, has the same general form, but is of hexagonal shape and of even more beautiful proportions. It is, however, of cast latten gilt, and is left rough inside the base. The fastening of its lid looks as if it had been secured by a padlock. With the use of the pix cloth (and of such a lid as is shown in this miniature) it must have been necessary to unhook the pix in order to open it, and therefore it was essential that it should be able to stand.

[2] *Archæological Journal.* London, 1885. Vol. XLII., p. 315.

[3] *The Builder*, for 1877. Vol. XXXV., p. 877.

[4] *The Ecclesiastical and Architectural Topography of England.* Oxford, 1850. Diocese of Oxford. Deanery of Abingdon, 61.

[5] *E.g*, British Museum. Cott. MSS., Domit. No. 17, fol. 11. Add. MSS., No. 16,997, fol. 145, and No. 18,850, fol. 32.

[6] J. Ch. Cox and W. H. St. John Hope. *The Chronicles of the Collegiate Church of All Saints, Derby.* London, 1881, p. 163. "A redde leddr case to doe abowte the canappe"; and on p. 171 "Itm on' leddur case to do aboute the canape."

[7] Daniel Rock. *The Church of Our Fathers.* London, 1853. Vol. III, part ii., p. 208.

[8] Indeed the only thing that could be conceived as of greater security is a burglar and fire proof safe and, letting alone the fact that such security as this was never contemplated, good feeling would shrink from a protection so grossly gained as this.

to him. For his words express a full approval of the English custom except in this one respect, viz., that the pix was within reach of any sacrilegious hand.

If the intention of Archbishop Peccham was to introduce a fixed locker for the tabernacle, Lyndewode, at least, seems to know of no traces of its having been fulfilled. It is abroad only that he has seen such a tabernacle as appears to him fittingly secure; and there it is not such a tabernacle as is most common now; but "locus singularis honestus prope altare in quo reponitur eukaristia sub clavibus infra parietes vel locum bene munitum conservanda."[1]

Cardinal Pole, indeed, prohibited the suspended tabernacle, and made a fixed locker above or near the high altar to be the rule; but with this we are not concerned. How sudden an innovation it was, is shown by Thomas Becon's *Displaying of the Popish Masse*, which he wrote while abroad, in Queen Mary's reign; in which book it appears that he knows nothing of the change; but supposing that the old custom continues, he constantly refers to the pix hanging above the altar.[2] Any exception, therefore, to what Lyndewode calls the "consuetudo anglicana," previous to 1549, must have been very rare indeed. The only two cases I know of are those given by Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite.[3] The first occurs in the *Inuentory of Synt Stephnes in Colmanstrete*, 1466, under "Cheste and Almoryes"; "Itm j coffyn for to kepe the sacrament on the hy auter."[4] And in connexion with it, under "Juelis," should be read: "Item a Coupe of Capper ouer gilded for the sacrament on the hyghe auter."[5] The second is as late as 1547. It occurs in the churchwarden's accounts of St. Margaret's Westminster. I give the entry with its context of some other items spent that year:

"Also paid in Christmas quarter to Goodman *Burton*, for making of the stone in the body of the church, for the priest to declare the 'Pistells and Gospells, 2s.

"Also paid for a honest dish of meat, and for wyne for the King's visitours, 12s. 8d.

"Also paid for making of a little coffer upon the hie altar, for to set in the Sacrament, with other necessaries, 1s. 4d.

"Also paid to *Thomas Stockdale*, for xxxv ells of cloth for the frunte of the roode-lofte, wheras the Commandments be written, price of the ell 8d.

. . . . . .

"Also paid for 11 waynscotte boards for the high alter, 1s.

"Also paid for the wryghtyng of the Scriptures upon the same boards, 5s.

"Also the said accomptant hath received for images and for curtens, £3 6s. 8d."[6]

The following entry also is worth noting, as shewing that, in that church, they had had experience of the pix being stolen: in 1531, "for mette for the theff that stalle the pyx, 4d."[7]

But I may remark that we do not know what form either of these coffers took, nor how they were arranged in regard to their surroundings; while, on the other hand, the various ways in which the pix was suspended are well known to us. In short, if it be pleaded that such a coffer, did we know how to reproduce it, comes within the letter of the ornaments rubric, with equal exactness we may reply that the fixed locker in the gradine, now usual abroad, is not permitted by it. "The Warkleigh Tabernacle" has been quoted as an example that is still in existence of a coffer for the reserved sacrament, earlier than 1549. But although the painted panels, of which its sides are composed, are no doubt earlier than the reign of Queen Mary, the base, as

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[1] *Provinciale Wilhelmi Lyndewode*. Paris, 1505. Liber III., fol. 135, verso. The following is the text of Archbishop Peccham's decree, and the chief part of Lyndwode's gloss on the word *clausura*:

"Eucharistia in tabernaculo clauso idque in pixide decenti ne atteratur custodiatur et singulis dominicis innovetur. (Ib. fol. 135, recto).

"Dignissimum eukaristie sacramentum precipimus de cetero taliter custodiri ut in qualibet ecclesia parrochiali fiat tabernaculum cum clausura[e] decens et honestum secundum cure magnitudinem et ecclesie facultates in quo ipsum dominicum corpus non in bursa vel loculo propter comminutionis periculum nulla tenus collocetur, sed in pixide pulcherrima lino candidissimo interius adornata: ita quod sine omni diminutionis periculo facile possit extrahi et imponi.

[e]. . . et ex hoc videtur quod usus observatus in anglia ut scilicet in canapeo pendeat super altare non est commendabilis: . . . licet enim consuetudo anglicana commendabilis sit illa consideratione qua citius representatur nostris aspectibus adoranda: non tamen est commendabilis eo respectu quo ponitur in loco publico sic quod ad eam manus temerarie de facili valeant extendi." (fol. 135, verso.)

[2] Thomas Becon. *The Displaying of the Popish Masse*. London, 1637, pp. 50, 111, 118, 166, 168, 195, 198, 203, 204, 295, 296, 305.

[3] *Transactions of St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*. Vol. II., p. 315.

[4] *Archæologia*. London, 1887. Vol. L., p. 44.

[5] Ib., p. 34.

[6] John Nichols. *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Antient Times in England, &c.* London, 1797, pp. 12, 13.

[7] Ib., p. 10.

its mouldings betray, can hardly be before her time; and the fact that the devices of the panels are cut into shows clearly that, whatever might be their previous history, they were painted before they were put together in their present form.[1]

In Scotland, however, though only so late as in the sixteenth century, there seems to be little doubt that the suspended pix was abandoned for a side aumbry or sacrament house, if we may take the diocese of Aberdeen as representative. For though we read, in the cathedral registers, in a visitation of the jewels by Bishop Elphinstone, on the first day of March, in 1496: "Item, unum *lie cowp* argenteum deauratum pendens coram magno altari pro eucharistia,"[2] in an account of the ornaments of the high altar, under the next Bishop, Gavin Dunbar (*circa* 1530), mention is made of the *domus sacramenti;* while, still later, further mention of the sacrament house occurs more than once. The Rev. T. E. Bridgett, a more recent Roman Catholic writer, relates that "the only unmistakable example" that he has met with, previous to Queen Mary's reign, "of a fixed tabernacle erected on the altar, or in immediate connection with it,"[3] is the following, which I give at length from the inventory of 1542, at King's College Chapel, Aberdeen: "Altare venerabilis sacramenti constructum per prefatum rectorem de Kynkell. Super hoc altari est locus pro sacramento, figure pyramidalis per eundem rectorem donatus."[4] He does not, however, mention that this altar was on the north side of the chapel, *i.e.*, in the same position as the aumbries that remain in several other churches of the diocese, the sculptures on which (such as the legend, "Hic est servatum corpus de virgine natum," found at Kinkell and Auchindoir) leave no room to doubt they were sacrament houses.

The late Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, revived this old use in his diocese, but, unfortunately, it has elsewhere given place not to the former custom of the suspended pix, but to the modern form of a locker let into or standing upon a gradine. The example of the altar on the north side of King's College Chapel, Aberdeen, is an instance which shows that the rule so carefully followed in England, that all the altars should face in one direction, ideally eastwards, was not so generally observed in Scotland. But it furnishes no exception to the rule that the eucharist was reserved at, or hard by, the high altar; and never, apparently, in a separate chapel.

The one particular object of the pix was to provide for the communion of the sick and dying: hence an injunction like that of Richard de Marisco (Bishop of Durham) in 1220, ordering that one pix should always remain in the church, and in another, the eucharist should be carried to the sick. Only so could the Church's rule of reservation to meet sudden and unforeseen need be strictly kept; for in parishes of any size, while one priest had taken the pix away, another call might come.[5] This injunction is illustrated by the following entries in the inventory of 1515, of St. Martin's, Outwich, London:

"Itm, a pexe off sylver ffor the sakerment, pons xvth unc' di. off Troye.

"Itm, a boxe off selver ffor the sakerment, in vessitaciones, with Ihs en the coweryng, and armys on the seid, inamelde, pons ijth unc' di. and qr. off Troye.

"Itm, the said box of sylv' was put ynto the pyx when it was new made and gyldyd yn anno 1522." (This last entry in another hand.)[6]

But, also, as this last entry indicates, the pixes of the later shape, whether used for the purpose or not, were large enough to contain the crystal in which the eucharist reserved for the monstrance was placed. Probably, however, they were never required for such a purpose, as it would appear that the use of the monstrance was confined to certain rare occasions, as in the Palm Sunday, Easter morning, and Corpus Christi processions.[7] There is absolutely no proof of any English precedent for the modern Continental customs of "exposition" and "benediction." Thus, while it is of the greatest importance that this should be remembered,

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[1] This Coffer is figured and described in the *Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural Society.* New Series. Exeter, 1892. Vol. V., pp. 128-130.

[2] *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis.* Spalding Club. Edinburgh. 1845. Vol. II., p. 167.

[3] T. E. Bridgett. *History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain.* London, 1881. Vol. II., p. 90.

[4] *Fasti Aberdonenses.* Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1854, p. 565.

[5] Wilkins. *Concilia.* London, 1737. Vol. I., p. 579. "His adjicimus, quod, cum eucharistia ad ægrum fuerit deferenda, habeat sacerdos pixidem mundam et honestam, ita scilicet quod una semper in ecclesia remaneat, et in alia, in qua sit eucharistia in bursa posita mundissima, in ea deferat corpus dominicum ad ægrotum, linteo mundo superposito, et lucerna præcedente, nisi æger valde remotus fuerit, et cruce similiter, si fieri potest, nisi crux fuerit ad alium ægrotum deportata."

[6] John Nichols. *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Antient Times in England, &c.* London, 1797, p. 271.

[7] See *Rites of Durham.* Surtees Society, pp. 10, 11 and 89, 90; and John Preston Neale, *Views of the most interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain.* London, 1825. Vol. II. The Church of the Holy Trinity, Melford, Suffolk, pp. 13, 14.

it should, at the same time, be borne in mind that the monstrance, as a shrine in which to carry the eucharist, is included in the ornaments of 1548-49.[1] We may be pardoned for finding a difference between the old and the modern use of the monstrance. Indeed, the very shape of it that was most characteristic of that time, differs from what is characteristic of it now. The crystal cylinder on its slender stem, surmounted and flanked by three spires of goldsmith's work, is, one may truly say, the supreme triumph of Gothic architecture in its perfection of elegance and strength of form. And the cylinder enclosing the crystal disk which contains the eucharist, though not always found in the Gothic monstrance, gives just that fine sense of reserve that the almost invariable renaissance circle of rays, surrounding the naked disk, found on the Continent to-day, has entirely lost. But I believe the cylinder still survives at Milan.

III.—LIGHTS.

The Constitutions of Walter de Cantilupe, Bishop of Worcester, in 1240, order "Ut aliquid lumen sit, ubi fuerit eucharistia"; which light is to burn continually in churches that have sufficient means.[2] And there are numerous mentions in old documents of foundations for wax and oil to maintain this light. In the miniature referred to above, in which the pix appears,[3] there is a row of three tapers indicated on the north wall between the windows (no doubt implying three others opposite to them), mass is being said, and there are six tapers round a bier, but no other lights. In the Islip roll, no lamp nor light of any kind is shown. But at Durham we read: "Before the High Altar, within the Quire above mentioned, were three marveilous faire silver Basins hung in chaines of silver; one of them did hange in the south side of the Quire, above the stepps that go upp to the High Altar, the second on the north side opposite to the first, the third in the midst, betweene them both, and just before the High Altar. Theise three silver basons had lattin basons within them, havinge pricks for serges, or great wax candles, to stand on, the lattin basons beinge to receive the drops of the candles, which did burne continually, both day and night, in token that the House was always watchinge to God. There was also another silver bason, which did hang in silver chaines before the Sacrament of the foresaid High Altar, but nerer to the High Altar then the other three, as almost dependinge or hanginge over the priests back, which was only lighted in time of masse and ther after extinguished."[4] Also in the accounts of the parish church of St. Lawrence, at Reading, in 1537, occurs the following item: "Payd for skowryng the beam hangyng before the sacrament, viijd." This beam would appear to be the same that, in the sale of 1547, is described, under goods of latten, as "a beame with X cansticks and spyndells."[5]

In regard to the altar lights, we meet with another injunction, viz., that of Archbishop Walter Reynolds (1313—27), that "at the time when the solemnities of mass are performed, two candles should be lighted, or one at the least."[6] What we know of the practice of that time onwards, until the close of the first period of the Oxford movement, in large and small churches in England, points to the recognition of such a simple rule and of no other. Nevertheless, we are often told that even if we do not conform to the modern practice of Rome in this matter, we are bound by the old rules of Sarum, set forth in the *Registrum S. Osmundi*.

But, if we are bound by them, it is only in so far as these somewhat obscure and widely, if not universally, misinterpreted rules for lights, agree with the general use of the fully developed Gothic period in England, which continued in the year 1548-49. Whether they are still binding in the cathedral church of Salisbury or not, is a separate question; but that they are, or ever were, of obligation for other churches cannot be shown. The book that contains them is a purely cathedral book; and it is moreover of early date: both matters of some importance, which are overlooked. They are rules drawn up for that particular church, and their observance in smaller churches would rob them of that dignity and beauty, with a view

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[1] See Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite's Paper on "The Meaning of the Ornaments Rubric." *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*. Vol. II., pp. 318 and 322, under the heads of *Monstrance* and *Canopy for Processions*.

[2] Wilkins. *Concilia*. London, 1737. Vol. I., p. 667. "In ecclesiis autem, saltem, quarum amplæ sunt facultates, continue lampas ardeat, die videlicet et nocte, coram redemptionis nostræ pignore supradicto. Non solum autem verba canonis distincte proferri volumus, sed et psalmos, et hymnos et cætera omnia, quæ hujusmodi sunt, et subsequentia et præambula sacramenti." See quotation from the *Rites of Durham*, below on p. 208.

[3] British Museum. Add. MSS. No. 16,997, fol. 120.

[4] *Rites of Durham*. Surtees Society, p. 12.

[5] C. Kerry. *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading*. Reading, 1883, pp. 27 and 54.

[6] Lyndwode. *Provinciale*. Paris, 1506. Liber III., fol. 129, verso, under ¶ Sacerdos curet . . . nec . . . celebret . . . sine lumine." . . . "et tempore quo missarum solennia peraguntur accendentur due candele vel ad minus una."

to which, in regard to their particular surroundings, no doubt, they were designed. For other cathedral churches even, such as Lincoln and Chichester, had their own rules for lights which, though contemporary with these of Salisbury, differed from them. Different churches and their ornaments (like different trees and their leaves) betray principles common to each other, but neither is designed of one pattern. Thus even when the Salisbury books were adopted in many dioceses, the Salisbury ceremonies did not follow the books. We learn from the contemporary evidence of Clement Maydeston (fifteenth century) that this was the case. He gives, as an example, the use at St. Paul's, where they followed the Salisbury books in all that they said and sang, but followed none of the Salisbury ceremonies, retaining the old ceremonies of St. Paul's. He distinctly states that the ceremonial rubrics (under which heading the number and position of lights must reasonably be included) only bind the clerks of Salisbury cathedral church. If others follow the ceremonial rubrics, it is a self-imposed rule.[1] With the adoption of the Salisbury books, this liberty in ornaments and ceremonial remained unimpaired; and in like manner with the adoption of *The Book of Common Prayer* it was still untouched.

Nevertheless, the directions for extra lights in the *Registrum S. Osmundi*[2] are most valuable, as an instance of the farther general principle that the presbytery round about the altar was adorned with lights; just as one or two candles set on the altar itself at service time only, or held in the minister's hands, were for the sake of a definite symbolism.[3]

All representations of the celebration of mass, that I have been able to find, bear out this conclusion. In a large Flemish picture (exhibited at Burlington House in the winter of 1891, and with many other pictures of the same school, at the Burlington Fine Arts Club the following summer), remarkable for what may be called its historical accuracy of detail, which represents St. Giles saying mass in the presence of the king at St. Denys, the only light is the torch held in the clerk's hand.[4]

An even finer picture in Antwerp (Roger Van der Weyden's Seven Sacraments) shows the same thing, but with the addition of one candle at the south end of the screen altar, illustrating Myrc's rhyme:

> "Loke that thy candel of wax hyt be,
> And set hyre, so that thou hyre se,
> On the lyfte half of thyn autere,
> And loke algate ho brenne clere."[5]

The mention of single candlesticks in inventories is very common;[6] and Becon, alluding to the candle at mass in the singular number, brings the custom down to 1549.[7] Another Gothic picture in the Antwerp gallery shows two tapers on the altar, and no others elsewhere, although a pope stands before it with the monstrance in his hand.

In a miniature already mentioned are seen two tapers held by the epistoler and gospeller as they lift the chasuble at the elevation, two on the altar itself, and two at the extremities of the upper frontal rod above it.[8] Others show simply the two tapers on the altar.[9]

In a MS., described as Henry VI.'s book of hours,[10] a very beautiful and probably

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[1] *Defensorium Directorii ad usum Sarum*, in Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*. 2nd Edition, Vol. II., pp. 350—365. The *Defensorium* was first printed in 1488, and went through several editions. "Sciendum quod in ordinali Sarum, duæ sunt species rubricarum. Quædam sunt rubricæ generales, quæ ponuntur in libris ad instruendum qualiter antiphonæ et responsoria sunt dicenda, et quomodo memoriæ sunt habendæ, et tales rubricæ quilibet institutus infra sacros ordines tenetur observare. Sunt aliæ rubricæ cærimoniales, quæ solum obligant clericos ecclesiæ Sarum, et omnes illos qui se sponte obligaverunt ad tales cærimonias custodiendas et non alios ut inferius latius patebit."

[2] *Registrum S. Osmundi*. Rolls Series. London, 1883. Vol. I., pp. 8, 10.

[3] See *Provinciale Wilhelmi Lyndewode*. Paris, 1505. Liber III., fol. 29, verso, gloss N under ¶ Sacerdos curet . . . nec . . . celebret . . . sine lumine . . .
. . . "Candela namque sic ardens signat ipsum christum qui est splendor lucis eterne" . . .

[4] See Illustrated Catalogue of the Burlington Fine Arts Club. *Exhibition of Pictures by Masters of Netherlandish School*. London, 1892, p. 13.

[5] *Instructions to Parish Priests*. London. Early English Text Society, 1868, p. 58.

[6] See, *e.g.*, pp. 207, 217, below.

[7] Thomas Becon. *The Displaying of the Popish Masse*. London, 1637, pp. 50 and 296.

[8] British Museum. Add. MSS., No. 16,997, fol. 145.

[9] *E.g.*, ib., Har. MSS., No. 2,846, fol. 32. And Kings ix. fol. 138. The miniature preceding initial letter of the commemoration of the Holy Cross. Hence possibly the T-shaped cross without a figure, standing on the Altar and rising above the reredos.

[10] Ib., Cott. MSS., Domit. No. 17, fol. 11 and 122.

representative use of lights is shown, viz., four tapers held by angels standing, one at each corner of the altar, on the capitals of the pillars that support the curtain rods. The same arrangement may be seen in the Flemish picture of the exhumation of St. Hubert, in the National Gallery. Sometimes, however, the rods came out beyond the front of the altar, as in the picture of the Mass of St. Giles; or, instead of tapers, the angels held instruments of the Passion, as at the high altar in Van der Weyden's Seven Sacraments, and in the woodcut above on page 197. Examples of the only candles with regard to whose position there is no obscurity in the *Registrum S. Osmundi*, the two, viz., that stood "in gradu coram altari," are to be found in inventories of parish churches. In that of St. Stephen, Coleman Street, 1466, under "Laton:" "Item a peire of standarts for the hygh auter with Couerynges of Calves leder made ther for to Couer them with."[1] And another instance at St. Christopher le Stocks, 1488: "Itm ij *large* paire of longe laton Candelstykks oon paire to Set before the high aulter and the other paire to serve for Obites to Setton the Tapers . . ."[2]

In a very late French *Hore B. Marie Virg.*, in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries,[3] there appears a reredos carrying on its curved top seven small basons, the central one holding a lily, and each of the others a taper, attached to the reredos as part of its fixed decoration. This instance is remarkable as bearing a superficial resemblance (precedent in no case could an isolated late French example be said to give) to the use of six candles which has lately threatened to be general amongst us. It is a miniature worth notice, not as furnishing any pattern of great beauty or dignity; but a certain reasonableness in the arrangement of the six candles, by comparison with which the modern custom is found wanting, and its claim to be Gothic confuted. For, first, in the miniature, the candles are above the reredos, and so do not hide it; while the modern custom is to block up the reredos by setting them in front of it. Secondly, the candles in the miniature taper, and are each of a single length of wax; and they are arranged in a curved line, which prevents any irregularities in burning distressing the eye. But now (because it is recognized that such a row of candles must be tall to have any dignity, and that, if they are in a single length of tapering wax, they are not only costly, but so many side by side in a level line can scarcely be made to look straight or burn evenly) they are joined in the middle, and the joint is concealed or not, as the case may be, by a trifling row of shields, bare of heraldry. Or with better but admittedly theatrical effect, the candles are placed on springs inside tin cases. And these, on the continent, really taper, as the "stocks" often do with us; but, with unsightly effect, the candles stuck upon them practically never. Two examples previous to the year 1548–49 have been adduced of the altar lights exceeding two in number; but they give no countenance to the modern custom. They are quoted by the Rev. T. E. Bridgett from Mr. J. T. Micklethwaite's paper on *Parish Churches in the Year* 1548.[4] For the first we have to look to France, that is to say to the royal chapel set up on the Field of the Cloth of Gold: an occasion of special ostentation, when the altar was "appareled with fiue paire of Candlesticks of golde."[5] It is no doubt an example of the custom common in royal chapels of covering the altar, on great occasions, with as much plate as can be crowded upon it.[6] But it is difficult to see the important bearing on the customs of an English parish church that has been found in this meeting of Henry VIII. with Francis I.

The second example is seemingly of more consequence, and occurs in a paper embodying the Statutes of the cathedral church of Chichester, of the date 1232, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries in 1874, by the Rev. Mackenzie E. C. Walcott. This clearly states, as transcribed, that, at that date, seven, five or three candles, according to the rank of the day, were "supra altare maius"; and compared with the expression that follows, "supra trabem pictam supportantem crucifixi ymaginem viii.," it is fairly reasonable to suppose that "supra altare maius" may be rendered as equivalent to "upon the high altar."[7] Yet for all this, the instance has but little practical importance; for not only is it drawn from a cathedral church,

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[1] *Archæologia.* London, 1887. Vol. L., p. 34.

[2] *Inventory of St. Christopher Le Stocks*, 1488. Edited by Mr. Edwin Freshfield. London, 1886, p. 68.

[3] Society of Antiquaries' MSS., No. 13. *Horæ B. Mariæ Virginis.* Miniature opposite to the first page of *hore de sancto spiritu.*

[4] *History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain.* London, 1881. Vol. I., p. 184; and *Archæological Journal.* Vol. XXXV., p. 386.

[5] *The union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke.* 1548. Vol. II., fol. 73, verso.

[6] Mackenzie E. C. Walcott, in *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals* (London, 1872, p. 161), mentions a later occasion of this kind: "A large contemporary print of the Coronation of William and Mary at Westminster, in 1689, shows 28 tapers burning on the Altar, and eight upon the retable."

[7] *Archæologia.* London, 1880. Vol. XLV., p. 165.

but the whole arrangement of the altar both here and, at the same date, at Lincoln [1] and Salisbury.[2] belongs to a time of which we have no record clear enough to enable us to reproduce it with accuracy, were we in any way bound to do so.

What we learn of the general broad resemblance in the customs of one church to another, at the different periods of the advancing architecture, makes it rather more than probable that the particular arrangements of the altar that obtained in the early thirteenth century, gave place to those of the more developed Gothic period, which are the authorized ornaments of 1549.

In the inventory of 1536, at Salisbury, the following candlesticks are mentioned: "*Item.* Eight great and fair candlesticks of gold, they stand on bases pierced through like windows, and curiously ornate with dyvers workings and chasings in each of them, weighing 642 ounces.—*Item.* Two candlesticks, silver gilt, with this scripture, *Orate Sancti pro anima Ricardi Poure, quondam Episcopi Sarum.—Item.* Four smaller Candlesticks, with curious jewels and precious stones, the gift of Richard Durnford, with Armes on the Bases.—*Item.* One candlestick, silver, two knops and four stones wanting."[3] The first item obviously recalls the "octo cereos . . . circa altare," ordered in the *Registrum S. Osmundi;* and the third, the "quatuor cereos . . . scilicet duos insuper altare, et alios duos in gradu coram altari."[4] But this is mere supposition, and it is not likely that attempts to interpret these directions in the *Registrum S. Osmundi*, or to locate these candlesticks, can ever be anything else.

But there is no doubt about the practice at Durham immediately before the dissolution. We read: "there was perteininge to the High Altar . . . two silver double-gilded Candlesticks for two tapers, very finely wrought, of three quarters high, to be taken in sunder with wrests, other two silver candlesticks for everye dayes service, parcell gilt, . . . "[5] This shows that not only were there never more than two candles even upon the high altar at Durham; but that the fact of an altar having possessed four candlesticks, or more, does not prove that they were all set upon it at one time. The cathedral church of St. Swithin, at Winchester, also, as we learn from the inventory given in to Henry VIII., had "one pair of candlesticks of gold."[6]

And to turn from cathedral and monastical churches so magnificent as these to a parish church of such importance as that of St. Margaret, at Westminster, we find in the "Inventory made and renewed the viijth day of May, in the ijnd yere of . . . Edward the vjth.", "Item, 2 Candelstyks of silver, p'sell gylte, weyng xlv oz.," and "✠ Item, a candelstyke for the High Aulter, of copper and gylte."[7] The latter, the Durham instance would hint, may have been "for everye dayes service."

Further on, there is mention of "iiij greate Standers, and iiij gret Canstyks of latten."[8] The positions of these are not given; but it is possible the candlesticks may have belonged to the standers, and were set one at each corner of the altar. Or like the two pairs of "longe laton Candelstykks" at St. Christopher le Stocks, they may not all have been "to set before the high aulter": one set may have been "to serve for Obites."[9] At Wigtoft, Lincolnshire, in 1484, there is mention of as many as "4 candelsticks afore the hye auter."[10] And at Long Melford, in the inventory of 1529, under *lattyn:* "Two Great Candlesticks. Two Second Candlesticks, lately bought, which are called Secondans. Two small candlesticks to the High Altar" (there were besides "Two Silver Candlesticks, parcel gilt, the gift of old John Smith, 61 oz."); also "a candlestick with ten branches, standing before the High Altar."[11] The last instance certainly shows that, although the altar lights were limited to two, those round about the altar were sometimes numerous.

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[1] *Lincoln Cathedral Statutes.* Ed. Bradshaw and Wordsworth, Cambridge, 1891. Part I., pp. 288—290.

[2] *Reg. S. Osmund.* Rolls Series. London, 1883. Vol. I., p. 8.

[3] William Dodsworth. *An Historical Account of the Episcopal See and Cathedral Church of Salisbury.* Salisbury, 1814, p. 230. And *Antiquitates Sarisburienses.* Salisbury, 1771, pp. 193, 194.

[4] *Reg. S. Osmund.* Rolls Series. Vol. I., p. 8.

[5] *Rites of Durham.* Surtees Society, p. 8.

[6] Dugdale. *Monasticon Anglicanum.* London, 1817. Vol. I., p. 202. "Pair," however, may possibly here mean a set, as in "a paire of orgaines"; "a paire of staires."

[7] Mackenzie E. C. Walcott. *The History of the Parish Church of Saint Margaret, in Westminster, etc.* Westminster, 1847, pp. 68, 69.

[8] Ib., p. 72.

[9] See p. 206 above.

[10] John Nicholls. *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Antient Times in England, &c.* London, 1797, p. 79.

[11] John Preston Neale. *Views of the most interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain, &c.* London, 1825. Vol. II. The Church of the Holy Trinity, Melford, Suffolk, pp. 15 and 18.

These lights, moreover, were not always merely ceremonial; sometimes they were for the practical purpose of giving light. "At the east end of Saint Cuthbert's Feretorie," at Durham, "there was wrought uppon the height of the irons, towards the Nine Altars, very fine Candlesticks of iron, like unto socketts, which had light sett in them before day, that every monke might have the more light to see to read uppon theire bookes at the said nine altars when they said Masse, and also to give light to all others that came thither to heare and see the divine seruice."[1] This is related as if it were a matter of course, then as now, that the worshippers should wish to see (and not only to see, but also to hear) the divine service.[2]

Lights also were sometimes used from the mere delight (so strong that it seems irresistible to the modern mind) of seeing them twinkling amongst evergreens and flowers. In the accounts of St. Lawrence, Reading, in 1506, we find, "It., payed for sysis to the holy bush at Christmas ix d."[3] That the Englishman who found satisfaction to his sense of what befitted God's altar in one or two tapers burning upon it, should yet not be ignorant of the beauty of small white tapers amongst the red berries and green leaves of a holly bush is most instructive. For it shows it was from no want of imagination that the reredos or upper frontal above the altar was not at that time blocked up or set aside by a display of candles and flowers, in itself so innocent, but so out of place and formless, as now obtains.

If, then, the men of that time would not yield to us in their love of flowers and the lights that through the agency of the bees may be said to be drawn from them, and yet knew nothing of our modern practice, surely it was because they grasped a truer idea than we of the character, unique in its holiness and awfulness, of that which is at once the altar of sacrifice and the table of the Lord. Have we, we are forced to ask, nothing better with which to surround the presence of the eucharist than the glitter of lights and flowers that surround a fairy in the modern pantomime? And if it is objected that this is what attracts the poor, the answer surely is that, in the gift of Christian architecture, there lies a responsibility and trust that cannot be evaded, and can only be fulfilled by educating the poor to appreciate something better than what they might have learnt to like outside of its influence.

IV.—FLOWERS.

Unlike the tapers that they are associated with, flower vases were absolutely unknown on the altar, although it is just possible that single blossoms were laid upon it.[4] It was not a case of the number of flower pots being limited; for, neither on the altars, nor anywhere else, were flowers put into water, although in other ways they were made use of for the sake of their perfume and beauty.

For this conclusion there is every evidence, while as yet nothing has been discovered in the way of exceptions; and it would seem that this fundamental difference in the old use of flowers in churches from that of to-day, is only to be explained by there having been an instinct of sympathy, deeper than ours, with nature, whose lavishness, as well as beauty, is most shown in the flower which her Creator says "to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven."[5] Certainly it was in literal illustration of this saying that the flowers were used; for what does the expression "to-morrow is cast into the oven" suggest in this connexion but that fragrant process of drying, which the natural fading of plucked flowers not put into water is, in contrast to the unwholesome gradual decay attending them while only apparently water keeps them alive?[6]

We, indeed strangely blind to the satire latent in it, take our flowers, often the most costly

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[1] *Rites of Durham.* Surtees Society, p. 5.

[2] See note 2 on p. 204 above.

[3] C. Kerry. *Hist. St. Lawrence, Reading.* Reading, 1883. Sysis, *i.e.*, "small wax tapers."

[4] See Illustrated Catalogue of *La Collection Spitzer.* Paris, 1893. Planche IX., fig. 404. "Tapisseries de Bruxelles, 1518, par François de Taxis. Déplacement de la Vierge Miraculeuse de notre dame de Sablon." Showing a few single flowers laid on the towel lying on the altar; two pairs of candlesticks, of different design, whose tapers rise above the riddels, one at each corner on the altar; also a reliquary. An image of the Annunciation, in the low reredos; and riddels between it and the front pillars, on which stand cherubs bearing tapers. The details are all strongly touched with renaissance feeling. There is a miniature of the Annunciation in a late French *Hore B. Marie Virg.* at the British Museum (Add. MSS., No. 18,192, fol. 19) which is in danger of being quoted as an example of a flower pot on the altar; but it is no more than the pot of lilies invariably found in this subject, and here placed, by a freak of the painter, on the north end of an altar, immediately behind the kneeling figure of our Lady, over whom a blue cloth, which rises above the reredos, is made to project. This miniature supplies a further proof that it was from no want of imagination that flower vases were not made use of for the decoration of the altar.

[5] S. Matthew vi. 30.

[6] We truly say of flowers that they *last* in water; but they do not retain their freshness. We should not give a friend flowers that had been even one day in water; but only those newly picked from our gardens.

we can procure, I admit, and having wired and gummed them that they may not drop (or if they be white lilies, mutilated them by cutting out their anthers because God has not made them entirely white), we place them as an imperfect offering on his altar of sacrifice, and leave them to linger in this process of decay on the Lord's table until long after a lady would tolerate them on her own table. The truth is that no one looks so closely into the flowers on the altar as to detect that they are faded, or that they are only a front of flowers stuck into unsightly tin backs; and it is only when the water is emptied away that its intolerable stench is perceived.

This is to put the case at its very worst; but at its best, it is equally a violation of the old principle.[1] The most beautiful and freshest arrangement of flowers, kept alive in water, violates this principle more than do the "artificial flowers" we despise, and rightly despise, so much; though not always, it is to be feared, on reasonable grounds.

Flowers made of wax, although not of their present realistic form, nor set upon the altar, are to be met with in Gothic days. We read, for instance, that at Reading, in 1508 there was "payed to the same maistres for j li. grene fflowris to the for seid pascall vjd."[2] It is their position and ugliness that is the fault with modern "artificial flowers": and yet even as regards their position on the altar they are, in a sense, a development (sufficiently vulgar, and no doubt unconscious.) of the beautiful flowers painted on the reredos of Gothic days.

The most common use of flowers of that time, and, in particular, of sweet-smelling herbs, was to scatter or lay them on the pavement. At St. Margaret's, Westminster, in 1544, there was "pd. for rushes against the Dedicacion-Day, which is always the 1st Sunday in October, 1s. 5d."; and about a century later (1650) "paid for herbs that were strewed in the Church upon a daie of thanksgiving, 2s. 6d."[3] Still later, viz., in 1772, at Hayfield, in Derbyshire, there is an entry "for rushes for church, 2s. 6d."; [4] and in a work published in 1822, Rhodes, at the conclusion of his description of the old Derbyshire custom of "rush bearing," relates that "the rushes and flowers are then taken into the church, and strewed amongst the pews and along the floors, and the garlands are hung up near the entrance into the chancel in remembrance of the day."[5] The Rev. J. C. Cox, after quoting other instances of strewing rushes, mentions that "the custom still obtains in a few villages of Cheshire, Lancashire, and Westmoreland, notably at Grasmere, in the Lake District."[6] Again, on the particular occasions of bridal processions, the strewing of flowers in churches may be seen almost anywhere in England; while abroad it may frequently be met with, especially on such feast days as Corpus Christi and the Assumption of St. Mary.

Garlands also were worn in procession both by clerks in holy orders and by laymen, on the head or round the neck.[7] The men of Gothic days thought no more scorn of this than did the classical Greeks.

The following entries speak of the different flowers used as the seasons went round.

Besides the holly bush with tapers for Christmas (1506) at St. Lawrence, Reading, there was paid "for an holy bush before the Rode ijd."[8] At St. Martin's, Outwich, in London, in 1524 and in 1525, in the churchwardens' accounts, is the item, "payd for holy and ivye at Crystmas, ijd." And in 1510, "paid for palme, boxfloures, and cakes, iiijd." In 1525, "paid for palme on Palme Sunday, ijd. ob. Paid for kaks, flowers, and yow, ijd."[9]

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[1] This principle is no more than a recognition that the characteristic of a flower is a beauty and perfume that does not last; but passes away (if naturally) without corruption. Again, plants growing in pots are out of place in a church; if only for the simple reason that they must gradually pine away, from the moment they are placed there, for lack of sun and moistened air. If to this it be objected that they can be taken away to recover, I find a counter-objection in the fact that the lamb of sacrifice was not left at the altar till it was nearly starved and then brought out again to the pasture: it was killed at one stroke. So the flower should be plucked and left; and the atmosphere drying it is the fire that causes its sweet smell to ascend.

[2] C. Kerry. *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading.* Reading, 1883, p. 51.

[3] Mackenzie E. C. Walcott. *History of the Parish Church of St. Margaret, Westminster.* Westminster, 1847, pp. 58 and 66.

[4] J. Charles Cox. *Notes on Churches of Derbyshire.* Chesterfield, 1877. Vol. II., p. 216.

[5] Ib., p. 203, and Rhodes' *Peak Scenery.* Part III., p. 38.

[6] Ib., p. 204.

[7] See, *e.g.*, a representation of a miniature of the Hours of Juvenal des Ursins, showing a procession of the Holy Sacrament. Paul Lacroix. *Vie Militaire et Religieuse au Moyen Age.* Deuxième Edition. Paris, 1873, p. 255, fig. 195. Mr. T. Garner tells me that he remembers some thirty years ago seeing, at Coblentz, a priest celebrate his first mass with a crown of flowers on his head.

[8] C. Kerry. *History of St. Lawrence, Reading*, p. 52.

[9] See Roger Martin's description of the Palm Sunday Procession at Long Melford. John Preston Neale. *Views of the most interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain, &c.* London, 1825. Vol. II. *The Church of the Holy Trinity, Melford, Suffolk*, p. 13.

The "palme" was the willow flower, so called because of its use on this day. When the blessing of flowers at the altar on Palm Sunday was first revived, the willow flower and box were rightly the flowers most used; and it is more than a pity that for fresh and scented flowers like these, dead southern palm leaves should be substituted. It is only the outcome of the shallow realism of to-day. Olives and palms grow in Italy, hence branches of these are named in the Roman mass book. Nevertheless in Ghent, for instance, the Bishop still carries a nosegay of various flowers on Palm Sunday; and in the Salisbury mass book neither palms nor olives are specified in the rubrics, but the ceremony is called *benedictio florum et frondium* merely.

In 1525, "Paid for brome ageynst Ester jd.," and "payd for rosse garlonds on Corp' Xpi daye vjd."

In 1524, "Itm, for byrche at Midsomer ijd."; and in 1525, "Payd for byrche and bromys at Mydsom' iijd."

In 1524, "Itm, for rose garlands, brede, wyne, and ale, on ij Sent Marten's days, xvd. ob."; and in 1525, "Payd for brede, ale, and wyne, and garlonds, on Seynt Marten's day, the translacyon, xvjd."[1]

If a return to the old Christian use of flowers in religious worship without water (a use indeed common, it might almost be said, to all religions) after an interval of some thirty or forty years, be objected to as unpractical, or too troublesome, let us remind ourselves that we spare no pains in overloading our houses with flowers (and that not only for occasions) which have to be attended to daily; and that we do not grudge wreaths to heap the coffins of our friends, although these must perish at once. We cannot, then, plead that the custom of offering flowers to God and at the shrines of his saints, in the old way, would cost us more time and labour (or money) than is reasonable to spend at the chief festivals even in these days. Where the Christian faith still controls some old town, in Brittany for instance, a long morning is spent in decking its gates with flowers for a procession. There is only just time to hang up the garlands and lay down the carpets of flowers beforehand, and the procession has barely returned to the church before they are already cleared away. Again we may see nosegays sold outside the church door, to be laid at the base of an altar or image to breathe out their fragrance for the day. Why not teach our village children to bring nosegays from their gardens, or the violets and roses from the highways and hedges, and offer them thus to God themselves?[2] Such offerings will satisfy our own sense of beauty more, and can certainly not be less precious in their Creator's sight, than the costly foreign flowers we artificially produce in our hot-houses. Once we grasp the old principle we shall find many ways of carrying it out practically; and at least can we not let it be said of any flower in our churches:

> "—That if 't be faded 'tis with prayer's sole breath—
> That the one day it boasted was God's day?"[3]

V.—THE REREDOS.

Before flowers and candles (at a later date than 1549, and upon the continent) came to be known as its special adornment, the altar had an ornament set above it that was peculiar to it, and marked it off from anything else in the church. This ornament was known by various names. If of metal, timber, or stone, we are accustomed now to speak of it as the reredos; if of needle work, as the upper frontal. It may be defined as an ornament set immediately above the altar, whose dimensions, as the latter name implies, are roughly those of the front of the altar beneath it.

In cathedral, abbey, and collegiate churches (none of which, be it remembered, have the open chancel screen of parish churches) this reredos is often inserted in a high and, usually, closed screen, more or less cutting off the view of the building eastwards of the high altar.

But in the parish church the reredos of the high altar was always beneath the low sill of the east window. Between this sill and the altar (which seems more generally to have stood against the east wall) the whole space was frequently occupied by small tabernacles for images

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[1] John Nicholls. *Illustrations of the Manners and Expenses of Antient Times in England, &c.* London, 1797, pp. 270, 272, 273.

[2] An instance of securing children's services in another way is told in *The Rites of Durham.* Surtees Society, p. 15. "The entrance to this porch or anchoridge was upp a paire of faire staires adjoyninge to the north dore of St. Cuthbert's Feretorie, under the which staires the Pascall did lye. And in the time of Lent the children of the Aumerie were enjoyned to come thither daylye to dresse, trim, and make it bright against the Pascall feast."

[3] Robert Browning. *Colombe's Birthday.* Act II., line 173.

whose bases, or the traceried panels beneath and flush with them, reached to the slab of the altar itself.

One instance of this kind of stone reredos, of the 14th century, is to be seen at Geddington in Northamptonshire. It has 13 panels,[1] the middle one considerably wider than the rest. The whole length is 12 feet 1½ inches, pointing to an altar nearly as long. A later example of a work of especial beauty remains above the Lady altar at Christ Church, Hampshire, a monastical church of considerable size. In this, the tradition of the reredos proper is somewhat lost, as it also is in the high altar screen of the same church, and of New College, Oxford. Indeed, as it contains the width of the east wall, and in height also exceeds the usual dimensions of a reredos, this example should no doubt be described as an altar screen; but one that is immediately beneath the east window. And since the height of the window sill was, apparently, of choice, and not of necessity, it may be taken as illustrating a difference in treatment of the adornment of the altar, consequent on its not being seen through an open screen; for it is cut off completely from view by the solid screen of the high altar that stands westward of it.

The altar slab of Purbeck marble is still in existence. It has been replaced at some time at a little lower level, as the section of it marked on the wall attests. This example, therefore, has a further value, showing, as it does beyond question, that, even where there was no necessary limitation to the height of the reredos, it adjoined to the slab of the altar, and there was no gradine.[2]

Another example of a stone reredos, one, viz., of perpendicular date and belonging to the Lady altar of a parish church, may be found at Eaton Bray, Bedfordshire. Here, as in the Lady Chapel at Ely, the middle panel of the window above the altar is left unpierced, and in front of it stood, no doubt, an image of our Lady and the divine Child. The middle panels of this reredos, upon which the image stood, are stepped up above the side panels, in the manner most usual in Flemish reredoses. Its form, therefore, and low proportions (there being only 1 foot 5 inches from the altar to the glass of the window) suggest, at first sight, one of the better kind of modern gradines. But there is nothing to prove that this reredos was used as a gradine. On the contrary, the care taken to omit the glass behind the image is a strong suggestion that where the panels of the window are pierced, nothing stood in front of their glass.

No example in the Gothic period of anything like what we know as a gradine has yet been produced, if this ornament may be defined as a shelf to carry the one or two candles, obligatory when not held by the clerk; or as a shelf in front of a reredos or upper frontal for any ornaments. The low shelf in the crypt at Grantham, figured in the paper by Mr J. T. Micklethwaite,[3] on *The Meaning of the Ornaments Rubric*, and appealed to against the conclusion of the earlier paper by Dr. Wickham Legg,[4] does not answer to this definition of a gradine; nor does such a plain slab of stone afford in itself any proof of its date. To establish the likeness of the modern gradine, either in its use or in its appearance, to what is described in inventories as the "form" or "desk for the altar," "halpas," "false altar," etc., a contemporary picture, or, at the least, a most minute description, is absolutely necessary in the face of the great mass of evidence against it, both in pictures and in existing remains of altars, reredoses and screens, which cannot be gainsaid.

Certainly there has not been found even one exception that will give countenance to our modern practice of placing a gradine in front of a reredos; but rather this practice contradicts the Gothic principle of common sense, which forbids that one ornament should be systematically and habitually blocked up by another. Two candles, or even a detached crucifix, so long as it rises above the reredos, and if it is a reredos without any painted or carved image in the middle, cannot be said to block it up.[5] They stood moreover on the altar itself. For one or two ornaments, or, with the crucifix, three at the most, there was no need of a shelf. The labour of setting these on the altar before service, and removing them afterwards was not great: for, though sometimes of precious metal and great costliness, they were of necessity never large or heavy; and to make them large destroys the scale of the church. No doubt the preparing of the altar towels before service, and the covering or removing of them afterwards,

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[1] These panels are recessed three inches from the face of the reredos, the square soffit being one and a half inches deep. The images, therefore, may either have been in relief, or they may have been merely flat paintings

[2] Mr. St. John Hope tells me of two similar cases at Canterbury, viz., in the crypt, and in St. Michael's chapel above.

[3] *Trans. of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.* Vol. II., pp. 313, 314.

[4] Ib., pp. 119, 120.

[5] See, *e.g.*, British Museum. Cott. MSS., Domit. No. 17, fol. 148. See also note 1 on p. 214, below.

made it necessary to remove these other one, two, or three ornaments that stood upon them; and it would have been troublesome as well as meaningless to have put them back between the services. They were there as a part of the ceremonial, rather than as forming the decoration of the altar.

Any objection to the revival of this practice, therefore, on the plea of its being troublesome, would be as unreasonable as it would be unworthy; and like most other customs of the kind, we have not to go back even three hundred years to find it, but it has survived until our own time.[1]

In an old Gothic picture of a church during the time of Lent, in which a priest is shown in his shriving pew, the altar has two empty pricket candlesticks upon it;[2] evidently pointing to its having sometimes been the custom to remove only the tapers themselves, out of service time, leaving the candlesticks.

A contrast to the old custom may be found now in some churches, where at a sung service, six large candles are set on a gradine on the altar, and only two of the six are lighted. With the six candles and invariable altar cross, a shelf admittedly becomes desirable for convenience, and the reredos begins to be obscured and confused; and when these were added on the continent the Gothic reredos had ceased to be.

The halpas, however, in marked distinction from the modern gradine, is no contradiction of this principle that one ornament should not be blocked up by another, if Dr. Wickham Legg's explanation of this and equivalent terms in the inventories is correct; and clearly it is borne out by pictures. Two examples may suffice to illustrate this.[3] The first is the well-known figure of the altar at Arras. The original picture is described by Lacroix as being of the sixteenth century, and preserved in the vestry of that church. It shows the ordinary low reredos, or, as it might very well be called, high shelf (Lacroix calls it *retable*), covered, apparently, by an upper frontal powdered with fleur-de-lys; and on it stand a row of various reliquaries or jewels. The second is from a French painting of the fifteenth century, and shows a reredos of the same character, but bearing on its front the rood, Mary and John. It stands sufficiently forward on the altar to allow space for a large reliquary behind it; and on the centre of the shelf, formed by the top of this reredos, is set a large isolated image. In both examples the altar stands quite clear of any window or screen. Surely such pictures as these interpret the halpas, etc., of our inventories: certainly no other explanation of these terms has been given that is consistent with what we definitely know of English or Gothic customs. One chance entry occurring in the accounts of St. Lawrence, Reading, of 1518, viz., "It. paid for wasshyng and dressyng of the Halpas wt the XII Appostels, xiijs. iiijd.,"[4] seems to show that if the halpas was not the same thing as the reredos, it was like a reredos deprived of its tabernacles and back.

As a practical conclusion, I would urge that the reredoses that survive in England, and those only of like character that exist abroad, or are shown in pictures, should be our models; and that except for reliquaries, or isolated images and jewels (what we should call the church plate) there is no occasion to use such a reredos as a shelf, or, in other words, no occasion for a halpas. The existing large foreign Gothic altar-screens of timber, which usually surmount and overspread the reredos proper, however familiar with adaptations of them we have lately become, are of quite a different type, and do not lend themselves to the typical arrangement of the east window and open chancel screen of an English parish church. If our means are unlimited let us not follow these, but make a reredos of precious metal. We read of the "j table" (seized by Henry VIII. from Fountains) "for the hegh alter of principall dayes with iij ymages

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[1] See Mackenzie E. C. Walcott. *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.* London, 1872, p. 162. "As a trace of old usage" candles "are placed on the altar only at the time of celebration at Salisbury, Ely, Lichfield, Exeter, St. Patrick's, and Christ Church, Dublin. At the beginning of this century they were regularly lighted on Sunday mornings at Durham, as if in anticipation of a celebration." Interesting in this double connexion of the survival of ancient customs, and their subsequent loss through the unmeasured desire to avoid trouble, is the following sentence on p. 160 of the same book. Warburton at Durham, prebendary till 1779, "gave up the cope because it discomposed his wig (*Quarterly Review* XXXII., 273). Dr. Green gave up incense, because it spoiled his smell of snuff." I quote in full the authority for the latter statement: British Museum. Add. MSS. No. 5,873, fol. 82, verso. Willm. Cole. *Incense in Churches.* "I have often heard Mr. Soane Jenyns, who lived at Ely when he was young, say, as also Messrs. Bentham, and others, say, that it was the constant Practice on the greater Festivals at Ely, to burn Incense at the Altar in the Cathedral, till Dr. Thos. Green, one of the Prebendaries, and now Dean of Salisbury 1779, a finical Man, tho' a very worthy one, and who is always taking Snuff up his Nose, objected to it, under Pretence, that it made his Head to ach. Mr. Dodwell has wrote an ingenious Tract on the Subject, and against its primitive Institution."

[2] Dr. Fr. Bock. *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters, &c.* Dritter Band. Taf. XIV., fig. 1.

[3] See Paul Lacroix. *Vie Militaire et Religieuse au Moyen Age.* Paris, 1873, p. 261, fig. 200, and p. 425, fig. 297.

[4] C. Kerry. *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading.* Reading, 1883, p. 27.

of silver and gilt, with beides and plaite of silver and gilt and some parte gold and sett with stonys, in valor, jc li."[1] And again, at Winchester, of "a table of images of silver, and gilt, garnished with stones." This reredos occupied the space since filled by a flat painting; and the entry that follows names the "great cross" (now empty) in the screen above it, "and an image of plate of gold garnished with stones."[2]

But if, on the contrary, our means are very limited indeed, let us keep to the simplest thing conceivable, viz., the low upper frontal of loom or needle work, so often shown in the miniatures and mentioned in inventories.[3] The modern "high dorsal," which always leaves an uncomfortable blank expanse of cloth above the gradines and candles (however high and numerous these are) seems to have been taken from the canopies, found on a smaller scale over thrones in Gothic pictures, or over bishops' thrones in actual use in Italy to-day. For this

FIG. 2.—THE APPROACH TO THE ALTAR.

From *A Manual of Prayers and Letanies*, printed at Rouen, 1665.

purpose only, they are really suitable and dignified. The accompanying wood-cut, and another on page 216, taken from Dr. Wickham Legg's paper above mentioned,[4] show what, although renaissance in date, might be described as our modern arrangement in a reasonable form, viz.,

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[1] *Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains.* Surtees Society. Durham, 1863. Vol. XLII., p. 291.

[2] Dugdale. *Monasticon Anglicanum.* London, 1817. Vol. I., p. 202.

[3] Such an upper frontal, of fifteenth century date, is still to be seen at Chipping Campden, Gloucestershire. It is of white damask silk, 12 feet 3¾ inches long, and 3 feet 10 inches deep, embroidered with four rows of gold flowers and, in the centre, an image of St. Mary's Assumption. There is also a nether frontal 10 feet 8½ inches long and 2 feet 4¼ inches deep, with a frontlet 8 inches wide; all of the same suit. The frontal has three rows of gold flowers and an image of the Annunciation in the centre. The frontlet has eleven similar flowers. This is, "so far as is known, the only ancient complete set now existing in England." See *the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 2nd S. xi. 408.

[4] *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.* Vol. II., p. 118. Dr. Wickham Legg has lent the blocks of these pictures, and another on p. 219, for the better garnishing of this paper.

an upper frontal surmounted by a square tester, which really does project over the altar, and is of sufficient, but only sufficient, height to escape the flame of the two candles.

In connexion with the reredos, it might be well to speak of the altar cross or crucifix; since far more generally in pictures of the Gothic period it is found, attended by Mary and John, as the central or only subject of the reredos, and not as a separate ornament. Next, perhaps, in frequency to the rood, in this position, is the image of St. Mary with her divine Child. Never is there a movable cross in front of any central subject in the reredos.[1] Yet, unreasonable in the extreme as it is, we often see this now; sometimes even a small crucifix is set in front of a larger one, albeit the placing of a larger crucfix at some height above a smaller one is objected to on the ground of repetition. The latter practice, however, we find was an old one;[2] and has nothing against it, for the reason that both images in such a case are not looked at together; there is no confusion of the one with the other as in the former practice.

But not only has the repetition of the rood been objected to, or its presence any where eastwards of the chancel screen, but the fitness of any representation of the crucifixion treated really (that is, so as to be an image of our Lord's passion and death), has been seriously and forcibly questioned. Dr. B. F. Westcott, now Bishop of Durham, contrasts the Sigmaringen Crucifix with Velasquez;[3] and the Rev. F. E. Brightman pursues the same argument in immediate connexion with the altar;[4] and did our choice only lie between the schools represented by the Sigmaringen Crucifix and Velasquez, there might be no question of our rejecting the latter. But there is a middle period, viz., the period of the fullest and most refined development of Christian architecture, and that in our own and kindred northern lands; the period and the countries so unfortunately least known to us of any. It would seem to be almost forgotten that, when Christianity finally accepted the principle of images, architecture was not capable of representing the crucifix really, but depended on the old Greek conception of the godhead, under the crowned beauty and strength of youth. The expression of divinity without the aid of a royal crown or youthful strength, which a painter like Roger Van der Weyden knew how to bring out under the worn and suffering form in the crucifix, or Quentin Matsys in the dead Christ in the arms of our Lady of Pity,[5] tells of something higher than architecture had ever achieved before. Only upon its final conquest of that Greek spirit, to which the cross was "foolishness," did architecture dare to look realities in the face; while, as truly as ever it had done before, it rejected the superficial and sensational realism that appeared with the renaissance of pagan feeling.

Gothic architecture was most real, but it was not realistic; that is to say, it never attempted to represent any historical scene, as it would have appeared to its original spectators; this would have decreased the force of the lesson intended.[6] It sought an even deeper reality than to represent the historical surroundings of a scene, viz., to bring the scene home as a living present truth to those who looked on its image. And this is seen in images of all persons or scenes, whether in the gospels or elsewhere. Thus the landscapes are from the country in which the painter lived; the buildings, those he saw or designed himself; the faces are simply portraits of the people he knew; and the dresses are those then worn. If we object that what was real then is not real now, we have only to look within some old-fashioned English home, or within the cloisters of our communities of religious women, or of our clergy-houses, to see the same types of faces. We have only to look out of the windows of the railway carriage as we travel up and down England, to see the same green meadows and trees, and still water; the same grey strength of church towers holding broad shadows broken by upright lines of sunlight on buttress-edge and pinnacle; the blue of the distance; the low lines of white thorns; the perfect circle of a red-tipped daisy, such as we meet with in the old pictures or on the pages of a book of hours.

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[1] The MS. referred to in note 4 on p. 208, above, might be quoted against this conclusion also. Yet the large cross without a figure, which stands on the altar, in the miniature on fol. 196, rises, as in other cases, well above the reredos, and the stem of the cross hides all but what appears to be the arms of a small rood in the centre of the reredos itself. It is an interesting picture, because it shows a priest houseling a woman, who kneels on the widely projecting altar pace, while epistoler and gospeller (in blue tunicles that match the chasuble) hold the houseling cloth, and a clerk kneels at the side with a torch, the only light.

[2] *E.g.*, at Westminster. See the Islip roll.

[3] *The Epistles of St. John.* 2nd Edition. Cambridge, 1886, pp. 372, 373.

[4] See a paper on *The Eucharistic Sacrifice*, 1890, p. 9, *et seqq.*, and *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*, vol. III., p. 105.

[5] Both pictures in the Antwerp Gallery.

[6] It is also worthy of note that we find no representation of the parables in the fully developed Christian architecture. The parables are themselves the image. The Shepherd Youth of the early Church is only a Greek image, adopted like that of Orpheus, into which a Christian significance was read.

And as to our own houses and dresses, if we feel, as we instinctively must, that they are not at home with the highest human or inanimate nature, nor with the subjects we have to represent, the fault lies with the former; and moreover, it is in our power, gradually and with patience, to mend them, having such examples before us.

VI.—THE RIDDELS.

At the sides of the upper frontal or reredos, and generally on a level with it, were curtains called riddels or costers that hung either from the rods, between the four pillars carrying angels at the four corners of the altar, or on rods projecting from it without front support. Even when the reredos was a "table with ij leves to open and clos againe,"[1] these curtains are still to be found, although pushed back by the leaves when they stood open.[2] They hung on looped cords attached to rings, so that they were easily drawn aside.

VII.—THE NETHER FRONTAL AND THE FRONTLET.

It is characteristic of the nether or lower frontals shown in even the most elaborate of the Flemish pictures that they are of tapestry or silk, and apparently without embroidery. Sometimes the strongly marked creases are to be seen where the frontal has been folded lengthwise in the middle and again into three.

The effect of this is good, and the convenience of it obvious. But it must not be forgotten that, while Flanders was the great country of weavers, embroidery on both the vestments of the altar and of the ministers was most characteristic of England: and it was most splendid in its workmanship, as is proved not only by inventories but by remaining examples of the work itself.[3] But whether the altar's and ministers' vestments were made of figured materials from the loom without embroidery, or were of velvet or damask silk embroidered, their general effect of sober richness or simplicity, as the case might be, was the same; whether richly or plainly treated, their treatment was the same all over. Frequently one colour was paled with another, and both powdered with figures and flowers.[4]

But there is very little exact appreciation of embroidery now. Ladies have put it aside with the habits of life necessary for its perfection: and even when religious communities have taken it up again, they are fettered by the public demand which requires something very prominent and aggressive to the eye; something very quickly done and very cheap, such as an isolated centre piece for a nether frontal, or a few inches of conspicuous embroidery at the ends of a stole.

This has produced a reaction against embroidery in favour of equally cheap tapestry materials, which, for the most part, bear about the same relation to the work of the old looms as does the modern embroidery to the old needlework.

It surely is not unreasonable to ask that a little more money should be spent over the covering of the altar itself, and that where means are limited, one or two frontals, of really good materials, should be had before thinking of following an elaborate sequence of colours for the seasons.

But worse than ugly or even cheap cloths is the custom of decorating the fabric of the altar, and doing away altogether with movable frontals. I have not met with any authority for this apart from the celebration of mass for the dead; nor is the custom to be found in conservative places on the Continent. The numerous altars, all with their frontals of various colours, are conspicuous in an Italian church.

But the nether frontal is no more necessarily of loom or needlework than the upper frontal or reredos. Genoa, for instance, has still its movable silver frontal of figures in high relief for Corpus Christi Day; and amongst Henry the Eighth's plunder at Winchester, in addition to the table or reredos already mentioned, there was "the nether part of the high altar, being of plate of gold, garnished with stones."[5] Practically the need of decorating the front of the altar with movable frontals only is at once apparent on the last days of Holy Week, when the altar is bared. But also there is a sense of fitness in the altar being a plain fabric of stone or of

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[1] *Rites of Durham.* Surtees Society, p. 28.

[2] See the picture, referred to above, of a pope holding the monstrance, p. 205.

[3] See, *e.g.*, the vestments preserved at St. John's College, Oxford.

[4] See, *e.g.*, a frontal still preserved at the Church of St. Mary, Alveley, Shropshire.

[5] Dugdale. *Monasticon Anglicanum.* London, 1817. Vol. I., p. 202.

timber;[1] and there is surely a thought of reverence in veiling it. Similar, perhaps, is the once invariable custom of covering the coffin with a pall, the abandonment of which for a more or less partial covering of flowers is so unseemly.

Moulded plinths to the altar are, however, not uncommonly to be met with in miniatures; they are shown in the miniatures of the MS. known as Henry VI.'s book of hours, where each altar, in addition to the narrow frontlet, has a frontal which stops short just above the plinth.[2] In a miniature of another MS., at a mass for the dead, both the plain ashlar of the altar and a moulded plinth are shown; evidently because of the occasion, the altar towels and frontlet are its only covering.[3]

The frontlet may be defined as the apparel of the second of the three linens or towels that usually cover the altar slab. At Winchester "the front above" the metal nether frontal, and below the metal reredos, *i.e.*, the frontlet, was "of broidering work and pearls."[4] But occasionally there is no frontlet, and the fair linen hangs down in its place. More generally, however, in Gothic pictures the fair linen lies straight along the front edge of the altar without the least overlapping: and there is never any edging of lace.

FIG. 3.—Initial letter of the office for Corpus Christi, in *Missale Parisiense*, 1489.

It is worth notice that in the old Italian linen frontals the lace is of the solid character of, for instance, the Hesset pix cloth, and they are edged, like it, with coloured fringes; and both frontlet and frontal are treated alike. Lace of later date is as unsuitable for the altar as it is for albs, surplices, etc. But again we have added an incongruity to a bad foreign custom, by mixing this lace, as trumpery and effeminate in its general effect, whether it be costly or cheap, with Gothic frontals and other vestments.

Weights of lead were placed on the altar to keep the cloths in their place. This is the simplest of all methods of fixing them, and avoids the necessity of drilling the altar for

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[1] Stone altars were certainly not invariable previous to 1549. See T. E. Simmons. *The Lay Folks' Mass Book*. Early English Text Society. London, 1879, pp. 165, 166. On the other hand, the very much more common tradition of stone or marble altars has never been lost, not even in the early part of this century. See J. T. Micklethwaite. *The Meaning of the Ornaments Rubric*. (*Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society*. Vol. II. Note 3 on p. 313).

[2] British Museum. Domit. MSS., No. 17.

[3] Ib. Add. MSS., No. 18,192, fol. 110.

[4] Dugdale. *Monasticon Anglicanum*. London, 1817. Vol. I., p. 202.

hooks, etc., or of stretching the frontals on wooden frames. But it must be remembered that the cere cloth, or hair, was of coarse texture, which prevented the whole slipping. Several instances of these lead weights occur in the inventories of the chantries at York Minster. Chantry of St. James and St. Katherine, 1483—"j candelabrum de auricalco; j pillowe de serico; ymago B.M.V.; quinque peciæ plumbi pro altari"; and in 1543, "iij leade plumbys upon the alter." Chantry of St. Anne, St. Anthony, and St. Crux, 1520—"ij candelabra super altare; iiij plumbi super altare." Chantry of St. Edward, 1543—"inventa super altare, j coveryng wt iiij pecis of leed lying of the alter." [1]

The book cushion or pillow, of which an instance is given in the first of these entries, seems, as far as the witness of Gothic pictures goes, to have been small and square.[2] Sometimes they are mentioned in pairs,[3] but more usually, like the desk, there was only one (*i.e.*, for use at one time) to each altar.[4] The cut on the opposite page illustrates the use of a single pillow.

VIII.—COLOURS.

With regard to liturgical colours, apart from all theories of rules, it is only necessary to refer to Mr. St. John Hope's exhaustive paper [5] to find out what colours were actually used at different dates in different places in England, and in connection with what days.

Surely the result furnishes us with very great liberty in this matter; though a gentle pressure of precedent, or something even stronger, would guide us to adopt what Mr. St. John Hope has clearly shown to be the almost universal use of white for Lent.

In another paper on this subject, the Rev. A. S. Barnes [6] insists on what is, no doubt, the origin and meaning of this use. It cannot be pleaded that white is suitable as being the absence of colour: black, physics tell us, is this, and white its fulness. Yet there is a happy, if not intentional, agreement with nature in the marked choice of white for the Lent coverings and vestments. For snow in its unbroken whiteness is the winter veil of nature. When the veil sinks, white only remains in the snowdrop which, in company with the golden aconite and the purple saffron, is the first of many shapes and hues that diaper her summer dress of green. Looked at from this point of view, what could be more suitable in marking the season, than white for the veils of images, the vestments of altars and ministers, and the Lent veil itself? Or, if they were marked with red or blue, they are so described in the inventories as to suggest no softening of the white (in the way the festival white was softened with gold and many various colours till little of it was left), but, rather, adding the emphasis of a sharp contrast to it.[7]

A comparison suggests itself here between the way in which our churches were ornamented with colour in late mediæval times, and what obtains now as good taste.

In the reaction from colours not only bright, but colours which had come to be crude and harsh, we have been dosed with shades of red, green and blue, which in their general effect can only be described under Dante's term for nightfall and Acheron and Lethe, *bruna bruna*;[8] and which know nothing of the joyous gladness of his Paradise or even Purgatory, still less of Chaucer's spring morning in England, when he goes out into the grove of oaks laden with leaves, "some very red, and some a glad light grene."[9] This general overspreading sombreness has not only been conspicuous in the vestments of the altar and its ministers, which above all else should be brilliant and gorgeous, but we see it sometimes extended over the whole church; furniture, walls, pillars, and roof, all, at the best, one dead harmony of tinted browns. There is need to appeal from this to the colouring of such of our old vestments as have not faded; to the remaining fifteenth century painting of roofs and screens in our churches; to the painted glass, and painted window mullions and tracery in which it is framed; and above all, as bearing these

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[1] *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster.* Surtees Society, Durham, 1859, pp. 278, 283, and 287.

[2] See, *e.g.*, British Museum. Domit MSS., No. 17, fol. 175.

[3] See, *e.g.*, J. Ch. Cox and W. H. St. John Hope. *The Chronicles of the Collegiate Church of All Saints, Derby*, p. 159; "ij peloes of clothe of golde for the hye alt'" (1465-1527).

[4] *E.g.*, "a quysshon the one side cloth of gold and the other syde crane color saten of the gifte of Mr. Smyth." (1517.) C. Kerry. *Hist. St. Lawrence, Reading*, p. 107.

[5] *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.* Vol. II., pp. 233-272.

[6] *The English Liturgical Colours and Recent Writings Thereon.* London, 1890, p. 28.

[7] See Dr. Fr. Bock, *Geschichte der liturgischen Gewänder des Mittelalters, &c.* Dritter Band. Taf. VIII. and Taf. XIV., fig. 1.

[8] *La Divina Comedia.* Purg. XXVIII., 31; also Inf. II., 1, and III., 118.

[9] *The Flower and the Leaf.* Verse 5, line 7.

out (but, unlike most of them, in no way touched by time), to the Flemish pictures of the same date, which show vestments and other furniture whose colours, in themselves unequalled for brilliancy and sweetness of tone, are emphasized by contrast with the uncoloured fabrics in which they stand. Sometimes the general fabric of the church was left unpainted; but very often it was painted white, much as we see it done in Flanders to-day, and in some of our own churches which have escaped "restoration." Nothing more brings out the delicacy of the simpler moulded forms in architecture than to paint them a toned white; nothing, on the other hand, can more distract from the due proportions of a building than the strongly marked stone joints and patches of unplastered brick, or rough stone, made such a point of now.

I am indebted to Mr. St. John Hope for the following convincing proofs of the whitening of our churches being of mediæval origin.

At Peterborough, Robt. de Lyndsey (elected abbot 1214) while sacrist, "fecit dealbare volsuras in retro choro."

At Canterbury, among the receipts in the accounts for the year 1391–2: "Item de domino Priore vjs viijd pro vauta chori reparanda et dealbanda" . . . (also 3 sums of 6s. 8d. each "pro eodem"). Among the expenses: "Item Albacione chori Ecclesie xij li xijs viijd." In 1392–3, among the receipts: "Item de Domino Priore ad Dealbacionem chori vjs viijd" . . . (also other sums of 12s., 13s. 4d., 6s. 8d., 3s. 4d., 10s., 6s. 8d.). Among the payments: "Item pro Dealbacione chori hoc anno vj li vijs vjd."

In 1468, London, St. Andrew Hubbard: "It. to a workman that rede okyrd and whited the chirche iijs iiijd."

How important the work of whitening the choir at Canterbury was held to be is shown by the very large sums (accounted for by the costliness of scaffolding) spent upon it in the space of two years, and the number of subscribers.

Mr. St. John Hope tells me besides, that in excavations of abbeys destroyed at the dissolution that he has conducted, he has constantly found coat upon coat of white on the stones of their churches which he has unearthed. Thus very clearly whitewashing does not appear to have been the work of the Puritans, though no doubt it was sometimes a consequence of their work; but rather it is a tradition of a healthy sense of beauty, viz., the love of what is clean and fresh, or, to put it negatively, the opposite temper to what has lately gained the name of æstheticism as a reproach, which has been handed down from mediæval days to our own.

IX.—STEPS.

As the old altars were wider than we are apt to make them now, so particularly is this the case with their steps. The Islip roll shows how large the footpace was at Westminster, of both the principal [1] and even of the side altars, as the accompanying cut from the indifferent reproduction in *Vetusta Monumenta* (1815) illustrates. The same may be seen in some miniatures; [2] and I believe all remaining footpaces will be found to be of corresponding width, wherever it was attainable. That some of the miniatures show exceedingly narrow steps, is accounted for by their purposely contracted perspective. Some Flemish pictures show footpaces of wood on marble floors. It is very important also that the footpace and all the steps of the presbytery should be low as well as wide, and that they should not be slippery; and old precedent would seem to show that it is of much more consequence that they should be suitably and richly carpeted at festivals with mats and with herbs, than that they should be of marble or even of tiles. Not but what, undoubtedly, the typical English floor was of tiles, as in Flanders it was of black and white marble. And nothing could be better than the painted tiles; but the difficulty is to recover their old colouring.

It is against the tradition of English churches that the chancel should have many steps, particularly at its entrance, where frequently in old parish churches there is no step at all; or even a step down to a lower level.[3] The reason for the very few steps found in the chancels of parish churches, is apparent directly we consider, not only the endeavour to keep the east window low that as much of it as possible may be seen through the chancel screen; but also

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[1] In the "Restoration of the old High Altar of Westminster Abbey" (*The Builder*, July 2, 1892), by Mr. H. W. Brewer, the width of this footpace is, however, exaggerated; since one of the three altar steps shown in the roll is omitted. It is a pity also that the much smaller circumference of the cloth hanging upon the pix in relation to the triple crown should have been overlooked in this drawing. See page 200, above.

[2] *E.g.*, British Museum. Har. 2,846, fol. 32.

[3] As, *e.g.*, at Fenstanton, Cambridgeshire.

that the height of the closed part of the screen beneath the transom is controlled by the backs of the stalls, which must be about 3 feet 6 inches above the step on which they stand; so that in proportion to the number of steps at this point the transom of the screen is thrust higher, and the view of the altar begins to be cut off to those kneeling in the nave.

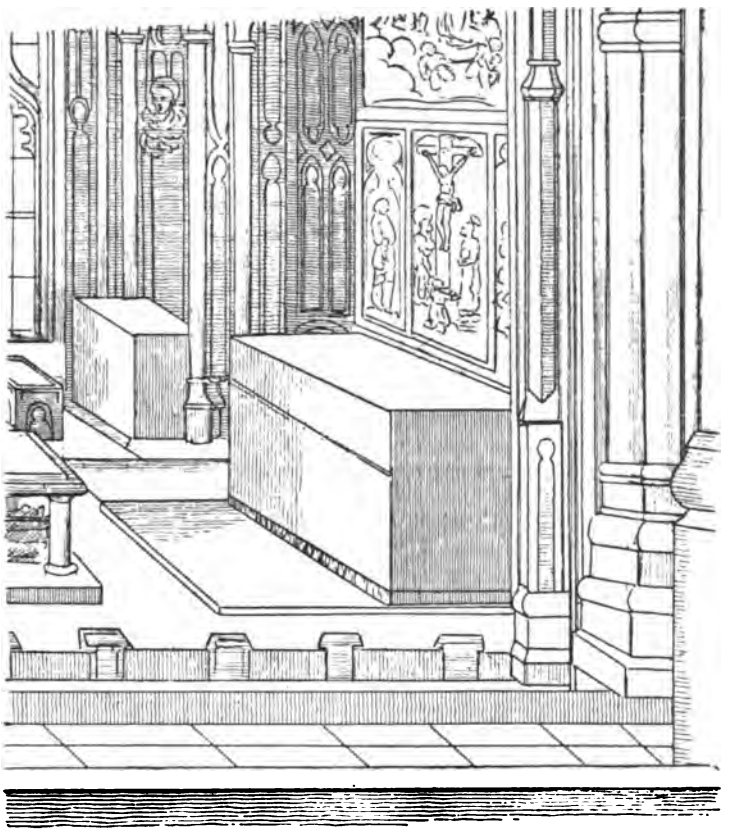

FIG. 4.—THE ALTAR IN THE ISLIP CHAPEL.

From the reproduction of the Islip Roll in *Vetusta Monumenta*.

X.—THE CHANCEL SCREEN.

The screen, with its rood loft, comes within the present subject in regard to its relation to the altar, and the intimate dependence of the one upon the other. The parish church screen, by its light, though numerous, mullions and intricate tracery and groining, all richly gilded and painted, is made subservient to the beauty of the altar and of the east window, whose glass is enriched, as seen through it, beyond what could be believed apart from the sight of it. But wherever the reredos of the high altar forms part of, or gives place to, a high screen of similarly painted and gilded carved work, we no longer find the open screen of parish churches in front of it. Generally in such a case there was a solid choir screen which completely cut off the high altar from view, and against which other altars were placed. In Spain, the country famous for tall altar-screens, there is usually a light metal grate between the solid screens closing the chancel at the east and west, which divides the presbytery from the choir.[1] Such a transparent veil of metal is as suitable in front of a solid wall, or enclosing a chantry or tomb, as it is thrown away in front of a window. Yet, now we often see a grate at the entrance to the chancel or a chapel of a parish church before the east window; and, on the other hand, if such a chancel or chapel should still possess an open screen of timber, that part of the window

[1] *E.g.*, at Pamplona.

that appears through the screen is systematically blocked up by carved work or even by plain curtains. Indeed, there is nothing that more needs re-assertion than the right relation of the chancel screen to the high altar; and the difference of treatment, in this relationship, observable in a parish church from any other. In the parish church the high altar is for the worshippers throughout the whole building, and, therefore, the screen before it is an open one, and is so treated that it may best enhance the dignity of the altar, and in no way conceal it. And the screen of a church that was merely parochial seems to have had no altar set in front of it, except the church were without aisles at the time of its consecration.[1]

But in churches other than parish churches, altars at the sides, or even an altar as central as the high altar itself, were set against the solid screen which cuts off the choir from view. Thus the church is not treated as a whole from east to west, as is the parish church, but it is cut transversely into two or three divisions at the least; each with its own altar or altars, and complete in itself; and of necessity only the easternmost of these divisions can terminate in a window whose sill comes low down over the altar.

The description of the screen westwards of the choir screen at Durham is full of information about numerous details of our subject:—"In the body of the Churche, betwixt two of the hiest pillors supportinge and holding up the west syde of the Lanterne, over against the Quere dore, there was an Alter called Jesus Alter, where Jhesus mess was song every fridaie thorowe out the whole yere. And of the backsyde of the saide Alter there was a faire high stone wall: at either end of the wall there was a dore, which was lockt every night, called the Two Roode Dores, for the Procession to goe furth and comme in at. And betwixt those ij dores was Jhesus Alter placed, as is afforesaide. And at either ende of the Alter was closed up with fyne wainscott, like unto a porch, adjoyninge to eyther roode dore, verie fynely vernished with fyne read vernishe; and in the wainscott, at the south end of the Alter, there was iiij faire Almeries, for to locke the chalices and sylver crewetts, with two or thre sewts of Vestments and other ornaments, belonginge to the said Alter for the holie daies and principall daies. And in the north end of the Alter, in the wainscott, there was a dore to come in to the said porch and a locke on yt, to be lockt both daie and nighte. Also there was standing on the Alter, against the wall aforesaid, a moste curiouse and fine Table, with ij leves to open and clos againe, all of the hole Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, most richlye and curiously sett furth in most lyvelie coulors, all like the burninge gold, as he was tormented, and as he honge on the cross, which was a most lamentable sighte to beholde. The which Table was alwaies lockt up, but onley on principall daies. . . . Also there was, in the hight of the said wall from piller to piller, the whole storie and Passion of our Lord wrowghte in stone, most curiously and most fynely gilte, and, also, above the said storie and passion, was all the whole storie and pictures of the xij Apostles, verye artificiallye sett furth and verie fynelie gilte, contening frome the one piller to the other wrowght verie curiouslie and artificially in the said stone. And on the hight above all thes foresaide storyes, from piller to piller, was sett up a border very artificially wrowght in stone, with mervelous fyne coulers, very curiouslie and excellent fynly gilt, with branches and flowers, the more that a man did looke on it the more was his affection to behold yt, the worke was so fynely and curiously wroughte in the said stone that it cold not be fynelyer wrowght in any kynde of other mettell."[2]

If, then, the solid screen was made much of when a necessity, it was nevertheless not chosen in preference to the low east window. And for the high altar of a parish church a high screen never was a necessity, except in the very rare case of its possessing an eastern chapel.[3]

But in the latest period of gothic architecture, when painted glass had passed through its early stages to such a perfection of beauty that we can almost forgive the sacrifice made to it of window tracery and a more sober construction; it is observable that the most prominent feature of the high altar (and not in parish churches only) is not a solid screen, but the window. At Gloucester, in spite of its great Lady Chapel and of all difficulties of construction, the eastern wall of the choir from side to side, and from the apex of the vaulted roof almost to the altar, is one vast window. Not that a great window filling up the whole of the east end of a church was peculiar to the later style; it is to be found equally, in such a Cistercian church as Tintern,[4] to the refinement and reserve of whose earlier style none can take exception. It would seem, therefore, that almost always, even when fronted by a solid screen, the low east window was preferred; certainly in churches that had an open chancel screen it was universal.

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[1] As at Ranworth, in Norfolk; and at Patricio, where the original stone altars remain *in situ*.

[2] *Rites of Durham*. Surtees Society, pp. 28, 29.

[3] As at Long Melford. See note 3 on p. 198 above.

[4] See p. 198 above.

And the reason surely is that the chancel screen was of such gorgeous workmanship that there was nothing left to contrast with it in splendour but the painted images in the glass which surmounted the reredos proper and transmitted, in a manner impossible even to the gold and gems of which that was sometimes composed, the very light of heaven itself.

XI.—THE ROOD LOFT AND LECTERNS.

The description of the rood screen of Durham continues in these words: "And also above the hight of all, upon the waule, did stande the most goodly and famous Roode that was in all this land, with the picture of Marie on the one syde and the picture of John on the other, with two splendent and glisteringe Archangels, one on the one syde of Mary and the other of the other syde of Johne. So, what for the fairness of the wall, the staitlyness of the pictures, and the lyvelyhoode of the paynting, it was thowght to be one of the goodliest monuments in that church. Also on the backsyde of the said Rood before the Queir dore there was a Loft, and in the south end of the said loft the Clocke dyd stand."[1] But upon the eastern screen: "one of the fairest paire of the three" (organs) "did stand over the Quire dore, only opened and played uppon at principall Feasts." And again: "there was a Letterne of wood like unto a pulpit standinge and adjoyninge to the wood organs, over the Quire dore, where they had wont to singe the nine lessons in the old time on principall dayes, standinge with theire faces towards the High Altar."[2] A lectern in this position may be seen in a miniature referred to above in which the rood is shown on the same loft;[3] and in another, viz., in a book of hours known as "the Bedford Missal," an organ is shown towards the south end of the choir loft, fronting west.[4]

The organ also is found on the rood loft in parish churches. Indeed, it is now generally accepted that the chief purpose for which the later rood lofts of our parish churches were set up was to make provision, not only for the organs, but for the minstrels also who performed the pricksong, or harmonised music,[5] that was then finding its way into the churches, and which, it would in consequence appear, was not allowed in the chancels.

Roger Martyn, who writes at the time of the havoc made in our churches in the years that immediately succeeded 1549, describing "the state of Melford Church and our Ladie's Chappel at the East-end, as I did know it," tells us, "there was a fair Rood Loft, with the Rood, Mary and John, of every side, and with a fair pair of Organs standing thereby; which Loft extended all the breadth of the Church, and on Good Friday a Priest, then standing by the Rood, sang *The Passion*. The side thereof, towards the body of the church, in twelve partitions in boards, was fair painted with the images of the twelve Apostles."[6] Here the singing of *The Passion* is directly mentioned as having taken place on the rood loft, and it is inferred by the following entry of 1524, at St. Lawrence, Reading: "It. for drynk in the roode loft vppon Palme Sonday jd."[7] But there is no mention of the singing of the epistle and gospel from that position, nor even from the choir screen at Durham; while we are told that, "at the north end of the High Altar there was a goodly fine Letteron of brasse, where they sunge the epistle and the gospell, with a gilt pellican on the height of it, finely gilded, pullinge hir bloud out hir breast to hir young ones, and winges spread abroade, whereon did lye the book that they did singe the epistle and the gosple."[8] Again, in the Islip roll, and in Roger Van der Weyden's Seven Sacraments, a lectern in that position is shown, with (in the latter picture) a deacon standing at the book upon it. Also in some Derbyshire parish churches there are instances of stone lecterns on the north wall, near the high altar, whose purpose must have been the same.[9] Probably, therefore, it is not too much to say that the chief purpose of the later lofts was to serve for a musician's gallery, even if at times the gospel was also sung from them.

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[1] *Rites of Durham.* Surtees Society, p. 29.

[2] Ib., p. 14. See also the description of the eastern or choir screen on p. 17.

[3] British Museum. Add. MSS., No. 16,997, fol. 120.

[4] Ib., Add. MSS., No. 18,850, fol. 32.

[5] See *Transactions of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society.* Vol. II., p. 319.

[6] John Preston Neale. *Views of the most interesting Collegiate and Parochial Churches in Great Britain, &c.* London, 1825. Vol. II. The Church of the Holy Trinity, Melford, Suffolk, p. 13.

[7] C. Kerry. *History of the Municipal Church of St Lawrence, Reading.* Reading, 1883, p. 57.

[8] *Rites of Durham.* Surtees Society, p. 11.

[9] See J. Charles Cox. *Notes on Churches of Derbyshire.* Chesterfield, 1877. Vol II., p. 115: "Against" the north chancel wall at Taddington "is a stone reading-desk or slab, projecting nine inches, and three feet from the ground." And in Vol. III., p. 165: In the north chancel wall at Etwall is a "stone gospel shelf or lectern, with an uncharged shield below it." On plate XV., p. 298, two others, at Spondon and Chaddesden, are illustrated. Two other instances occur in Vol. IV., viz., Crich, p. 54, and Mickleover, p. 307, and plate II., p. 8.

At Louth there was paid for "making a coffer for pricksong books by the door side in our Lady Quire; . . . and for setting up the Flemish organ in the rood loft by four days, 20d."[1] And at the church of St. Lawrence, Reading, in 1506: "It. paied to Harry Blankstan, paynter, for gylding of the Rode Mary and John in the rode loft xs. iiijd." "It. paied for setting vp the seid rode Mary and John for removyng of th' organs and for making the sete for the pleyer of the same organs, xxd."[2]

This last item is quoted by Pugin in his magnificent *Treatise on Chancel Screens and Rood Lofts;* but in condemning the use of the loft for a musician's gallery, as being a post-mediæval corruption, he misses the significance of it.[3] There was a misconception, common in his time, which failed to see in the western galleries the survival of at least one use of the rood lofts, and that, therefore, they were only another assertion of the principle which would exclude from the chancels all but the clerks who sang the ritual plain chant.

It is from this misconception, and the levelling of all lofts consequent of it (whatever else we may have gained by it) that there has latterly sprung up a great abuse. I refer to the crowding of our parish church chancels with large bodies of men and boys, with little or no title to be called clerks (although they wear the clerical cassock)[4] who sing a style of music many degrees further removed from the plain chant than was the old pricksong. Now, the musician will admit that much musical power was lost by bringing down both singers and organs from the lofts; and the utilitarian will admit that a gallery economizes space; while—and it is here that the loft specially touches our subject—if in rare cases the singers leave sufficiently dignified space round the altar—their surplices are almost bound to present a distracting mass of white between it and the worshippers who are westwards of them. Of old, the chancels were built, not to accommodate what we call "surpliced choirs"; but, primarily, to give dignity to the ceremonial—simple or elaborate, according to the scale of the Church—connected with the high altar. If the ceremonial was simple, still dignity required all the space the average parish church chancel gave, after deducting what was occupied by the short single row of stalls, or benches, on each side and returned at the screen, which was provided for the clerks.

The use of the surplice, moreover, without the *cappa nigra*, or the silk cope, was comparatively rare even in quires,[5] where the singing clerks were shut off from the view of the nave or ante-chapel, as the case might be, by the closed screen, and thus did not come between the other worshippers and the altar. While parish churches, if the dioceses of Salisbury in the thirteenth century may be taken as representative, possessed very few surplices and rochets indeed.[6] Again, in later times something like the *cappa nigra* is found without the surplice: "in 1661," so Mr. Mackenzie Walcott writes, "the choristers of Lincoln had no surplices, but only gowns faced with lamb skin"; and "at Norwich the choristers wear surplices only on Sundays, holydays and eves, and at other times wear purple gowns, and sit in the organ loft."[7]

Loss of space in the chancel and the blocking up of the high altar are not the only evils consequent on the destruction of the lofts: for the organ has to be placed somewhere, and if it is not choked in a side chamber built specially for it and generally an eyesore to the church, it is made to be an even worse offender by its blocking up the east window of an aisle and taking the place of the altar for which the aisle was built.

Musicians' galleries have been objected to on the ground of their tending to irreverence; but experience shows that the mere position of the singers, however prominent it may be, will not itself be guard against that. Indeed, it would appear that we have gained nothing by pulling down the lofts; nor do the very much greater dimensions of the modern organ make a return to the old arrangements impossible, provided they be kept within reasonable bounds.

It is true that if the organ can be got into the rood loft there will be room for nothing else there, except the rood itself and a lectern for two or three singers, unless it be, as was so frequently the case in the later churches, that the loft crosses both nave and aisles. But if the aisles are too small for this, and yet the nave is of a fair size, we may reasonably borrow precedent from outside of a parish church, and set up a loft for either singers or organ at the side.

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[1] *Archæologia.* London, 1792. Vol. X., p. 93. *Extracts out of an old book relating to the building of Louth Steeple,* 1500—1518.

[2] C. Kerry. *History of the Municipal Church of St. Lawrence, Reading.* Reading, 1883, p. 57.

[3] London, 1851. See, *e.g.*, pp. 19, 42, and 66.

[4] See *Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society.* London, 1886. Vol. II., p. 127.

[5] See *Reg. S. Osmund.* Rolls Series. Vol. I., p. 34.

[6] Ib., pp. 275—314. See the inventories made in the visitation of the prebendal churches by William de Wanda, 1220.

[7] *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.* London, 1872, pp. 143, 144. The "purple gowns" are still worn at Norwich without surplices; but they are now cassocks of a crude blue shade.

"Before Jesus Alter," at Durham, that is, westwards of the rood screen and loft, "ther was on the north syde, betwixt two pillers, a looft for the Mr. and quiresters to sing Jesus mess every fridaie, conteyninge a paire of orgaines to play on, and a fair desk to lie there bookes on in tyme of dyvin service."[1] And Mr. Mackenzie Walcott tells us that "at Oxford until the recent restoration, the choir sat perched up in galleries on either side." And adding a list of well-known side galleries still existing, he goes on to say, "The tribune of Winchester, the galleries with book-stands over the chapels in the Lady Chapel of Gloucester, and the galleries in the nave of Wells and Exeter, served for the minstrels."[2] But if both these means of setting the organ and the minstrels up on high fail, to resort to the old-fashioned west gallery[3] is a better alternative than is given by our present customs. Another modification of the use of the old lofts suggests itself to meet a possible need. If it be granted that it is permissible for women to take formal part in the music, where could they be better placed than in a loft, shut off from view by a light screen surmounting the solid part of its parapet? One objection to the old west gallery was the presence of women and girls in it as well as men and boys; but a body of women singers visible anywhere else in the church, particularly if near the surpliced choir (where they must be to be of much service) is equally or more objectionable; while what shall be said of the latest development of all, viz., putting women into cassocks and surplices, and admitting them into the chancels! Can anything more exhibit the contrast of the modern temper to the old than this?

Lecterns in the middle of the choir, at which the cantors or other clerks sang from their ritual books, are of common occurrence in pictures.[4] No doubt the lessons also were sometimes sung from such lecterns; and there would appear to be no precedent for a lectern for the lessons outside of the chancel screen, in parish churches no more than in other churches.

XII.—THE QUESTION OF A VESTRY.

Very well known is the arrangement of doors, usual in abbey churches, on either side of the high altar, which gives access through the screen to the vestry or chapel behind, and makes possible the ancient custom of censing all round the altar; a custom which was, *e.g.*, preserved at Salisbury.[5]

But there is some precedent for it in other churches also. At Long Melford, in the east wall of the chancel, and on the south side of the high altar, there is a door leading into a small vestry between it and the Lady Chapel.[6] And Mr. St. John Hope tells me of some other cases of parish churches possessing low screen walls behind the high altar, that have one door each, viz., at Sawley and Tideswell in Derbyshire. And at Hope in Derbyshire, and Blakeney in Norfolk the same arrangement has existed. Arundel, in Sussex, is also an interesting example. There the old high altar and the slab, "12 feet 6 inches long by 4 feet wide," is "built against a plain stone wall about 8 feet high, and standing out about 7 feet in advance below the sill of the east window"; and "there is no other Credence or Piscina," but the Piscina behind the wall, "to the high altar, but small doors at each end of it through the Reredos wall," and "a separate entrance, or Priest's door, at the south end of this passage or vestry."[7]

Again, the will of Henry the Sixth giving instructions concerning Eton College Chapel, directs that "behinde the high auter shal be viij fete."[8]

The position of the piscina eastwards of the altar-screen, at Arundel, makes it more easily to be believed that the high altar was not so usually against the east wall as would otherwise appear. The arrangement, if followed (as it has been in some new churches), would give us convenient vestry space; and if more is required, we can at least avoid the addition of such vestries as from their size or position have disfigured, or even mutilated, many of our churches.

But in many cases of small country churches, if the old customs were followed of vesting at the altar and of keeping the vestments and other ornaments in chests standing in the church, and in lockers in the walls, there would be no occasion for a vestry now, any more than in old

[1] *Rites of Durham.* Surtees Society, pp. 29, 30.

[2] *Traditions and Customs of Cathedrals.* London, 1872, p. 144.

[3] There are mediæval western galleries in East Anglia, *e.g.*, at Aylsham and Cawston; but I am not aware if their purpose is definitely known.

[4] See, *e.g.*, British Museum. Add. MSS., No. 16,997, fol. 145, and No. 18,192, fol. 110.

[5] See *Reg. S. Osmund.* Rolls Series. Vol. I., p. 52.

[6] E. Lauriston Conder. *Church of the Holy Trinity, Long Melford, Suffolk.* London, 1887. See Plan, p. 1. The vestry is about 7 feet wide; and 19 feet 8 inches long, *i.e.*, the width of the chancel.

[7] J. H. Parker. *Glossary of Architecture.* Fourth Edition. Oxford, 1845. Vol. I., pp. 10—11.

[8] J. Willis Clark. *The Architectural History of the University of Cambridge and of the Colleges of Cambridge and Eton.* Cambridge, 1886. Vol. I., p. 35.

days. The mention of aumbries and chests in churches is of constant recurrence in old documents, and their presence should add beauty rather than disfigurement to the building. And the custom of vesting at the altar must of necessity have been almost invariable, since so few churches possessed vestries. Writing later than 1549, Becon speaks of it as if it were the usual practice.[1] A return to this custom would certainly emphasize the symbolical character of the vestments, and at the same time mark an advance from the sensational theatricalism, or the too conventional formality, that marks our attitude towards these things in England to-day.

CONCLUSION.

In the *Merita Missæ*, by Lydgate, we read:

> "Whan thou comste to the holy place,
> Caste holy water in thi face,
> And pray to god that made vs alle
> Thi wenyalle sennys mot fro the ffall
> Than loke to the hy autere
> And pray to hym that hangythe there,
> Where in londe that thou wende,
> That he be at thi laste Ende.
> Whan thou haste asked that longithe to the
> Wershipe Ewyr the Ternyte."[2]

Let us, in conclusion, review the ground we have gone over, by gathering it up in the one glance the Englishman of that time gave to the high altar as he made the reverence inculcated by this rhyme.

Straight his eye went to the pix, which told of the presence of God, its gold and snow-white linen glittering in front of the expanse of the silver glass, "clear as crystal," like the sea before the throne, bearing its jewelled imagery of the saints that ever surround that Presence.

The holy place was no longer, as in the old covenant, shut off to the eyes of all but the high priest, who entered once in the year; he sees it through the screen as it were through a beautiful garden of paradise, for its mullions and tracery were painted with a thousand flowers, and overhanging it was the vault of blue, spangled with stars, on which stood the loft where those English boys, St. Gregory's angels, sang and played instruments of music. And on the parapet of the loft he sees the cherubim of burning gold that once kept the gates of Eden with flaming swords, but now hold up their empty hands in praise of the Redeemer who has opened those gates by the wounds which He shows as He stretches out His arms in benediction on that glorified rood. For what to him is the rood in the centre of the church, before which burnt the flame of the lamp "watching to God" night and day, but the very tree of life, under the shadow of whose leaves stands Mary, the second Eve, in resigned acceptance of the prophecy, that her seed should bruise the serpent's head, and St. John who clasps the book of witness to the twofold stream that flows from our Saviour's side?

And as "the mery orgon, on masse daies,"[3] or the plain chant, broke the silence, he sees the ministers in their gorgeous vestments, priests and Levites, gather round the altar, and the gleam of the tapers on the gilded carved work; and smells the perfume of bruised herbs and the incense smoke that filled the air.

Those were days in which it has been truly said that the churches were the bibles of the poor. There was no need of scriptures on their walls such as now would belie the tale the desolate fabrics too often tell, and which in their Roman characters may be read of the people, but, I venture to think, are less "understanded of them" than were the unwritten bibles, once brought to so excellent a work.[4]

Every ornament of such a church as we have been considering, from the stoups at the porches to the pix above the high altar, proclaimed in clearer language than that of the English Version albeit written in Roman characters: *Quam terribilis est locus iste! non est hic aliud nisi domus dei, et porta celi.*

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[1] Thos. Becon. *The Displaying of the Popish Masse.* London, 1637, p. 296. See also T. E. Simmons. *The Lay Folks' Mass Book.* Early English Text Society. London, 1879, pp. 163, 164, 165.

[2] lines 37—46. See T. E. Simmons. *The Lay Folks' Mass Book.* Early English Text Society. London, 1879, p. 149. The *Merita Missæ* is of about the date 1470. See p. 389.

[3] Chaucer. *The Nonne Prestes Tale.* Lines 31, 32.

[4] *Psalm* lxxiv.

ON THE CONSTITUTION OF FRENCH CHAPTERS.

BY THE

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When it was proposed to set up in St. Paul's the lists of Deans, the question arose, what were we to do with the names which had been handed down to us as those of Deans before the Norman Conquest,—Leovegarus, Godwinus, Syredus, Guilermus, Elfwinus, Luiredus, as they are given by Le Neve? It would have been easy to make the names look more Saxon; but no date of even a roughly approximate character could be assigned to any one of them, and I, for one, felt serious doubts as to the certainty of there having been Deans at all. We decided, eventually, to head our list, "Deans of St. Paul's since A.D. 1066," without committing ourselves to a statement that there were or were not Deans before that date.

A good many years ago, I was interested in investigations which Henry Bradshaw was making into the constitution of Cathedral Chapters. At odd times I had made notes and collections on the subject. Two years ago, the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth edited for the Cambridge University Press "*The Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, arranged by the late Henry Bradshaw," the first volume being published in 1892. At page 102 Mr. Wordsworth says:—"Bradshaw collected from authentic sources, verified, and wrote out with his own hand, a list of capitular offices of all the neighbouring Cathedral Churches within a considerable range of Normandy, forty-four of them,[1] as he wished to see what their constitution was, and to be able to exhibit how living and unmechanical such arrangements had once been, and ought to be." This reminded me of my former interest in such questions, to which was added the fact that by that time I had myself most unexpectedly become a member of not the least of English Chapters; and as occasion has offered I have gone on with the enquiry. When I was asked to provide a paper for one of the meetings of the St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society, it occurred to me that the society might be willing to receive a sort of first approximation to what may—if circumstances are favourable—grow into a larger piece of work. Accordingly, I propose to go to-night through the French Chapters, Archbishopric by Archbishopric. The great mass of the information comes, of course, from *Gallia Christiana*, the sixteen serious Latin folio volumes of which are by this time almost too familiar to me. There is also a great amount of information in the articles of Du Cange.

While I have made some enquiries as to changes made by the French Revolution, I shall say nothing about that now. It has nothing to do with our enquiry, and has no lessons for us as to ancient constitutions and the early and real meanings of names and arrangements more or less familiar to us. I therefore speak in all cases in the past tense,—"the Chapter was composed of," and so on,—not implying that it does not still contain the same dignities and personages, and merely meaning that I am not taking recent changes into account. I have observed this rule even where the volumes of *Gallia Christiana* have been published since the Revolution, the last as late as 1857. As a matter of fact the present Chapters contain very few of their old dignities.

It is clear that to go at any sort of length into the constitution of each of the 130 Cathedral Chapters of France—omitting the twenty-nine which were last century reckoned in France but are now counted in Germany, Holland, Belgium, and Switzerland—would be to occupy too much time. I propose, therefore, to read to-night a fairly full statement of the facts relating to the Archbishoprics of Cambray, Reims, Rouen, and Tours, as being the parts nearest to us; and then, quite briefly, to indicate the ruling features of the Chapters of other archiepiscopal districts. The curious differences in the constitution of Chapters, which we shall have to notice, usually group themselves geographically. After mentioning the Constitutions of Chapters, I propose to give as I go on, and at the end, a few notes about some of the offices or dignities.

We should note, before beginning to look at the several Chapters, that whatever may have been the earlier constitution of English Chapters, the advent of foreign ecclesiastics at the Conquest impressed one form of Chapter upon almost all the Cathedrals of the old foundation.

[1] At page 45 we learn that this collection, a "thickish volume of foolscap," could not be found at Bradshaw's death.

Those Cathedrals were Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, London, Salisbury, Wells, York. In 1090 the order Dean, Cantor, Chancellor, Treasurer, Archdeacons, [Sub-dean, Succentor,] was given to Lincoln, Salisbury, and York. York, of course, had for very long had a Chapter, the others were practically new. At York, the Master of the famous school ranked next to the Archbishop, when the Archbishop was not the Master, as Ecgbert was. From that time (A.D. 730) to the Conquest, the Master, or Chancellor as he came to be called, was the head of the Cathedral body, next to the Archbishop. The Norman Thomas put a Dean between them.

This general order gradually spread among all the secular Cathedrals but one, and it became the norm on which the secular establishments in Ireland and Scotland were moulded. The chief exception was London. There—or rather here—the stall next in dignity to the Dean's has continued to be assigned to the Archdeacon of London. If we look to Lincoln, &c., we shall find that the four stalls of principal dignity were the four extreme or corner stalls, two to the West and two to the East; the Dean and Cantor having the two at the West, the Chancellor and Treasurer the two to the East. Taking this view of the arrangement of the Choir at St. Paul's, in the time of Dean Baldock (1294—1303), we shall find, I think, that next to the Dean the four Archdeacons came. London had the first place among them, and the stall next in dignity to the Dean. Essex came next, and he sat at the Dean's right hand. Middlesex came next, with his stall at the farthest East, on Cantoris side, where it still is; and Colchester had the opposite stall, the extreme East on Decani side. The other dignities came next, Cantor next London, Treasurer next Essex, Chancellor next Cantor. The other Prebendaries filled the spaces between. I may add that in 1696 the Archdeacons preached in that order, before the other dignities. London, then, I cannot doubt, is more ancient in its arrangements than any other English cathedral, and is the only one that is English in its order. We had an Archpresbyter of London in the eighth century. Probably we had a Provost before the Conquest, who, as in some French cases, might preside in Chapter, but occupy only a second place in Choir. At Wells they had a Provost till 1136—1166, when a Dean was put first; the Provostship lasted for a time longer. This is the date of change on the Continent. Our Dean, if we had one, was, I suspect, a personage of less importance and place. Our Præcentorship was endowed in 1203, but we had a Præcentor in 1183. Our Treasurership was founded in 1160. Our Chancellors existed as masters of the schools from about 1110; the first to be called Chancellor was in 1216. The Treasurer is placed in our earliest statutes before the Cantor, though the Cantor sat opposite the Dean in Choir. This soon ended in the Cantor being reckoned above the Treasurer; though, down to Dean Colet's time, the Treasurer comes next to the Dean in the statutes.

Archbishopric of Rouen.

The metropolitan position of Rouen dates from early times. The third Bishop, or as some say the second, was at the council of Arles in 314. There were six suffragans, Bayeux, Avranches, Evreux, Séez, Lisieux, Coutances. The Chapter of Rouen consisted of ten dignities: Dean, Cantor, Treasurer, six Archdeacons, Chancellor; and thirty-seven Canons. Three of the thirty-seven held the offices (not dignities) of Succentor, Theologus, Penitentiary. The Cantor and Treasurer held prebends; if at any time the Dean did not, he could neither perform any function in Choir nor preside in Chapter. The first Dean named is one Henry, Presbyter and Dean, 1024, who seems from the context to have been Dean of Rouen.

It is evident that in these dignities, and to a certain extent in their relative order, we have the type of the English Chapters of Norman and Plantagenet times. Two of our kings were specially concerned with this Chapter, John having founded a number of "fifteen-marc" prebends, and Richard a number of "fifteen-pound" prebends. This reminds us of the "Centum solidi," and "Sexaginta solidi" prebends of Lincoln. The majority of the Chapters of the suffragan bishoprics followed nearly the same type.

Bayeux had a bishopric in fairly early times. The third Bishop dates 458—465. The Chapter consisted of fifty Canons, among whom the following were the dignities: Dean, Cantor, Chancellor, Treasurer, four Archdeacons, Sub-dean, Succentor, Scholasticus, Theologus. The first Dean named is in the time of Odo I., that is, the Odo of the Norman Conquest, the half-brother of Duke William. This Dean was William de Ros, who held the offices of Cantor, Dean, and Archdeacon, simultaneously.

This order differs from that of Rouen, in the Chancellors being brought up above the Treasurer and the Archdeacons, and in the Sub-dean, Succentor, Scholasticus, and Theologus, being counted as dignities. You will find in Chr. Wordsworth's *Statutes of Lincoln*, p. 102, a record of Henry Bradshaw's delight when he found that the Bayeux order—Dean, Cantor, Chancellor, Treasurer—was the order also in the three English Cathedrals whose Chapters were settled in 1090-1, York, Lincoln, Salisbury; with the further and pointed coincidence that Thomas, the then Archbishop of York, was Canon and Treasurer of the Cathedral of Bayeux. The

early composition of the Chapter of Salisbury had been misunderstood by Dr. Rock, Dr. Todd, and others, Richard Poore's work having been taken to be Bishop Osmund's. Osmund, of Salisbury, was of Séez; and Remigius, of Lincoln, was of Fécamp; both in this province.

AVRANCHES was not a very early bishopric. The second Bishop, or as some say, the first, was at the First Council of Orleans in 511. The Chapter consisted of six dignities—Dean, Cantor, Treasurer, Scholasticus or Præfect of Schools, two Archdeacons; and twenty-five Canons. The first Dean named became Bishop in 1143.

EVREUX, again, was not a very early bishopric. The second Bishop was about 450—490. The Chapter consisted of seven dignities: Dean, Cantor,[1] three Archdeacons, Treasurer, Penitentiary; and thirty-one Canons, of whom the Abbat of Bec always ranked next to the dignities in Church and Chapter. The Succentor ranked with the Chaplains. The first Dean named is in 1080: he had a *nobilis socia*, by name Orieldis, and they had ten children; he became a monk about 1080.

LISIEUX was not an early bishopric. The first Bishop named is 538—549. The Chapter consisted of the following dignities: Dean, Cantor, Treasurer, Capicerius, Master of the Schools, four Archdeacons; and thirty-one or more Canons. The first Dean named is 1077—1101.

The dignity called Capicerius deserves a word. Capitium (Fr. Chevet) is the head of a bed. Then, the highest end of a church, the Sanctuary or Presbytery. Thence the Capicerius is the officer who has charge of the Sanctuary and its treasures, the Treasurer of a Cathedral Church. But as the Treasurer is named here as a dignity, above the Capicerius, we may regard the latter in this place as equivalent to Sacrist.

COUTANCES was not an early bishopric. The first Bishop dates about 475. The Church suffered greatly at the hands of the Northmen. Bishop Geoffrey de Mowbray found it desolate in the middle of the eleventh century. He established the dignity of Cantor as the highest dignity, the others being four Archdeacons, Scholasticus, Treasurer, Penitentiary; with twenty-six Canons. This is a unique arrangement, due presumably to the wasting of the property of the Church at the invasion of the Northmen, and the insufficient means of the restoring Bishop. So far as it goes, it rings changes on the arrangements of the other Chapters of the Archbishopric, and introduces no new element.

The one Chapter in this Archbishopric which makes a real departure from the general type is SÉEZ. It was a fairly early bishopric, the fifth Bishop dating about 500.

The Chapter had eight dignities: Provost, Cantor, five Archdeacons, Penitentiary; and sixteen Canons, including the Theologus and Præcentor.

The explanation of this departure from the general type is simple. In 1129 the Chapter was made regular, being formed on the plan of the Canons Regular of St. Victor, of Paris, with a Prior at the head. Priors are named from 1131 to 1547. It was then restored to secular order, and Provosts succeeded to the Priors.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF CAMBRAY.

The Archbishopric of CAMBRAY was erected by Paul IV. (1555—1559) at the request of Philip II. of Spain, without the consent of the King of France and the Archbishop of Reims, from whose Archbishopric it was taken. It had four suffragans—Arras, Tournay, St. Omer, and Namur. Of these, Tournay and Namur are no longer in France. They are in Belgium.

As a bishopric, CAMBRAY was fairly early. Its first Bishop was Vedastus, whose life was written by Alcuin and has been brought before us in a very pleasant manner by Dr. Sparrow Simpson, who is Rector of St. Vedast's, Foster Lane. The date of this Bishop was about 540.

The Chapter of Cambray consisted of forty-eight Canons. The dignities were: first, the Provost; second, the Dean. Provosts are mentioned from 980 to modern times, and Deans from 1046 to modern times. Of other dignities in this Chapter I do not find mention.

The co-existence of Provost and Dean, and the subordination of Dean to Provost, are features of note in the Chapter.

ARRAS.—This bishopric is of the same fair antiquity as Cambray. In each, St. Vedast was the first Bishop.

So far as the two principal dignities are concerned, Arras followed Cambray. They were: first, Provost; second, Dean. Provosts are mentioned from 1093, Deans from 1088. Eight dateless Deans are named, presumably earlier still; but their order cannot be ascertained. The other dignities were: two Archdeacons, Treasurer, Penitentiary. There were forty Canons. The text of *Gallia Christiana* states that fifty-two Capellani also were included in the Chapter.

[1] The Cantor is omitted from the list, but only by accident, for the text proceeds to state that the dignities are not connected with a canonry except in the case of the Dean and Cantor.

NAMUR.—This Church was under Liége. Paul IV. (1555—1559) took it from Liége and made it a bishopric.

It was made secular in 1057, when twelve Canons were substituted for Monks.

The Chapter consisted of: Provost, Dean, twenty-nine Canons, and twenty Vicars. Thus the order of dignities followed Cambray. The inclusion of the Vicars in the Chapter follows the type of Arras.

Namur, I have remarked, was formerly under Liége. It is worth while making an excursus from the Archbishopric under consideration, to look at Liége, a place which came under Cologne, and so will not come before us on this occasion in its own rights. By taking in Liége, we shall have a view of both parts of the province of Flanders.

Liége had this same order of dignities: first, Provost; second, Dean. And that was the order, too, at Cologne itself, where the Metropolitan Provost was the dignity next to the Archbishop, and there was a Major Dean. Provosts and Deans are named from about 1000. The bishopric of Cologne is early; Maternus, the first Bishop, dates from 313.

The Chapter of Liége throws an interesting light upon this order of dignities: first Provost, and then Dean. It is, by the way, a very early bishopric, beginning as the bishopric of the Tungrensians, it is said about 130 A.D. Provosts are named from 746, Deans of Tongres even earlier still. The Chapter had 60 Canons, among whom the Provost was first as Archdeacon of Liége; next, the Major Dean; next, the Cantor; and then seven more Archdeacons. The special point to which I wish to call attention is, that the Provost, being the highest dignity next to the Bishop, held the first place after the Bishop in church and in public functions. But in Chapter and in capitular acts he had no vote as Provost; he voted only as a Canon. Hence in Chapter he followed the Dean, ranking next to him as being the principal Archdeacon. We shall find in France itself more than one similar example.

That is an excursus beyond the Archbishopric of Cambray, but we have clearly found it worth making.

There remain in the Archbishopric Tournay and St. Omer.

TOURNAY was an early bishopric, the first Bishop about 297. The Chapter consisted of the following, in the order given: Dean, Cantor, Treasurer, Prefect of Schools, Chancellor; forty Canons. The first Dean named is 1087.

This is a complete upset of the order prevailing so far in this part of the old France. Not only is the Dean not second to the Provost, but there is no Provost.

The explanation is a very simple one. That noble Romanesque Church of Tournay was not in its original company. It was only under Cambray by the violence of Paul IV., who took it from Reims. The type in Reims is less fixed than in Cambray, but neither does Tournay fit in with the Reims customs in omitting the Archdeacons from the Chapter. It may be worth while to mention such light as an examination of the early documents of Tournay gives. In 1130 Bishop Simon signs in synod with only the names of Abbats and Senators after his. In 1135 he orders that all Canons shall live together in a stable manner, and here his signature is followed by those of Dean, Custos, Chancellor, Cantor. In 1150 Bishop Gerald's signature is followed by those of two Archdeacons (Everard), Dean (Walter), Provost (Letbut), Cantor. In 1153 his signature is followed by Dean Letbut, Archdeacon Everard, Chancellor Letbut, and Canons; in 1170 by Dean and Chancellor.

ST. OMER completes the suffragans of Cambray. The Chapter consisted of: Dean, Cantor, two Archdeacons, Archpresbyter, Penitentiary; twenty-nine greater Canons, five small. Here is another complete upset. The explanation is again very simple. The Abbey of St. Omer was made into a bishopric by Paul IV. in 1559, at the request of Philip II. of Spain, when the very ancient city of Tarvenna, which formed in the early times with Boulogne one bishopric with two seats, had been levelled to the ground by Charles V. Thus the Chapter is a sixteenth-century affair. Ypres and Boulogne were also formed out of Tarvenna.

Not only is the explanation simple, but if we look back we get something better than an explanation. The Abbey of St. Omer had Provosts and Deans in that order. Provosts and Deans are named from 1016. The last Provost is dated 1557. The erection into a bishopric made the line of Provosts cease.

Thus the Archbishopric of Cambray is an unbroken evidence of the prevalence of a local type of Chapter.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF REIMS.

REIMS.—An early bishopric. The fourth Bishop was at Arles, in 314.

The suffragans were Soissons, Châlons, Laon, Senlis, Beauvais, Amiens, Noyon, Boulogne.

The Chapter consisted of the following (for the inversion of order see below): two Archdeacons, Provost, Dean, Cantor, Treasurer, Vicedominus, Scholasticus, Penitentiary; sixty-four Prebendaries. There were besides fifty-three Chaplains, one Capicerius, &c.

In early times there were several Deans, and the duty of the Provost was to see that none of the Deans, from the highest to the lowest, neglected his duties for a single day. But very long ago there had ceased to be more than one Dean.

The Archdeacons, as officials of the Archbishop, came next to him, and preceded their colleagues in Choir. But in Chapter the Provost presided, and next to him the Dean. This, probably, came from the early connection of the Church of Reims with the Benedictine Abbey, the Benedictine rule placing Deans under Provosts, and Provosts under Abbats.

When the Provost did homage at the joyous entrance of a new Archbishop, he did not join his hands together, but held out his left hand, reserving the other to preserve the rights of the Chapter.

In the eighth century St. Rigobert established a Canons' table, and they must have had an Oeconomus; but in 813 the name Provost was still unknown here. Thus Provosts appeared in the ninth century, so far as Reims was concerned.

LAON.—The first Bishop was at Orleans in 549; he was Bishop for fifty years, established by Clovis 497.

The Chapter consisted of: Dean, two Archdeacons, Cantor, Treasurer; eighty-four Canons.

Fulcrad signed as Dean and Archdeacon in 1082. A Dean is claimed in 929, but he is not described as Dean.

BEAUVAIS.—An early bishopric, claiming to date as early as Paris, from the time of Dionysius.

The Chapter consisted of: Dean, Archdeacon, Treasurer, Cantor, Archdeacon, Succentor; forty-five Canons. The Penitentiary and Chancellor were dignities before 1364; since that time they were only offices. There was a third Archdeaconry, but in 1096 Ansellus attached it to the deanery. First Dean named, 927.

SOISSONS —An early bishopric; the sixth Bishop signed at the Council of Sardica in 347.

The Chapter consisted of the following, from the eleventh century: Provost, Dean, two Archdeacons, Treasurer, two Archdeacons, Cantor, Magister Scholarum; Canons.

There was no doubt an Oeconomus or Provost in all these societies, but the office died out in time.

A Provost of Soissons became Bishop in 909. The first Dean named was Provost and Chancellor (probably equivalent to Magister Scholarum) in 1076.

CHALONS (sur Marne) —An early bishopric; the eighth Bishop is 451.

The Chapter consisted of the following (for the inversion of order, see below): Dean, Cantor, four Archdeacons, Custos (or Treasurer), Succentor; thirty Canons.

There was a Provost till 1065, when the dignity was abolished. The Succentor is created by the Chapter, but presented by the Cantor. The Dean presides; he gives the last Sacrament to the Bishop, and so on. But in choir and in public supplications he yields the first place to the Archdeacons. The first Dean named is 1060, just before the doing away of the Provostship.

NOYON.—The Bishops were of Vermandois. The fourteenth established his seat at Noyon, in 531. For some time it was held with Tournay.

The Chapter consisted of: Dean, Archdeacon, Chancellor, Treasurer, Cantor, Scholasticus; sixty-one Prebendaries.

The first Dean named is about 1000.

AMIENS.—The second Bishop dates 346.

The Chapter consisted of: Dean, Provost, Treasurer, Chancellor, two Archdeacons, Præcentor, Cantor, Scholasticus, Penitentiary; forty-three Canons.

The first Dean named is 1041.

SENLIS —The ninth Bishop dates 511.

The Chapter consisted of: Dean, Cantor, Archdeacon; (?) Canons.

The first Dean named is 1068.

BOULOGNE.—The bishopric of the Morinenses was established about 500, at Tarvenna; the seat was sometimes at Boulogne. When the Emperor Charles V. levelled Tarvenna to the ground, the property of the bishopric was divided into three, and three bishoprics were founded—Ypres for Flanders, St. Omer for Artois, and Boulogne for France.

The Chapter of Boulogne consisted of: Dean, two Archdeacons, Cantor, Treasurer, Penitentiary.

Deans of the Morinenses are named from 1065.

There is less uniformity than usual in this Archbishopric. The general type is Dean, Archdeacon, Cantor, Treasurer; but there are several exceptions. In three cases the dignity of Provost remained.

Archbishopric of Tours.

The Archbishopric of Tours had eleven suffragans, Le Mans, Angers, Rennes, Nantes, Vannes, Cornouaille, Léon, Tréguier, St. Brieuc, St. Malo, Dol. As a bishopric it is early, dating from the Decian persecution in 250.

Some of the suffragan bishoprics are in thinly populated parts of Brittany, and in what may be called out-of-the-way places, and some represent independent tribes of people; we must not expect to find Chapters of so much importance, and in such full order, as in many other parts of France. We have to bear in mind, also, that some of the bishoprics trace themselves back to refugees from Britain in the middle of the sixth century. Further, the Chapters were in more than one known case remodelled in the Middle Ages on the type of Tours, so that we have less of independent evidence of order of dignities than in other cases.

The Chapter of Tours consisted of: Dean, Archdeacon of Tours, Treasurer, Præcentor, Chancellor, two Archdeacons, the Archpresbyter of Tours; and fifty or more Canons. A Canon of Tours has left an account of the duties of some of these officers. The Præcentor, or Chorostates, presided over the services in Choir, precented and preceded those who were to sing. The Chancellor had charge of all that was to be read from the pulpit in the odeon (Choir); to see that it was read aptly and clearly, in order that it might be listened to with attention and intelligence. The Princeps Archipresbyter preached on the greater Sundays, as the Ecclesiastes Theologus did on other Sundays.

Le Mans.—The first Bishop claimed is about 250. The sixth Bishop dates 451.

We have a good deal of information about the early arrangements of the diocese of the Cenomanni, which can be put into small compass, and is worth summarising, though it does not directly relate to the Chapter.

In the eighth century, two Archpresbyters are found, the diocese being divided into two parts for management purposes. In the eleventh century they had become three. In 1200 there were eight. In 1230 Maurice removed them, and transferred their function to seven Archdeacons. The Deans—this means of course the Rural Deans—were placed under the Archdeacons; in the thirteenth century there were twenty-six Deans; later, twenty-eight.

The arrangement that the Cenomannian clergy who were about the Bishop should live in common, was made in the time of Charlemagne. There had been no distinction among the clergy in earlier times still, except that of Presbyter and Deacon. With the common life came the necessity for one of the number being elected to manage the affairs of the community. Jacob is named as Sacerdos Senior in the time of Bishop Joseph, about 790. Austeus was Dean 837; no other Dean is mentioned till 1014. Archdeacons in this district are first mentioned in the will of St. Bertramn, who died in 623.

The Chapter consisted of: Dean, Cantor, Scholasticus, six Archdeacons. The dignities of Provost, Chancellor, Custos, which once existed, had ceased.

Angers.—This was a fairly early bishopric. The first Bishop clearly dated is the sixth, in 453.

Here again we find the system of Archpresbyterates. The chief Archdeaconry included four Archpresbyterates. Another Archdeacon had under him one Archpresbyter, and two Deans *rusticanis negotiis*. The third Archdeacon had three Rural Deans.

In 1334 the Archbishop of Tours freed the Chapter from episcopal control, and himself confirmed the Deans.

The Chapter consisted of: Dean, Archdeacon, Cantor, Treasurer, two Archdeacons, Scholasticus, Penitentiary; thirty Canons. The first Dean named dates 880—900; the second, 929.

Rennes.—The first Bishop is 461.

The Chapter consisted of: Treasurer, Cantor, two Archdeacons, Scholasticus; sixteen Canons. There is no record of any other head of the Chapter than the Treasurer; the first named is 1087.

Nantes.—They claim a Bishop, Clarus, 280—309, but Gregory of Tours does not name him. The fourth Bishop dates 374.

The Chapter had six dignities, Dean, two Archdeacons, Cantor, Treasurer, Scholasticus; twenty Canons. Till 1305, the Archdeacon, more often than the Dean, witnessed the Bishop's seal; but in that year the Chapter was remodelled on the pattern of Tours.

Cornouaille.—From early times, the seat of the Bishop has been Quimper. They claim a Bishop in 453; but it is doubtful. The third on the list dates 835.

The Chapter consisted of: Dean, Archdeacon (Cornubiæ), Cantor, Treasurer, Archdeacon (Pochaër), Theologus; eleven Canons. There is no record of the names of Deans.

VANNES.—The first Bishop is said to have died in 448.

The Chapter consisted of: Chief Archdeacon, Treasurer, Cantor, Scholasticus, Chief Penitentiary; nineteen Canons; in 1270, forty Canons.

The first Archdeacon named is 869. There is no record of any other dignity as head of the Chapter.

LEON.—The first Bishop dates 511.

The Chapter consisted of: Cantor, three Archdeacons, Treasurer; sixteen Canons. There is practically no list of Cantors.

ST. MALO.—The first Bishop, St. Maclou, went out from Britain about the middle of the sixth century, and died in 612 or 617.

The Chapter consisted of: Dean, two Archdeacons, Chief Cantor; sixteen Canons. It was once a regular Chapter and had Priors and Deans. In 1319 it was remodelled on the pattern of Tours.

DOL.—The first Bishop was Samson, who, they claim, was sent by Dubricius from Britain: he was at the Council of Paris, in 557. His pupil, Maglorius, succeeded him.

The Chapter consisted of: Cantor, Scholasticus, Archdeacon, Treasurer; sixteen or twenty Canons. The Pope institutes (this volume was published in 1856) the Cantor. In 1032 Radulfus signs next to the Bishop, and is supposed to have been Cantor. From 1122 Cantors are named. There is no record of any other dignity as head of the Chapter.

ST. BRIEUC.—The first Bishop was soon after 1000. Juhel made the Church of St. Brieuc his Cathedral Church in 1223.

The Chapter consisted of: Dean, Treasurer, two Archdeacons, Scholasticus, Cantor; twenty Canons; in 1233, twelve.

The first Dean mentioned is Judicael, in 1129.

TREGUIER.—The first Bishop is not before 850.

The Chapter consisted of: Treasurer, Cantor, Scholasticus, two Archdeacons.

A few Deans are named; but there are practically no lists.

I now take the remaining Archbishoprics in alphabetical order, and for the most part more concisely.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF AIX.

AIX.—First certain bishop, 417.

The suffragans were Apt, Ries, Fréjus, Gap, Sisteron.

The dignities were Provost, Archdeacon, Sacrist, Capiscolus. Provosts are named from 1069.

APT.—Second bishop, 266.

The Chapter consisted of Provost and twelve Canons. Provosts are named in 870 and 981.

RIES.—First certain bishop, 434.

The dignities were Provost, Archdeacon, Sacrist, Capiscolus. Provosts are named from 1096.

FREJUS.—First bishop, 374.

The dignities were Provost, Archdeacon, Sacrist. Provosts are named from 1085.

GAP.—Second bishop, 439.

The Chapter had four dignities, of whom the chief was the Dean. The second Dean named, dates 1099.

SISTERON.—First bishop, 452.

The Chapter consisted of: Provost, Archdeacon, Capiscolus (caput chori, seu scholæ cantorum), Sacrist; eight Canons, of whom one was Theologus Capituli. One of the lower officers was the Master of the *pueri symphoniasti*. Provosts are named from 1145.

The prevailing type is that set by the Archbishopric: Provost, Archdeacon, Capiscolus, Sacrist.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ALBI.

ALBI.—First bishop, before 400.

The bishopric was originally under the Archbishopric of Bourges. The archbishopric was created in 1676. The suffragans assigned to it were Castres, Mende, Cahors, Rodez, Vabres.

The Canons were Augustinian till 1297.

The Chapter after the change had: Provost, Cantor, Succentor, three Archdeacons, Theologus; Canons.

Provosts are named from 963. From a curious account of high-handed action by Bishop Frotard, 1066-1087, it appears that the earlier Chapter was very differently constituted. Twice over, certain dignities are mentioned, each time in this order:—two Sacrists, Cabiscolus, Treasurer, Dean. This is the only mention of Dean we have.

CASTRES —This Church was under abbats from 647 to 1317. It was then made a bishop's see by John XXII. It remained Benedictine till Paul III, in 1535, made it secular.

The Benedictine officers were, Major Prior, Eleemosynary, Infirmarer, Cantor (called also Cabiscolus), Subcamerarius, Sacrist; with twenty-four Prebendaries. In all, thirty monks.

In 1535 the twenty-four monastic prebends were made twenty-four canonries. The dignities created were:—Major Provost, Major Archdeacon, Minor Archdeacon, Cantor, Succentor, Treasurer. The Bishop was to appoint two other archdeacons, with place in Choir, but no voice in Chapter, and no share of Cathedral funds *ratione archidiaconatus*.

MENDE.—Three bishops are named before 451.

The dignities were, Provost, Archdeacon, Præcentor.

Provosts are named from 1151.

CAHORS.—The first bishop died in 339.

The Chapter consisted of fourteen Canons, of whom the first was the Bishop: two held dignities, Archdeacon Major, and Archdeacon of Tournus: two held offices, Cantor, Cancellarius.

In 1391 there were six archdeacons and an operarius.

The earliest known order was, Bishop, Provost, Dean. The first provost named is 970; the first dean, 783; the first archdeacon, 783.

RODEZ.—First bishop, about 500.

The dignities were, Archdeacon of Rodez, three other Archdeacons, Cantor, Sacrist.

Provosts ruled in early times. Five names have been recovered, from 1099 to 1199. In 1215, the regular life was given up, the provostship was terminated, and four archdeacons were created as above.

VABRES.—An Abbey erected into a bishopric by John XXII. in 1317.

The Chapter was: Provost, Archdeacon, Cantor; twelve Canons. The Bishop was the thirteenth Canon.

Thus the prevailing type in this Archbishopric was Provost, Archdeacon, Cantor.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF ARLES.

ARLES.—Third bishop, 254.

The suffragans were Marseilles, St. Paul Trois-Châteaux, Toulon, Orange.

The Chapter was regular till 1484.

The dignities were: Provost, Archdeacon, Sacrist, Archpresbyter; the personages were, Capiscolus, Primicerius, Treasurer.

The provost was always the chief dignity. Provosts are named from 796.

MARSEILLES.—A very early bishopric. The dignities were: Provost, Archdeacon; the personages were Sacrist, Capiscolus.

ST. PAUL TROIS-CHATEAUX.—An early bishopric; the St. Paul from whom the name is derived dates from 374. The dignities were: Provost, Archdeacon, Sacrist, Præcentor.

There were deans in 1203 and 1217; after that provosts.

TOULON.—First bishop, 451. The dignities were: Provost, Archdeacon; the personages were, Sacrist, Capiscolus.

Provosts are named from 1122.

ORANGE.—First bishop, 312. The dignities were: Provost, Præcentor; the latter is explained to be equivalent to Capiscolus, as *caput scholæ cantorum*.

Provosts are named from 1208.

There was considerable uniformity in this Archbishopric.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF AVIGNON.

AVIGNON.

The suffragans were Carpentras, Vaison, Cavaillon.

The Chapter consisted of a Provost and Canons.

Provosts are named from 1038.

CARPENTRAS.

The Chapter consisted of Provost and Canons.

Provosts are named from 1165.

VAISON.

The Chapter was for long regular. The dignities were: Provost, Archdeacon, Sacrist, Præcentor.

Provosts are named from 1212.

CAVAILLON.

The dignities were: Provost, Archdeacon. In 1202 the Bishop reckoned as dignities a Provost, a Præcentor, a Sacrist.

Provosts are named from 1216.

There was considerable uniformity in this Archbishopric.

Archbishopric of Ausch.

Ausch.

The suffragans were the ten named below.

The dignities were: Provost, eight Archdeacons, two Priors, Sacrist (with cure of souls), Theologus.

The Chapter was once regular.

Acqs.

There were no dignities; the senior presided.

Leytoure.

The staff was as follows:—One Bishop, corresponding to the one Lord Christ; twelve Canons, corresponding to the twelve Apostles; four Archdeacons, corresponding to the four Evangelists; and seventy-two parishes, corresponding to the number of the disciples.

Comenge.

The dignities were, Archdeacon, Sacrist, Operarius, Præcentor.

Conserans.

There were two Chapters combined. Each had Præcentor, Sacrist, Operarius. In the two in common there was one Archdeacon and one Eleemosynar; a sensible practical arrangement.

Aire.

The Chapter was an Archdeacon and Canons.

Basas.

The dignities were three Archdeacons, Cantor; with two personages, Sacrist, Operarius.

Tarbes.

Eight Archdeacons, Cantor, Sacrist, Camerarius, Infirmarer.

Oleron.

Archdeacon and Canons.

Lescar.

Canons.

Bayonne.

Canons.

There was considerable uniformity in this Archbishopric. Only the metropolitan Chapter had a Provost. The prominence of the Archdeacons is marked.

Archbishopric of Besançon.

Besançon.—Linus, afterwards Bishop of Rome, is claimed as the first bishop. There were three suffragans, Lausanne, Basle, Bellay, now no longer members of the Church of France.

The dignities were: Summus Decanus, Summus Archidiaconus (who had a dean and an official under him), Cantor, Treasurer, four Archdeacons, Professor of Theology.

There were long disputes as to which of the two Cathedral Churches, St. John and St. Stephen, was the Senior. Each was held by Canons in 1042. The first dean named is in each case 1040 Each had a Dean, Summus Archidiaconus, Cantor, and Treasurer, at least. Pope Paschal, in 1115, declared St. Stephen's the oldest. Pope Calixtus, in 1121, declared that Paschal had been entirely deluded, and decided for St. John's. Pope Innocent IV., in 1254 made the two Chapters into one.

Lausanne.—First bishop (at Aventicum), 494. In 1228 there were thirty Canons, of whom ten at least were priests, ten deacons, and ten sub-deacons. The dignities were: Provost, Treasurer, Cantor. Provosts are named from 892.

Basle.—First bishop of the Rauraci, 364. The Provost was head of the Chapter, the Dean second. Provosts are named from 983.

Bellay.—First bishop, 412. In 1142 the Chapter was made regular, and consisted of Prior, Archdeacon, Infirmarer, Camerar, Dean, Treasurer, Sacrist. In 1578 it consisted of Dean, Archpresbyter, Primicerius, Sacrist, Treasurer, Theologus. The first Prior named is 1150; the first Dean (as head), 1578.

Archbishopric of Bordeaux.

Bordeaux.—There were nine suffragans, named below.

Dignities: Dean, three Archdeacons, Cantor, Treasurer, Sacrist, Scholasticus, Sub-dean, Succentor. Deans are named from 1079.

Agen.

Dignities: Archdeacon, Primicerius, Cantor or Præcentor; two Archdeacons, as secondary dignities. The Sacrist and Portarius had stalls, but were not dignities. The dignity of Cantor was suppressed three times.

Condom.—An Abbey erected into a bishopric by John XXII., about 1317. Many early Abbats are named, no dignities.

ANGOULEME.

Dignities: Dean, Archdeacon, Cantor, Scholasticus, Treasurer. The Cantor and Scholasticus had no vote if not Canons. The Dean first appears in 1213; till that date, the Archdeacon was head of the Chapter.

SAINTES.

Dignities: Dean, two Archdeacons, Scholasticus, Præcentor. There was a dean in 1179.

POITIERS.

Dignities: Dean, Cantor, Provost, Sub-dean, Succentor, three Archdeacons. It is said that the Archdeacons were only personages, not dignities. There were at one time Primicerius, Claviger, Ædituus, Prefectus, Cellerarius, Legis doctor. A decanus sive archidiaconus is named in the ninth century.

LA ROCHELLE.—Erected into a bishopric by John XXII., about 1317.

A Chapter is not described.

LUÇON—Erected into a bishopric by John XXII., about 1317.

Priors remained till 1468, when the Chapter was made secular and the last Prior became the first Dean. The dignities were: Dean, three Archdeacons, Cantor, Provost, Treasurer, Chancellor; personages, Sub-dean, Succentor.

PERIGUEUX.

The head of the Chapter was Dean.

SARLAT.—Erected into a bishopric by John XXII., about 1317.

The dignities were: Dean, Provost, three Archdeacons, Præcentor.

There was a fair amount of uniformity in this Archbishopric.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF BOURGES.

BOURGES.—There were five suffragans, Clermont, St. Flour, Limoges, Tulles, Le Puy.

In 926, Dean, Præcentor, Provost are named. In 1100, Dean, Cantor, Archdeacon.

CLERMONT.—The dignities were, Provost, Abbat, Dean. The Præcentorship was a personatus only. The authors of *Gallia Christiana* addressed their thanks, for facilities given, to the Provost, Dean, and Canons.

ST. FLOUR.—Erected into a bishopric by John XXII. in 1317, and made secular in 1476. The dignities were: Provost, Archdeacon, Archpresbyter.

LIMOGES.—The dignities were: Dean, Cantor, Archdeacon. Provosts are named in 915 and 1052.

TULLES.—Erected into a bishopric by John XXII. in 1318, and afterwards made secular by Leo X. The Dignities were: Dean (in place of claustral prior), Provost, Treasurer (in place of sacrist), Cantor.

Under the Abbats, the Dean (sometimes called Prior) came next in order in the Abbey, down to 1091; from 1091 to 1514, only the title Prior was used. Provosts are named from 1091; Deans from 947 to 1091.

LE PUY.—The dignities were: Dean, Provost, two Abbats. Lesser dignities were two Fordecani, who preceded all Canons, Sescallus, Cellarer, Panetier, Hebdomadarius minor. Le Puy was the *Ecclesia Angelica*. The Bishop wore the Pallium; the Canons, mitres.

There was much irregularity of arrangement in this Archbishopric, chiefly on account of the changes from regular to secular.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF EMBRUN.

EMBRUN.—It is claimed that Christianity reached Embrun in the times of the Apostles. The first bishop is said to have been persecuted by the Emperor Constantius. He died before 374.

The Suffragans were Digne, Grasse, Vence, Glandesve, Senés, Nice.

The Chapter consisted of: Provost, Sacrist, Cantor, Archdeacon, twelve Canons. The Provostship was the only dignity; the three others were only personages. The King of France was reckoned among the Canons, from the time of Francis I., as in many other Cathedral Churches. There were other Canons, not endowed with prebends, and called Honorary, in number at the will of the Chapter.

Provosts are named from 1080.

DIGNE.—First bishop, about 364. It has been claimed that it was once the Metropolitical Church, or at least a Metropolitical Church; but it was in fact always under Embrun. Charlemagne built the Church, dedicated to the Virgin.

The Chapter consisted of: Provost, who sat first in Choir and Chapter, and thirteen Canons, among whom the Archdeacon, Sacrist, and Præcentor or Capiscolus, were dignities.

Provosts are named from 1175.

GRASSE, formerly Antipolis. There is a claim of very early Bishops, but the series really begins about 400. It was formerly under Aix, while the see was at Antipolis, but in 1244 the see was transferred to Grasse, on account of depopulation and ravages of pirates. In the Church of Antipolis, after the transfer and in 1725, six Canons served, with a Dean at their head.

The head of the Chapter was Provost, next to him the Sacrist.

Provosts are named from 1239.

VENCE.—First bishop about 574.

The Chapter consisted of Provost, Archdeacon, Sacrist, Capiscolus, and five other Canons, of whom one was Theologus.

Provosts are named from 1239.

GLANDESVE.—First bishop, about 450.

The dignities were Provost, Archdeacon, Sacrist, Capiscolus.

Provosts are named from 1109.

SENES.—A bishop is claimed in 381; but the series begins about 450.

It was a Chapter of Augustinian Canons, made secular in 1650, after which the Chapter consisted of: Provost, Archdeacon, Sacrist; five other Canons. No prebend was assigned to a Theologus, as was done in most Churches.

A Provost is named in 1052.

NICE and CIMIES.—These two Churches were governed by one bishop. The first was Amantius, in 381, though earlier claims have been made; especially Pontius the martyr.

The Chapter of Nice was formerly regular, of twenty-four Augustinian Canons. Afterwards it consisted of ten Canons, of whom the dignities were: Provost, Prior, Archdeacon, Sacrist, Præcentor, Infirmarer.

Provosts of Nice are named from 1200.

There was considerable regularity of arrangement here, the norm being Provost, Archdeacon, Sacrist, Capiscolus.

LYON.

LYON.—First bishop, Pothinus. Unusually clear early information respecting the Chapter.

The Archbishop was Primate of four Ecclesiastical Provinces, Tours, Sens, Paris, Rouen: Sens and Rouen had for ages disputed this. Rouen was released shortly before the Revolution.

There were four Suffragans, Autun, Châlons, Langres, Mâcon.

Originally, here and at Autun, the Archpresbyter came next to the Bishop. Later, the dignities were: Dean, Archdeacon, Præcentor, Cantor, Camerarius, Ædituus, Magnus Custos, Præpositus, Chori Magister.

Deans are named from 950. In 970, the order was Archbishop, Provost, Archdeacon, Dean.

AUTUN.—Sixth Bishop, 374. Originally the order was Bishop, Archpresbyter, Archdeacon, Provost, Dean. First Dean named, 921.

LANGRES.—First bishop, 366. Originally, the Archdeacon came next the Bishop. In 904, the Provost held first place. In 1054, Provost, Archdeacon, Dean; later, Dean, Treasurer, six Archdeacons, Cantor.

CHALONS (sur Saône).—First bishop, 346. Dean, Cantor, Treasurer, four Archdeacons.

MACON.—First Bishop, 538. Formerly Abbats and Provosts; later, Dean, Cantor, four Archdeacons.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF MAYENCE.

MAYENCE.—This archbishopric is no longer French. It may be as well to mention its characteristics, which run through the Archbishopric.

The dignities were: Provost, Dean, Custos, Scholasticus, Cantor, Archpresbyter; the last dignity had disappeared in 1731. The Canons were of two classes, capitular and domiciliar, the latter receiving a fourth of the portion of a capitular Canon. This arrangement existed in all the Cathedral Chapters in the Archbishopric.

WORMS.—Provost, Dean, Custos, Cantor, Senior Canon.

STRASSBOURG.—Not recorded.

CONSTANCE.—Provost, Dean, Custos, Cantor.

SPIRE.—Provost, Dean, Scholasticus, Custos, Cantor.

There was evidently almost complete uniformity here.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF NARBONNE.

NARBONNE.—Paulus is one of the six whom Gregory of Tours names as sent to spread Christianity about the year 250. He is counted the first Bishop of Narbonne.

The Suffragans were the eleven named below.

The Chapter consisted of: Major Archdeacon, Archdeacon, Præcentor, Archdeacon, Succentor; twenty Canons, who, "being without a præsidium musices, do not disdain to descend from their seats ad analogium." The choir boys by ancient use make proof of the bread and wine for the sacrifice.

An Archdeacon is claimed in the time of Paulus, and also in 461, when Hermes became bishop in succession to Rusticus, son of Bishop Bonosus. But he is merely named as "Hermes diaconus," along with and after "Ursus presbyter," in an inscription relating to Rusticus.

From 873 archdeacons are named.

Le Pons de Tomieres.—An Abbey erected into a bishopric by John XXII. in 1317.

The dignities were: Archdeacon, Eleemosynar, Præcentor. There was a Theologus with a prebend, but he was not a Canon. Abbats are named from 937.

Alet.—An Abbey erected into a bishopric by John XXII.

The Chapter was not made secular till 1531, when the dignities among the twelve Canons were Dean, Archdeacon, Treasurer, Præcentor.

The regular offices of Alet were—Greater Prior, Præcentor, Camerarius, Sacrist, Operarius, Eleemosynar, Infirmarer, Hospitaller. Abbats are named from 970.

Beziers.—First Bishop, about 356.

The Chapter of twelve Canons had six dignities—Archdeacon, Præcentor, Archdeacon, Sacrist, Camerarius, Succentor.

Provosts are named from 1053.

Nismes.—First Bishop, probably about 450.

The Chapter was made secular in 1539, with eight dignities—Provost, Archdeacon, Dean, two Archdeacons, Treasurer, Sacrist, Capiscolus.

The head of the Chapter was always the Provost; they are named from about 900.

Alais.—Made a bishopric in 1694.

It was a Collegiate Church, with a Dean who ruled the choir, and a Sacrist who had the cure of souls. On the decease of the Dean living in 1694, a Provost was to rule.

Lodesve.—A bishop is claimed about 420. Maternus, in 506, is called the first.

The dignities were: Archdeacon, Provost, Præcentor, Sacrist.

An Archdeacon is named in 987.

Uzes —Bishops began about 450.

The Chapter was regular, and had four dignities and sixteen (Augustinian) Canons. It was made secular in 1719, with four dignities—Provost, Archdeacon, Theologus, Capiscolus.

The Provost was always head; they are named from 1121.

Agde.—First bishop died about 405.

The dignities were—Archdeacon, Sacrist, Præcentor, Camerarius.

Archdeacons are named from 1098.

Maguelonne, or Montpelier.—First bishop, about 570. It became Montpelier in 1529.

The Chapter was regular till 1536. Thence it had as dignities—Provost, two Archdeacons, Cantor, Sacrist, Eleemosynar, Operarius.

Provosts of Maguelonne are named from 1025.

Carcasonne.—Second bishop, 589.

The Chapter was made secular in 1439 by Bull. The document is of doubtful genuineness. It gives as dignities—Dean, Archdeacon, Treasurer; and as personages Præcentor and Sacrist.

From 1088, at least, till 1439, the dignities were two Archdeacons and two Archpresbyters, and the offices six—Sacrist, Præcentor, Camerarius, Infirmarer Eleemosynar, Operarius. A Major Archdeacon is named in 633.

Elne (in Roussillon).—First bishop, 568. Became the bishopric of Perpignan in 1602.

The dignities were three Archdeacons and Sacrist, none of whom were in the Chapter, unless they were among the twenty-one Canons.

Archdeacons are named from 930.

Archbishopric of Paris.

Paris.—First bishop, Dionysius; the sixth is dated 346 Paris was under the Archbishopric of Sens, until Gregory XV., in 1622, erected it into a Metropolitical See, giving it Chartres, Orléans, and Meaux, as Suffragan Sees. Later, Blois was added.

There were eight dignities—Dean, Cantor, three Archdeacons, Succentor, Chancellor Penitentiary. The Cantor had jurisdiction over all grammar schools of the town, city, university, and ban-lieu.

Deans are named from 992.

CHARTRES.—Third bishop, 400.

There were seventeen dignities—Dean, Cantor, two Archdeacons, Sub-dean, Succentor, four Archdeacons, Camerarius, Chancellor, four Provosts, Capicerius.

The first dean named is about 940, when a chancellor also is named.

BLOIS.—Separated from Chartres, and made a bishopric, by Innocent XII. in 1697. The Cathedral Church was formerly the parish church of St. Solennis; the dedication was altered in 1697 to St. Louis; the twelve Canons were thought too few, and the Chapter of St. James was, in consequence, added.

Before the bishopric, the dignities were—Dean, Præcentor, Sub-dean, Provost, Treasurer; after, Dean, Præcentor, two Archdeacons, Sub-dean, Provost, Treasurer, Prior of St. Solennis.

Deans are named from about 1150.

ORLEANS.—Second bishop, 346.

There were twelve dignities—Primicerius Decanus, who was also Major Archidiaconus, Sub-dean, Cantor, five Archdeacons, Scholasticus, Succentor, Penitentiary, Archpresbyter. One of the forty-six Canons was Theologus, and six were called residentes, because vowed to perpetual attendance in choir.

Theodemir, in 550, is by some believed to have been dean; the first certain dean named is 1027.

MEAUX.—A list of fourteen bishops is given before 549.

The dignities were—Dean, two Archdeacons, Cantor, Treasurer, Chancellor; the Succentor and Theologus were not dignities.

Deans are named from 1045.

ARCHBISHOPRIC OF SENS.

SENS.—Fourth bishop, 346.

Besides the bishoprics of Paris, Chartres, Orléans, and Meaux, the Suffragans were Auxerre, Nevers, and Troyes. The Abbey of St. Martin, in Arras, was given to the Archbishop in compensation for the loss of his four Suffragans.

The dignities were—Archdeacon, Treasurer, Dean, Præcentor, Cellarer. The other four Archdeacons were personages, not dignities, and had no vote if not Canons; but they sat before the Canons in public assemblies. The Dean presided in Chapter and elsewhere, but the Archdeacon sat first in choir, and instituted the Archbishop and Bishops. The head of the Chapter was, in earlier times, Provost; but the Provosts abused their position, and when Provost Archibald was murdered in 1176, the Archbishop suppressed the Provostship, and raised the Dean to the first place.

Provosts are named from 961. Deans from 950.

AUXERRE.—The third bishop was at Sardica, 347.

The dignities were—Dean, Archdeacon, Cantor, Treasurer, Archdeacon, Penitentiary; there were two personatus, or offices, those of Lector and Succentor, one of the sixty-three prebends being divided between the two. The officer who presided over theological studies was a simple Canon. The head was originally Provost.

Provosts are named before 1074, and Deans before 1076.

TROYES.—First bishop, about 340.

The dignities were—Dean, Treasurer, Cantor, five Archdeacons. The head was originally Provost. Provosts are named from 850, and Deans from 1147, The first Dean signed the document suppressing the Provostship in 1167, when Provost William, elect of Chartres, ceded the office.

NEVERS.—First bishop, 506.

The dignities were—Dean, Archdeacon, Treasurer, Cantor, Archdeacon; the Theologus was a personage.

Provosts are named from 894 to 1045-50, when the income of the Provostship was made over to provide the Canons' table. A dean is named in 1045.

The first four dignities of the Chapters in this Archbishopric were—Dean, Archdeacon Treasurer, Cantor, in varied order.

Archbishopric of Toulouse.

Toulouse.—First bishop, 250.

The Suffragans were the seven named below. The Chapter was regular from the eleventh century to 1510. It then became secular, but consisted of a Provost only and Canons. Provosts are named from 950.

Pamiers.—An Abbey erected into a bishopric in 1295.

The dignities were—Archdeacon, Archpresbyter, Treasurer or Sacrist, Cantor; there were four personatus, not named, and a Theologus. The Chapter remained regular till 1745.

Riez.—Erected into a bishopric by John XXII., in 1317. The constitution of the Chapter is not described.

Provosts are named from 1343.

Montauban.—An Abbey erected into a bishopric by John XXII., in 1317. The dignities were—Provost, Archdeacon.

Abbats are named from 954.

Mirepoix.—Erected into a bishopric by John XXII., in 1317.

The dignities were—Provost, Archdeacon, Sacrist, Præcentor.

St. Papoul.—An Abbey erected into a bishopric by John XXII., in 1317.

Abbats are named from 1068. When the Chapter was constituted, the head was called Major Prior. In 1670 it became secular, and the head became Provost.

Lombez.—An Abbey erected into a bishopric by John XXII., in 1317. The dignities were—Provost, Archdeacon, Sacrist, Præcentor. Abbats are named from before 1125.

Lavaur.—Erected into a bishopric by John XXII., in 1317. The dignities are described as Dean, Deacon, Sacrist, Præcentor.

The late date of the constitution of the Chapters in this Archbishopric renders the facts of comparatively small importance. The order—Dean or Provost, Archdeacon, Treasurer or Sacrist, Præcentor or Cantor, prevailed.

Archbishopric of Vienne.

Vienne.—Sixth bishop claimed, 193.

The Suffragans were—Grenoble. Valence, Geneva, Die, Viviers, Maurienne.

The dignities were—Dean, Præcentor, Cantor, Scholæ Magister, Sacrarius, four Archdeacons, Chancellor.

Provosts are named from 820, Deans from 1084. The Dean sat second till 1115, when the Provostship was suppressed.

Grenoble.—First bishop died in 386.

Originally, the canonical head of the Chapter was Archpresbyter. Then Deans began. In 1136 the Canons became Augustinian, and had a Prior. They became secular again in 1557, but they had long before been informally secular; they had restored the Deans before 1200.

Deans are named from 1073.

Valence.—The first bishop is said to have been at Sardica, 347.

The dignities were—Dean, Provost, Abbat of St. Felix, Archdeacon, Theologus. The Dean presided in Chapter; the Provost came next the Bishop in choir and in public.

Deans are named from 1011.

Geneva.—First bishop, 381.

The Chapter had Provost, Cantor, Ædituus, and eight diocesan Deans.

Provosts are named from about 1000.

Die.—First bishop claimed, 220.

The Chapter was a college of twelve Canons, with a Dean at the head.

Deans are named from 1107.

Viviers.—Tenth bishop claimed, 484.

The dignities were—Provost, Archdeacon, Præcentor, Sacrarius, Vicarius, Archpresbyter, Scholasticus, Operarius.

Provosts are named from 1084.

Maurienne.—First bishop, 562.

The Chapter was small and poor. Its head was called Provost; later, Dean; at last, Cantor. Provosts are named from 1010; Deans, from 1188; Provosts re-appear in 1463.

The following simple notes on some of the dignities, &c., may be useful to ordinary readers:—

Archpresbyter.—This term and office, which have now disappeared, were in early times of much importance. The Presbyter who was senior in ordination acted in stead of the Bishop when the Bishop was incapacitated. Later, but still early, senior priests were placed at important centres in a diocese, to exercise superintendence, and the Bishops at the Council of Emerita (A.D. 666) agreed that there ought to be an Archpresbyter in each Cathedral Church. The Archdeacons in the course of time superseded the Archpresbyters, who were subordinated to them and became their rural deans. See the Chapters of Tours, Angers, and Le Mans.

Capicerius.—See under Lisieux (Rouen).

Cathedral Schools.—The full equipment of schools was three. There was the Schola Cantorum, or singing school; the Schola Grammatices, or grammar school; and the Divinity School. The Cantor presided over the first of these. The Scholasticus presided over the second, under various titles; he was an important person, standing at the side of the Dean in choir, but below him; he "sagaciously and diligently considered each person in the choir, that they sit, stand, bow, kneel, &c., at the right time, do not talk unnecessarily, or indulge in vagabond visions." His scholastic business was to instruct all corporate members of the Cathedral body who sought instruction in his branch of learning. The Theologus, under various titles, presided over the third school. His business was to instruct such of the priests and other corporate members of the body as desired it, in Sacred Scriptures and all that relates to the cure of souls.

It was the second of these schools, the Schola Grammatices, that Dean Colet took out of its Cathedral connection and established as St. Paul's School under the guardianship of the Company of Mercers.

Dean.—Several interesting statements with regard to the position of the Dean in early Chapters will be found in the foregoing analysis.

Decanus was a Roman military term, an officer set over ten men, with a Centurio over each ten Decani.

In the laws of Edward the Confessor, the Decanus Friborgi was the head of a ten-men body. Every free man in pre-Norman England must be a member of a ten-men body, the ten forming a surety-for-the-peace of each of the ten, a frith-borh. The ten with their Decanus settled small matters. Over each ten Decani was the Hundredus.

In the same laws, the men who looked after the details of the business of the Bishop were called Decanus Episcopi. In monasteries, the Decanus looked after ten monks. Chapter 21 of the Rule of St. Benedict orders that in large congregations each ten monks shall have a Decanus. The Decanus Major presided over these Decani, and usually ranked next to the Præpositus, the Provost.

These illustrations sufficiently shew the small beginnings of the dignity of Dean. The position of the Dean as head of a Cathedral Chapter is a development due to the northern parts of France before the conquest of England, and was introduced into England as a result of the Norman conquest. Deans replaced Provosts.

The *decanus rusticanis negotiis, for-decanus, &c.*, that is, the rural dean, will be found mentioned in several of the Chapters, especially in the Archbishopric of Tours. See also *Archpresbyter.*

Provost.—See under Liége (Cambrai) and Reims.

Treasurer.—"The Treasurer shines in the sacro-sanct Church with a certain chief prerogative and pre-eminence of honour. He has charge of the edifice, and appoints the porters; rules the preparation and lighting of the candles and lamps; has chief charge of the baptistery, of vessels, of vestments, of the treasures; and divides the funds among the members," He appears under various titles—Custos, Capicerius, Odituus, Œrchiclavus. The Sacrist was in some cases the same as the Treasurer; usually, his deputy.

The following are the present Archbishoprics of the Church of France, with their Suffragans, as given in *La France Ecclésiastique* for 1894 :—

AIX—
Ajaccio,*
Digne,
Fréjus,
Gap,
Marseille,
Nice.

ALBY—
Cahors,
Mende,
Perpignan,
Rodez.

ALGER*—
Constantine,*
Oran.*

AUCH—
Aire,
Bayonne,
Tarbes.

AVIGNON—
Montpellier,
Nîmes,
Valence,
Viviers.

BESANÇON—
Belley,
Nancy,*
Saint-Dié,*
Verdun.*

BORDEAUX—
Agen,
Angoulême,
La Basse Terre * (Guadeloupe),
Luçon,
Périgueux,
Poitiers,
La Rochelle,
St. Denis* (Réunion),
St. Pierre et Fort-de-France* (Martinique).

BOURGES—
Clermont,
Limoges,
Le Puy,
Saint-Flour,
Tulle.

CAMBRAI —
Arras.

CHAMBÉRY—
Annecy,*
St. Jean de Maurienne,
Tarentaise.

LYON—
Autun,
Dijon,
Grenoble,
Langres,
Saint Claude.

PARIS—
Blois,
Chartres,
Meaux,
Orléans,
Versailles.*

REIMS—
Amiens,
Beauvais,
Châlons-sur-Marne,
Soissons.

RENNES*—
Quimper,
Saint Brieuc,
Vannes.

ROUEN—
Bayeux,
Coutances,
Evreux,
Séez.

SENS—
Moulins,
Nevers,
Troyes.

TOULOUSE—
Carcassone,
Montauban,
Pamiers.

TOURS—
Angers,
Laval,
Le Mans,
Nantes.

An asterisk is affixed to the names of new Bishoprics and Archbishoprics.

The following no longer appear in the list of Bishoprics and Archbishoprics of the Church of France, though still territorially in France :—

Acqs
Agde
Alais
Alet
Apt
Arles (Abp. and Bp.)
Auxerre
Avranches
Basas
Béziers
Boulogne
Carpentras
Castres
Cavaillon
Châlons (Marne) no longer Abp.
Châlons (Saône)
Comenge
Condom
Conserans
Cornouaille
Die
Dol
Elne
Embrun (Abp. and Bp.)
Glandesve
Grasse
Laon
Lavaur
Léon
Le Pons
Lescar
Leytoure
Lisieux
Lodesve
Lombez
Mâcon
Mirepoix
Narbonne (Abp. and Bp.)
Noyon
Oleron
Orange
Ries
Riez
Saintes
Sarlat
Sénez
Senlis
Sisteron
St. Malo
St. Omer
St. Papoul
St. Paul Trois-Châteaux
Toulon
Tréguier
Uzès
Vaison
Vabres
Vence
Vienne (Abp and Bp.)

THE PARISH CHURCHES OF WEST KENT, THEIR DEDICATIONS, ALTARS, IMAGES, AND LIGHTS.

BY

LELAND L. DUNCAN, F.S.A.

Under the above somewhat comprehensive title, I propose to lay before you such details on these and kindred subjects as have been gleaned principally in the course of a survey of the Wills of West Kent folk, from 1400 to the accession of Elizabeth.

The subject of the lights in a mediæval church is one which has now and again claimed some attention. A short paper on the general question appeared in Vol. XXIII., p. 247, of *The Antiquary*, by Edward Peacock, F.S.A., and was followed in Vol. XXV., p. 23, by another by the Rev. F. W. Weaver, M.A. The latter, too, in his interesting volume of *Wells Wills*, 1528-1536, attaches to his preface a valuable list of Saints and Services (Guilds) of North and West Somerset; and from the various printed collections of Wills which have appeared from time to time, it would, with some little trouble, be possible to add many details from other parts of the kingdom.

The Diocese of Rochester, with which the present paper is an attempt to deal, may be roughly described as consisting, in mediæval times, of Kent west of the Medway, with a few Parishes on its eastern bank; but of this area the Deanery of Shorcham, extending from Northfleet to Hever, was a Peculiar of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Wills of this Peculiar (which contained 34 Parishes) are lost prior to 1600, with the exception of a few in the Registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and in the Lambeth Registers, and I consequently decided to exclude it, as a whole, from consideration for the present.

The Parishes thus left to be dealt with are 102 in number, made up as follows:—97 Parish Churches in the Diocese of Rochester proper, the Cathedral Church of St. Andrew in Rochester, the Parish Church of Cliffe (which was also a Peculiar), and the churches of East Peckham, Gillingham, and St. James in the Isle of Grain, from the Shoreham Deanery, regarding which rather full details were obtainable. The enquiry, the results of which are shown in the following pages, extends, so far as the Rochester Wills[1] are concerned, from 1440 to 1560, and to these I have added many notes from the Wills of West Kent Folk, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury from 1400 onwards, and some details from Thorpe's *Registrum* and *Custumale Roffense*, so that the collection for this Diocese may be considered as fairly complete. Thus far regarding my authorities and the area they cover.

I propose to deal with these notes under the following headings:—I. Dedications. II. The Blessed Trinity. III. Images of the Blessed Virgin Mary. IV. Images of other Saints. V. Brotherhoods. VI. The Rood Light. VII. The Sepulchre Light. VIII. The Herse Light. IX. Altar Lights.

The parochial lists which follow give the references to the Will Registers or other authorities, and will, I hope, be found useful by those drawing up Parochial Histories.

I.—Dedications of the Churches.

As the dedication of a church accounts for the image of at least one Saint therein, I have thought it best to commence with a table of the various Saints, in honour of whom our West Kent churches are named. The following table shows their relative frequency:—

Our Lady	21	St. James	2	St. Peter ad Vincula	1		
St. Peter and St. Paul	16	St. Giles	2	St. Alphege	1		
Allhallows	10	St. Botolph	2	St. Mildred	1		
St. Margaret	7	St. Lawrence	2	St. Dunstan	1		
St. John Baptist	6	St. Luke	1	St. Peter and St. John Baptist	1		
St. Nicholas	5	St. Thomas of Canterbury	1	St. Helen	1		
St. Michael	5	St. Paulinus	1	St. Andrew	1		
St. Martin	3	Holy Trinity	1	St. Clement	1		
St. Mary Magdalen	3	St. Edmund, K. & M.	1	St. Werburgh	1		
St. George	2	St. Peter	1				

[1] The references throughout these notes are to the Will Registers of the Consistory Court of Rochester, now at Somerset House, *e.g.*, shown thus (VII. 52). References to Wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury are shown in the usual manner (*e.g.*, P.C.C. 2 Horne).

The churches of Maplescomb and St. Margaret at Hilles, near Farningham, have all but disappeared, nothing but a few stones remaining, and Denton Church is in ruins. The Parish of Ruxley was united to North Cray in the reign of Mary I., and the church of St. Botolph, which is still entire, is used as a barn. I would venture to express a hope that this Society may some day see its way to set on foot machinery for rescuing this and other similarly situated structures, and restoring them to their proper use.

If the list be examined it will be found that the dedications here proved from Wills, coincide generally with those as shown on the Ordnance Map (which I have taken as representing present-day practice), with one addition—that of Ashurst. The dedication of this church is usually stated to be "unknown," but the Will of Sir Martin Christopher, Rector, in 1524, bequeaths "on to the parisshe churche of Saynte Marten a coverlyte and a surples," and also leaves a taper to Saint Martin. I think, therefore, that we may conclude that the church is dedicated in honour of that Saint—making three altogether in the Diocese.

In the case of Pembury—or Pepingbury, as it was called of old time—it is interesting to note that in 1473 and 1474, the dedication, as given by parishioners in their Wills, is St. Peter and St. John Baptist, a somewhat unusual combination. In 1489, and subsequently, it is St. Peter alone, as at present. This tendency in double dedications to drop the second is shown most often in the cases of those churches dedicated in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul, which are frequently called simply St. Peter.

At Kemsing the dedication is given on the Ordnance Map as in honour of St. Edith. This error was first pointed out to me by the Rev. T. S. Frampton, F.S.A., and that it should be St. Mary the Virgin is clearly to be seen by reference to the Wills of parishioners. The mistake has arisen from the fact that there was in the churchyard a Chapel of St. Edith, and in the centre of the village is a well, known as St. Edith's Well.

II.—The Blessed Trinity.

Before passing to the consideration of the list of Saints formerly to be found in West Kent Churches, it will be as well to see what place the Blessed Trinity had in these devotions of the people.

According to the testimony of Wills there were representations of the Holy Trinity (probably mostly alabaster or stone tables) in 37 of the churches, and of these churches nine are expressly stated to have contained altars so dedicated. Only one church, that of Dartford, has this dedication.

Of our Blessed Lord there were images at Milton, Cooling, Allhallows Hoo, Nettlestead, St. Clement Rochester, St. Werburgh Hoo, Tunbridge, the Newerk at Strood, and in Rochester Cathedral Church. There were Jesus Altars at St. Werburgh Hoo, Tunbridge, and Rochester Cathedral. The images at Cooling, Allhallows, Milton, and Strood are alluded to in Wills as Saint Saviour.

At Nettlestead we have an interesting bequest in the Will of Symone Godffrythe, parson, in 1522 (VII. 270). "I gyve for to be bestowyd for a Fygure of ihu the quantety of a man staynyd in a clothe and to be naylyd opon a borde w^t my name wretyn in hyt to be sett in the lyfte syde of the hyght alter in the churche of Nettylstede xx^s."

Of the Third Person there is a solitary instance at Sutton-at-Hone, in 1493.

III.—Images of Our Lady.

There was at least one image of the Blessed Virgin in each church,[1] sometimes as many as four, as at Stoke, where there was one at the high altar, one on the south side of the church, one on the north, and one in Our Lady's chapel. At Leigh, it is expressly stated that the image was at the north end of the high altar, and that seems to have been its normal position when there was but one.

Besides the simple figure, there are six forms met with in these Wills which merit brief consideration.

(1.) *The Birth of Christ.*—This existed in four churches, and was variously known as follows:—

1. Rochester Cathedral in Our Lady's Chapel. "The Byrth of Ihu."

[1] In the few cases in which no proof can be brought it should be remembered that Wills of the parishes concerned are very rare, only some one or two existing.

2. Snodland. "Our Lady ingesyn," "Our Lady of Jesom."[1]
3. West Malling. "Our lady in Jeson."
4. Allhallows Hoo. "Beata Maria in puerperio," "Oure lady and Josep."

This image was a representation of the scene at Bethlehem with the Virgin Mother, and (as appears at Allhallows) Joseph standing by.

(2.) *Our Lady of Grace.*—There were such images at Rochester Cathedral Church, in the nave at Greenwich, and at the little country church of East Peckham. There is considerable doubt as to what constituted this representation. Was it the Blessed Virgin with the Infant Christ?

(3.) *Our Lady of Pity.*—This was a far more frequent image, twenty-seven churches being recorded as containing one, and we cannot wonder that this figure of the Blessed Virgin weeping over the dead body of her Divine Son held a high place in popular devotion.[2]

(4.) *The Salutation of Our Lady.*—This is generally understood to have been a representation of the Annunciation. There were such images at Chatham and Lewisham. There was also a chapel in Lesnes Abbey called the Salutation Chapel. The chantry at Horsmonden was founded in honour of the Annunciation.

(5.)—*Our Lady Purification.*—A solitary instance occurs at West Malling.

(6.) *The Assumption of Our Lady.*—The church of the monastery at Malling had this dedication, and there was a fraternity of the Assumption in the Parish Church. In Addington Parish Church, not far off, was a chapel of the Assumption, the burial-place of the Wattons. There was also an image of the Assumption in Westerham Church.

In addition to the above there was both at Lewisham and Strood an image of Our Lady standing in a niche in one of the pillars of the nave arcade alluded to as follows:—

Lewisham—"Or lady in the wall at Leusam," 1501.
"To ouer ladie ligth on the pilor at my sete end," 1514.
Strood—"To the lyghte of ouer lady of the peloure," 1494.
"Or ladie at the Pilor," in 1523.

Niches in pillars for images are to be seen in many churches. There is one in the church of St. Alphege, at Canterbury, and another in Lingfield Church, Surrey.

IV.—Images of Other Saints.

The parochial lists attached to this paper show the images in the various churches of the Diocese, the presence of which can be proved by reference to the Wills of parishioners.

In addition to an image of the Blessed Virgin in each church, there was also one of the Saint in whose honour the church was dedicated. Beyond these two, and the Rood, there seems to have been no general rule, but everything depended on the wealth, needs, and occupations of the people.

The lists show that after Our Lady, St. Katherine was most honoured, there being images of her in 48 (or nearly half) of the churches; then St. Christopher (43), St. Nicholas (41), The Holy Trinity (40), St. James (34), St. John Baptist (32), &c. The list of dedications accordingly gives us no real clue to the relative popularity of the various saints; at any rate in late mediæval times. This is to be accounted for by the fact that the dedications of our Parish Churches are of early date, and for the most part remain unchanged, whilst the cult of many of the saints whose images were to be found in them in the early part of the sixteenth century was of comparatively late growth.

With regard to the images themselves, we know very little as to their place of carving, except those of alabaster from Nottingham; but a good many were probably the work of local men. I have come upon the name of but one such, in the Will of Wm. Astyn, of Yalding, 1522 (P.C.C. 22 Maynwaryng): "I will ther shal be a tabernacle made to the ymage of Seynt Petir standing in the chaunsell of Yalding according to the bargyn that I have made with Thomas Thorngate of Goutherst, carver." Many of the images were doubtless "tables" of alabaster or stone.

While not proposing to go through the list of Saints *seriatim*, I think it will be worth while to say a few words about certain of them. When we get similar lists for a few more Dioceses, we shall be in a position to say more regarding the extent of the cult of each in this country, and, maybe, to give some reason therefor. As we are dealing with Kent, it will be fitting to

[1] Gesine = childbed, *vide* Stratmann's *Middle English Dictionary*.

[2] See a paper by Mr. E. Peacock, F.S.A., on "Our Lady of Pity" in *Archæological Journal*, Vol. XLVIII., p. 111.

commence with "the holy blissful martyr." Images of him are mentioned under the name of "Saint Thomas the Martyr" in five churches:—

Dartford (*a*)	Lamberhurst (*a*)	Wouldham
Greenwich (*a*)	St. Nicholas, Rochester	

those marked (*a*) having altars in his honour.

In six other churches the "light of St. Thomas" is to be found:—

Gravesend	Bromley	Yalding
Southfleet (*a*)	Leigh (*a*)	Cooling

These were in all probability images of the Martyr and not of the Apostle. There was a chapel at Leigh with the double dedication.

At Capel, where the Parish Church is dedicated in his honour, there would undoubtedly have been an image also, but oddly enough no parishioner mentions it.

Considering the veneration in which St. Thomas was held, it is a matter for surprise that there are so few images of him recorded in this Diocese. Perhaps the fact that the Cathedral Church possessed the bones of one whom it was desired to elevate to a like position of honour may account for it.

St. William of Perth, just referred to, a pilgrim to the Holy Land, was murdered outside the City of Rochester in 1201, and was canonized in 1256. Although his shrine was ruthlessly removed in the sixteenth century, we of the Diocese have reason to be grateful to him, for the offerings made thereat enabled the monks to rebuild a good part of the choir of the Cathedral Church. I cannot find that an image of him existed in any parish church, but a wall painting in Frindsbury Church shows him in pilgrim guise.

A saint of Kentish descent was St. Werburgh, in whose honour is dedicated the church of Hoo. She was daughter of Wulfhere, king of Mercia, by his wife St. Ermenhild, who was daughter of Ercombert, king of Kent and Sexburga. Besides the (now) Cathedral Church of Chester (to which her relics were translated), there are some eight or nine others in this country bearing her name. In the Diocese of Rochester she does not appear to have been honoured outside the Hundred of Hoo.

At Swanscombe was a shrine of St. Hildeferth, much resorted to by persons mentally afflicted. Some account of him will be found in *Archæologia Cantiana*, Vol. XI., p. 405. He was Bishop of Meaux, but the greater part of his bones was preserved at Gourney in Normandy, about halfway between Paris and Dieppe.

King Henry VI. is mentioned but once, and that at Lewisham. It is possible that the gift of the manor and church of Lewisham to the house of Sheen by Henry V. may account for this. A very interesting collection of papers relating to the proposal to canonize this unfortunate king will be found in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, Second Series, Vol. XIII., pp 227-239, by Edward Peacock, F.S.A.

The mention of Henry V. brings us to SS. Crispin and Crispinian, the patrons of the Shoemakers, on whose day (25th October) Agincourt was won. There were images of them at St Nicholas Rochester, and at West Malling. It may also be noted that at Strood there is an inn existing called the "Crispin and Crispian," which may represent some mediæval guild.

Of St. Armell or Armigilus there were images at Brenchley and Yalding. The Rev. E. S. Dewick, F.S.A., has kindly sent me the following note regarding him:—

"St. Armigilus is said to have been born in England *circa* 482, but went over to Brittany and lived there as a hermit, acquiring great fame by his miracles. The most notable of these was the destruction of a great serpent or dragon which ravaged the neighbourhood of Rennes. He died *circa* 552, and was honoured after his death throughout Brittany, where he was popularly known as St. Armel [as at Yalding]. His cult spread to England about the end of the fifteenth century. In the edition of the Sarum Missal printed in 1498 there is a mass in his honour, the sequence of which does not omit to notice his great miracle:—

'Monstrum stola colligauit
Et in sicca suffocauit
Stante procul populo.'"

St. Barbara, from her tortures in prison, came to be regarded as the special protectress of captives. There were images of her in six churches in this Diocese, and as she was the patron of the Esterlings it is possible that those in the Parish Churches of Gravesend and Dartford may have owed their origin to the presence of foreign merchants. There is an interesting paper on her cult by the Rev. F. W. Weaver, M.A., in the *Proceedings of the Somerset Archæological Society* for 1893.

The cult of St. Erasmus is one of some interest. Having suffered martyrdom by having his bowels wound out on a windlass, he became the patron of all those afflicted with pain in that

part of the body. The earliest notice of him in this Diocese that I have found is at Aylesford and Seal, both in 1475. His image existed in eleven churches. Amongst his devotees, as in duty bound, was John Oakley, the surgeon of Milton, next Gravesend, in 1509. In Lullingstone Church, in the north-west window of the nave, is a representation of his martyrdom in glass of the early part of the sixteenth century.

St. Osyth, of the East Saxons (popularly Saint Sithe), Virgin and Martyr, gives her name to a place near the Essex Coast. One of the legends connected with her relates that she was blown off a bridge into the water, and after being under for three days arose alive and well. She would thus be regarded as one to be invoked by those whose business took them on the water; and we find images of her at Deptford, Eltham Dartford, Strood, St. Clement's Rochester, and Hadlow—all places, save the last-named, on or near the coast.

At the ancient palace of the See at Bromley was a holy well of much repute known as St. Blaise's well. This may be taken as the centre of his cult in this Diocese, and I find images of him in thirteen churches. He was Bishop of Sebaste in Armenia, and in 316 suffered martyrdom, his flesh being scored with iron combs. From this fact he became patron saint of Woolcombers, and we should expect to find images of him wherever the wool industry was carried on.

St. Loy (Eligius), the patron of blacksmiths and guardian of horses, and whose name is familiar to us as the gentle oath of Chaucer's Prioress, occurs five times—at Bromley, Milton, Sutton-at-Hone, Dartford and Chalk.

St. Uncomber, whose chief shrine was in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London, occurs but once in this Diocese—at Cowden, where there was an alabaster image of her given by one Johan Wekinden. She was the helper of ill-treated wives; and it is curious to find a man, Richard Wigenden, leaving a taper to her.

St. Sebastian, protector against the plague, and from his symbol, the arrow, the instrument of his martyrdom, regarded as the patron of archers and pinmakers, occurs at All Hallows, Hoo, and Bromley; at the former, as usual, in conjunction with St. Fabian, who was commemorated on the same day, January 20th.

There were images of All Hallows in fifteen churches, seven in churches so dedicated and eight in others with various dedications. The form this image took is still very uncertain, and it is just one of those questions which members of this society might assist in solving.

St. Sunday was to be found at Brenchley, Chalk, All Hallows Hoo and Strood. Mr. Weaver has a note about this saint in *Wells Wills*, and Bishop Hobhouse in *Somerset Churchwardens' Accounts*. The suggestion there made is that it is an Englished form of St. Dominic, but it is a point which still requires definite settlement.

Of names which occur but once in the list mention must be made of St. Clare, of whom there was an image, with an altar, at Deptford; of St. Roche, at Woldham; and of St. Joseph of Arimathea, at Gillingham.

The above are a few of the more remarkable saints whose names occur; to attempt to deal with each would extend this paper to an inordinate length. I would only here express a hope that others will take up this question in various Dioceses and enable us to see exactly the extent to which each was venerated in this country.

As to the form these representations usually took, we may take the series in Henry VII.'s chapel at Westminster as examples, and I cannot do better than refer to the paper on these by J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., in *Archæologia*, Vol. XLVII., p. 361.

With regard to the position of the various images in a church, there was, so far as I know, no absolute rule. I take it that we may assume that generally Our Lady stood on the north side of the high altar, and that St. Christopher's image, when there was one, stood opposite the entrance door. The patron or "head halowe" stood in the chancel and sometimes over the high altar, as witness the Will of Mr. Gilbert Carleton, clerk and vicar of Farningham, dated 1500 (P.C.C. 17 Moone): "I will myn executors att my cost and charge doo newe paynte and burnysshe with golde in such plac' as can be thought most conuenyent the ymage of our lady standing at the high awter there, and the ymages of Peter and Poule stonding aboue the same awter, after and in lyke maner and forme as of late the ymages of our lady and Seynt Peter and Seynt Poule in the parisshe churche of Swanscomb be paynted and gilted.'

Some of the images had endowed lamps burning before them, others depended for lights upon occasional offerings. It seems to have been the custom for tapers to be left which were lighted at mass time, and put out after the service was finished, being relighted at the next and succeeding services. This must have entailed a considerable amount of work on some one, and it is not surprising that sums were left for recompensing the lighter. Perhaps the best instance is that of the Will of Dame Katherine Style, of East Greenwich, dated 1531 (P.C.C. 9 Thower). She wished "to be buried in the chapell of Sainct George and Saincte Anne w' in the parrish church of Sainct Alphey," and left "to our lady light w' in the chappell one taper to burne afore

our lady at seruice tyme. To the bretherode of Sainct George and Sainct Anne vj^{s} viij^{d} for seven yeres and two tapers brennyng and to stand on my tombe and grave and to be lyght at seruyce tymes on the holly daye and at the broderode masse on the worky day and one personne to be lymyted or assigned to light the said tapers and the taper before our ladye having for his labour yerelye xij^{d} quarterly to be paid."

I have found no evidence that images of Saints were again set up in these churches in Mary's reign. A careful search amongst the churchwardens' accounts of the Diocese would enable us to decide this question, but, unfortunately, there are few so early. At Bethersden, in the Diocese of Canterbury, in 1557, they paid eight shillings and fourpence to "Gyllam of Assheford for the Rood, Mary and John and the Patren of the churche" (*Arch. Cant.*, XVI., p. 67). It seems likely that this, with perhaps the addition of an image of Our Lady, was as far as any Parish went.

V.—Brotherhoods.

Intimately connected with the lights in a Parish Church, and frequently existing for the purpose of looking after them, were the many guilds, or brotherhoods, to be found throughout the country up to the commencement of Edward VI's reign. As with the lights so with the guilds; these Wills can only be taken as witnessing to their existence, not their non-existence; but compared with those mentioned in the *Wells Wills*, it is a matter for surprise that we do not find a greater number of them in West Kent. The following is a list of those mentioned:—

Addington ...	St. Margaret
Beckenham ...	St. George
Birling	St. James
Cobham	The Torch Light
Dartford	Holy Trinity
	St. Barbara
	All Saints
	Our Lady
Erith	Our Lady
	Allhallows
Gravesend St. Mary	Holy Trinity
	St. Barbara
Gravesend St. George	St. Barbara
Greenwich	St. Agnes
	St. Anne
	St. George & St. Anne
	St. Christopher
	Holy Trinity
Hoo, Allhallows ...	St. Mary Magdelene
Lewisham	Holy Trinity
	Our Lady and St. George
West Malling ...	Assumption of Our Lady
Milton	St. Peter
Plumstead	St. Nicholas
Shorne	Corpus Christi
Southfleet	All Hallows at Bedsham
Strood	Our Lady
Sutton-at-Hone ...	Allhallows
Swanscombe ...	St. Hilfert
Trottiscliffe... ...	St. Peter
Westerham... ...	St. George
Woolwich	St. Clement

Of these the majority would have been quite unknown outside their own parishes. The guilds of All Saints and Our Lady at Dartford were the manufactures of signs for Pilgrims passing to St. Thomas of Canterbury, and would thus have had a wider reputation.

The Malling guild must have had a large roll of members, as nearly every one from that place left it a bequest. I do not find however from the Chantry certificates that it possessed any property.

The guilds of St. George at Lewisham and Westerham are both kept in mind to-day by hostelries with that sign.

Hone gives an account of the celebration of St. Clement's day by the blacksmiths' apprentices of the dockyard at Woolwich, which may have originated in the feast of the guild which formerly existed there.

VI.—The Rood.

The light before the great rood over the entrance to the chancel was known by many names:—In Latin—Lumen alte crucis, lumen alte trabis, lumen crucifixi, lumen sancte crucis, lumen magni crucifixi. In English—The cross light, the high Rode light, the Beam light, the light before the Rood loft, the light of the high beam, the Rood light, the high cross light, the high light. Occasionally the attendant figures are mentioned:—"To the roode Mary and John xij^{d}"—John Copping of Speldhurst, 1522 (vii., 244) (also at Brenchley and Cliffe); and it is possible that sometimes, when the lights of Our Lady and St. John are named in Wills, they may refer to those on the beam. As a rule, though, I have understood them to refer to images other than those on the rood loft. William Hodsole, laborer, of Ash, in 1499, mentions "lumen beate Marie super trabem"; but such distinct mention is very rare.

In some churches there were other roods than that on the great beam:—At Dartford there was a rood on the South side of the church; at Halstow at the Font; at St. Mary's in Hoo on the

North side of the church; at Milton on the South side of the chancel; at Shorn by the South door; at Strood at the pillar by the South door; at Wateringbury at the North side of the chancel door; at West Wickham by the North door.

That the light called by some folk "the high beam light" was the rood light the following extracts show clearly—"Ad sustentacionem luminis supra altam trabem ad ardendum coram ymagine crucifixi iij^{s} iiij^{d}."—Robert Elyot, of Addington, 1474 (iv., 147).

"I bequeith j^{li} wex to bren uppon the higth beame before the higth rode."—Wm. Monde of Burham, 1534.

"Lego sustentationi luminis magne trabis coram crucifixo."—John a Dene, Eltham, 1484.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century there seems to have been a general rebuilding or re-erection of rood lofts, and there are frequent bequests for this purpose; a few examples will suffice:—

"To makyng of the rode lofte, xij^{d}."—John Dane, of Seal, 1492.

"To the makyng of the steyris unto the Rode lofte of Borowham xx^{d}."—John Philpott, 1498 (v., 306).

"To the vise of the rode lofte."—Harry Broman, of Burham, 1505 (vi., 169).

"To the makyng of the Rode lofte accordyng to the patron of Richard Sutton ther xx^{s}," Robert Crofte, of St. Nicholas, Rochester, 1502 (vi., 53).

The number of lights on the beam varied, but there is nothing in these Wills to show what was the ordinary number. Christopher Todd, of Dartford, in 1518, left two "bolles of laton" to the rood light. A bequest of six "bolls" occurs at Cuxton. In the Will of Sir John Girth, parson, of Fawkham, dated 1515, is the following bequest to Tynemouth church,—"Lego ecclesie parochiali de Tynmouth tresdecem candelabra brassia vt sint et stent coram ymagine S^{ce} Crucis vocata lee Roode lofte" (vii., 78).

There are one or two bequests worth noting regarding the time at which some of these lights before the rood were to burn:—

Wm. Wadman, of Halling, in 1515, left "a cowe to mayntene and fynde a lampe to bren before the Roode in the churche fro the secounde peele to matens till higth mass be doon, and fro the secounde pele to euensonge till euensong be doon for euermore" (vii, 43.)

Thomas Hadlow the elder, of Seal, in 1527, left "a li. of wex to be therof a taper perpetually eueri yere to be made and to bren in the rode lofte before the roode, and the sayde taper eueri yere to be new made a geynst the eve of the natyuite of ou^{r} lorde" (viii., 208).

Like other lights the rood frequently had a special guild in the parish to look after it. Thus Richard Whitbrede, of Halstow, desired in 1522 "an obite oons a yere by the wardens of the Cross ligtht and eueri of them to haue for his labo^{r} viij^{d}" (vii., 252). On the other hand, we find that even in a large church like that at Hoo, the rood light was in the charge of the churchwardens, as appears from the Will of Alice Joye, dated 1513 (vii. 15), who left "to the rode ligtht w^{t} all other ligths belongeing to the charge of the churchwardens a cowe."

The rood at the little village church of Ashurst, in the extreme south-west of the Diocese, was held in special sanctity, and receives mention at the hands of Lambarde, who states that it was commonly given out that it "did by certain increments continually ware and grow, as well in the bush of haire that it had on its head as also in the length and stature of the members and bodie itself"—whereby, it appears, the Parish priest augmented his slender endowment. Regarding all which Lambarde has some severe comment, though he reserves his chief satire for the Rood of Grace at Boxley.

At Malling and Shorne were roods known as "the Rood of Rest." At the former place was a chapel called the rood chancel with an altar; and there are rood altars mentioned at Cuxton, Strood, Gillingham and in Rochester Cathedral Church.

In the Will of Thomas Wade, of Stone, 1496 (P.C.C. 24 Horne) is a bequest to "Alhollone light on the rode lofte ther'."

In 1536, the Injunction of Thomas Lord Crumwell, ordering the removal of lights before images, specially exempted "the lyght that comenlye goythe a cross the churche by the rode lofte." The last bequest to the rood light I have noted in these Rochester Wills is in November, 1540, at Beckenham, when there is a gift of "five tapers in the braunche before the rood," but of course the absence of mention in Wills cannot be adduced as proof that the light had ceased to exist from that date.

In Mary's reign the roods which had been broken down by fanatics in the time of her predecessor were again ordered to be set up. There is no general mention of the resuscitated rood light in the Rochester Wills; in fact, the only bequest I have come across is in the Will of George Wryghte, of Cobham, dated August 19th, 1555:—

"When so euer any lighte shall fortune to be erected and sett vpp before the Image or picture of Christ or in any other place to thonor and wourshipp of Chryst in memorye of his fyve

woundes by whiche he suffered for me and all other beleving in hym, I geve fyve pounds of waxe."

VII.—The Sepulchre Light.

The Easter Sepulchre[1] is very well described by John Pympe, of Nettilsted, in his Will dated 1496 (P.C.C. 2 Horne). He desires to be buried in the parish church "before the Image of oure blessed lady in the place where as the sepulture of oure lorde is wounte to stonde at the Fest of Ester and to be leyde there in a tombe of stone, made vnder suche fourme as the blessed sacremente and the holy crosse may be leide vpon the stone of the said tombe in maner of sepulture at the Feest abouesaide."

Bequests to the light of the sepulchre are frequent. The following extract from the Will of Alice Bray, of Chelsfield—to whom a brass exists—indicates the period during which it was customary to keep the tapers alight:—"I will a taper of iij^{li} wex to bren before the sepulture of ouer lorde w^{t} in the said church at the tyme of Easter that is to saye from Goodefridaye to Thursdaye in the Ester weke to be brennynge at tymes convenyant accordinge as other ligthes be wonte and vsed to be kept there about the sepulture"—1509 (v., 268).

As Easter approached, the sepulchre was prepared, and when need was, received fresh gilding, etc. Bequests for this purpose occur in Wills, such as that by John Absolon, of Cuxton, 1538 (ix., 268): "To the giltyng of the Sepulchre which I wold be payntyd and giltyd before the feaste of Eastre xx^{s}."

"The light about the Sepulchre" had been exempted from extinction in Crumwell's Injunctions, put forth in 1536, two years previous to the above-quoted Will.

The size and weight of these sepulchre tapers varies considerably, but one of five pounds is very common, doubtless suggested by the "Five Wounds."

Regarding the Sepulchre in Yalding Church we have the following interesting architectural note in the Will of Wm. Astyn, dated 1522:—"I will that the wyndow ouer the sepulture be dampned and a blynde arche to be made Rising over the same sepulture and the wudwarke of the same sepulture to be made according to good wurmanship and afterwarde to be gilded with the Resurrexion of our Lorde."

VIII.—The Herse Light.

A very favourite light, and one existing in most of the churches, particularly in the southern part of the Diocese, was that commonly known as the "herse" light. I at first thought this was the light used in the office of the "Tenebræ," and, of course, in some cases, it may have been so; but I think there can be no doubt that in by far the greater number of parishes it refers to the light or lights burning round the herse either at a funeral or at a commemoration.

At Horsemonden it was a light to which most parishioners left a trifle,—"to the light called the herse light." Alexander Paynton, in 1494 (P.C.C. 20 Vox), left "to the newe renewyng of the herse light in the said church vj^{s} viij^{d}, and that be renewed by my monthis day." This, and similar terms, preclude it from being in such cases the Tenebræ light.

Robert Warde, of the Isle of Grain, in 1515 (P.C.C. 19 Holder), left "to St. Anthony light a cowe that the money therof to renew in wex as ferr as it will streche and the taper to be set aboute the herse when any corse is buried."

Richard Brawdrib, of Frindsbury, late rector of Halstow, in 1533 (ix., 133), gave to the "church of Frennesbury a cross to stand vppon the herse at buryings and obetts and other tymes vppon our lady aulter."

Robert Foster, of Stone, in 1522 (vii., 258), left "ij torcheis a geynste my moneth mynde the price x^{s}, to bren a boute the herse and then to be giffen to the churche."

There are many such bequests, all tending to show that the "herse" was that used at burials and obits. The following additional notes may be of interest:—

"To the parish church of Chiddingstone vj torchis to be occupied aboute my herse the day of my buriall and at my monethis mynde."—John Alfeigh, 1488 (P.C.C. 18 Milles).

"To pouer people to be dalte the daye of my bereyng vj^{s} viij^{d}. Item in the same day I will v masses be seyde for me and the gret bell rungge w^{t} the herse and ligth accordyng."—Johan Harte, Dartford, 1504 (vi. 99).

"To the tapers burnyng aboute the bere iiij^{d}."—John Watts, of Speldhurst, 1515 (vii., 63).

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[1] See the paper on "Easter Sepulchres," by Major Heales, F.S.A., in *Archæologia*, Vol. XLII., p. 363.

"Item to the foresaid churche of Milton a cow to fynde ligth a boute the herse whan poor people schalbe buried the stoke to remayn for euer hole in the handes of John Marten and his successors."—Thomas Kinge, of Milton, 1521 (vii., 237).

"At my burial viii pounds of wex made in tapers to bren a boute my herse."—John Veysey, of Milton, 1528 (viii., 165).

"Item for the trynite ligth and settyng of the herse vj^{d}."—Thomas Danyell, of Strood, 1527 (viii., 126).

In Mr. Weever's *Wells Wills* will be found a list of terms employed by the folk of the West for this light. The word "herse" is not used, but it is frequently "lumen mortuorum." This is a rare term in Kent, but it occurs at Higham in the Will of Thomas Pulver, 1444 (i., 26), "Ad lumin. mortuorum iiij^{d}." Later parishioners of Higham use the ordinary term:—"Ad lumin. voc' le herce."—Laurence Turke, 1473 (iv., 176). "To the herse light viij^{d}."—Wm. Rolffe, 1485 (v., 68). To the herslyght of ye seid churche, on buschell of barley."—Joone Truston, 1533 (ix., 98).

At Chatham, in 1453, John Twymer left xx^{d} "lum. omnium animarum."

Besides the above use of the word "herse," now and then the term was employed for a light hanging before an image or before the rood. In these cases it would most probably have been a circle or cross of wood with prickets. At Yalding, in 1474, and subsequently, were bequests, "hercie pendenti coram alta cruce vj^{d}."

IX.—Altar Lights.

There will be no necessity, for me on the present occasion, to re-open the question of lights on or about the altar. This has been discussed so often[1] that there is little left to say about it. As on other points, all I propose to do is to set down such bequests in these West Kent Wills as touch upon the subject, though they are not sufficiently numerous to reveal the custom of the Diocese.

First as to gifts of candlesticks:—"Lego vno candelabro pro summo altari xx^{s}."—Thos. Fromond of Hadlo, 1447 (i., 48). "Lego capelle S^{ce} Trinitatis ad finem pontis Roffensis dua candelabra mea optima."—Thomas Dalton capellanus in capella S^{ce} Trinitatis, 1458 (ii., 119).

"I bequeth toward a pere candylstykes of latyn to be bouthe to the vse of the sayde church and of gods diuyne seruice there x^{s}."—John Wiseman, Tudeley, 1493 (v., 202).

"To Melton chappell ij. flat canstikks for ye aulter."—Margaret Burton, 1529 (viii., 230).

"A white canstik to the aulter of Seynt George."—Wm. Wade, brewer, St. George's, Gravesend, 1528 (viii., 302).

As regards tapers before the Sacrament bequests are numerous. I select the following:—"I will that my taper that I do now fynde brennyng before the Sacrament of the aulter w^{t} in the parrische church of West Farleght be yerly rneuyd and nwe made as often as schalbe nedefull for vij yeris nexte."—Thomas Bruer, 1525 (viii., 35).

"I bequeith on kowe to fynde a taper before the sacrament in the chaunsell and to kepe my frends names in the bedroll."—John Canon, 1534 (ix., 112).

For the support of the lampe which hung before the altar, we have such bequests as the following:—

"To the finding of a lampe yerelie before the sacrament of the highe aulter ij^{s}."—Thos. Burston, gent., of Milton, 1516 (vii., 68).

Certain of these lamps, like those before images, were only lit at service time, as we gather from the Will of John Brode, of Leybourne, 1533 (ix., 88), "vj^{s} viij^{d} to the churchewardens for a lampe there w^{t} to be bought and to hang and burne before ye sacrament all the tyme of deuyn seruyse, and for the vpholdyng of ye same lygth and lamp on cow."

This light was again set up in Mary's reign, but bequests to it are rare. Sir Christopher Wymyngton, of Eltham, priest, in 1557, in his Will, says, "I doo geve unto the high aulter in the same churche towards the mayntennce of the light afore the blessed sacrament iij^{s} iiij^{d}."—(P.C.C. 48 Wrastley).

The following bequests seem to refer to lights at mass:—

"Also I owe for ij tapers on the high aulter in Addyngton and another afore the Trynite xx^{s}."—Wm. Bemonde, 1510 (vi., 279).

"I bequeithe to the hie aulter in the church of Fortiscraye ij tapers to bren there byfore the Sacrament."—Wm. Swetsire, 1536 (ix. 241).

[1] See, amongst others, "The State of Parish Churches in the Year 1548," by J. T. Micklethwaite, F.S.A., *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxv., pp. 372–396, and the Appendix to the case of Read and others *v.* the Bishop of Lincoln, in the Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

And we have the following bequest in the Will of Wm. Lynche, of Cranbrook in Kent, clothmaker (P.C.C., 34 Dyngeley), dated March 3rd, 1538, proved December 3rd, 1539:—

"I bequeth for two tapers of wexe to be sett and lightid before the blessid sacrament one of them every daye at high masse tyme tyll the Auguns be doune for the terme of one hole yere xiij^{s} iiij^{d}."

There are frequent bequests of "elevation" torches, such as the following:—

"I bequeith to the seid church ij torches of wex of a conuenient weight to s'ue and brenne at the tyme of the levacion of the high masse ther, wile they will endur."—Gilbert Bannester, of East Greenwich, gentleman, 1487 (P.C.C., 11 Milles).

There are also one or two notices touching the great candlesticks standing on the ground before the altar:—

"I bequeth to the byeing of ij candilstikks of Latyn to stande afore the high awter in the chanceyll xxvj^{s} viij^{d}."—Wm. Olyver, of Seal, 1516 (P.C.C., 17 Holder).

"I bequeith to ye mayntenyng of ye ligght brynnyng of ij lattyn canstiks or stondors before ye hight aulter in Seale churche xij^{d} by yere for iiij yers."—Maryon Olyuer, widow, 1532 (ix., 85).

"I bequeath two tapers of ij^{li} of wax euery peece, to be kept on the two greate candlesticks before the highe aulter to burne at tyme of gods dyvine seruice during the terme of xxx yeres." —Thomas Burston, gent., of Milton, 1516 (vii., 68).

The following note from the Will of William Lownde, of Dartford, dated 1530 (26 Jankyn), is worth recording:—"I will that the lampe afore Sainte Clement, *and fyve tapers at the high awters end*, and the sepulcre tapre and a square taper before the Rode, be kept and maynteyned by myn executors for oon yere."

It will be seen that such bequests as name lights upon, or candlesticks for, the altar do not specify more than two. Whether this was the general custom in the Diocese one cannot say decidedly; the inference is that it was. There is only one will bequeathing anything like a complete altar outfit, viz., that of John Browne, gent., of Eltham, 1533 (P.C.C., 25 Hogen), (see under Eltham), and amongst other things are "twoo latten candelsticks"; and we have the following interesting bequest of Thomas Lakk, of Hadlow, 1527 (viii., 142):—"I will a tabernacle be made and bougth to sett in the Image of our lady in the cross at Lakefelde w^{t} in the parisshe of Estemallyng paying therfor xiij^{s} iiij^{d} to the gildyng of the sayde tabernacle xiij^{s} iiij^{d}. I bequeth iij^{s} iiij^{d} for an aulter cloth w^{t} in the sayde cross. I bequeth to the reparacion of the saide cross and a mendyng xx^{s}. I will too canstikks be bougth to serue w^{t} in ye saide cross price ij^{s} iiij^{d}. I bequeth a cote cloth of veluet for the Image of our ladye w^{t} in the cross p^{ce} vij^{s}."

The only notice of additional lights is in the Will of Alis, late wife of John Fischer, of East Greenwich, 1496 (v., 365), and then they have an obvious symbolic signification:—

"I wull Sir William, p'ish prist, shall seye v masses of the v woonds v days to yeder a fore the hie aulter and euery masse wyle v smale candells brenying and the seyde Sir William to have iij^{s} iiij^{d} for his seruyce and ij^{ob} for the ligthis, and I will that a noder prist shal seye the same masses other v dayes a fore the ij Rods of Al halowyn in lyke wyse and a fore euery Rode v small candells brenyng duryng the masse tyme and he to haue for his seruyce xx^{d} and for the lightis v^{d}."

Of the many miscellaneous lights to be met with in various parts of England, there are singularly few referred to in these West Kent parishes.

The Bachilors' light is mentioned but once, and then, oddly enough, by a married man, one Raffe Graves, of Allhallows Hoo, in 1514 (vii., 18):—"To the bachilars ligth before the sepulcre ij moder schepe."

Grave tapers occur a few times:—

"I will that the tapers standeing be fore my wif bren till it be spente and than I will my sepulcre taper bren before ou^{r} ladie till it be spent."—John Swerdebreke, of Halling, 1513 (vi., 358).

John Browne, of West Malling, yeoman, 1488, desires "that myn executors oredigne ij tapers to stond vppon my grave by the space of a hole yere next after my discease either taper of 5 lb. waxe and that they brenne euery halidaye during the time that dyuyne seruice be a doing in the said churche and that the said two tapers be renewed as often as it shalbe nedefull."

At Brenchley we have a bequest by Robert Dan, 1511, "Item lego pro torche at hok tyme" (vi. 296).

In looking through a collection of bequests such as these one cannot help seeing a humorous touch in some of them, viewed from this matter-of-fact age. Such, for instance, as that of good Wm. Foreste, of Allhallows Hoo (vii., 340), who leaves, in 1524, "a cow to Saynt Xpofer lyght

and she to remayn for euermore and to be regester in the masse boke that she neuer dekey"; or, again, what almost looks like a bribe, in the Will of John Darvall, of Borstall, in St. Margaret's next Rochester, 1494 (v., 246), who leaves "a taper of v^{li} wex before ye sepulcre in the church of Saynt Margaret and d^{i} l^{i} wex yerely to the stok of Saynt Margarets lyght in the seide church and this to be doon al so longe as hit shall please god that the encress of my hives in Borstall shalbe abull to mayntene the saide charges."

It remains to state briefly the end.

In the Articles about religion set out by Convocation and published by the King's authority in 1536, was one "Of Images." Bishops and preachers were to instruct the people how they ought and may use them.

"And first that there may be attributed unto them that they be representers of vertue and good example, and that they also be, by occasion, the kindlers and stirrers of mens minds, and make men oft to remember and lament their sins and offences, especially the images of Christ and our Lady; and that therefore it is meet that they should stand in the churches, and none otherwise to be esteemed. . . . And as for censing of them and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worshipings, although the same hath entered by devotion and fallen to custom; yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in no wise do it, nor think it meet to be done to the same images, but only to be done to God and in his honour, although it be done before the images, whether it be of Christ, of the Cross, or of Our Lady, or of any other saint besides."—Wilkins' *Concilia*, iii., p. 821.

This was followed the same year by a set of Injunctions by Thomas Lord Crumwell.

"Item that suche feyned images as ye know in any of your cures to be so abused with pilgrimages, or offerings of any thinge made thereunto ye shall for avoidinge that moste detestable offence of idolatrie forthwithe take down and delaye, and shall suffer from hensforthe no candells, tapers or images of wax to be sett afore any image or picture, but only the lyght that comenlye goythe a cross the churche by the rode lofte, the light before the sacramente of th'altare, and the light about the sepulchre; which for th'adorninge of the churche and devyne service ye shall suffer to remesyne."—*Ibid*, Vol. iii., p. 816.

In 1541, a further letter from the King stated that such had not been removed, and desired that it should be done:—

"Also by our injunctions commanded that no offerings or setting of lyghts or candells shuld be sufferyed in any church, but onley to the blissed sacramente of the altare."

Here is a further limitation. The light before the altar is left, but that before the sepulchre and the rood are omitted. It has been already stated that there is no mention of the rood light in West Kent Wills after 1540, but the sepulchre light is named at Stoke in 1546.

In 1541, Hugh Rodes, of East Greenwich, left "to the mayntenance of the high altar lights ij^{s}" (2 Spert).

The Act for Chantries Collegiate (37 H. 8., c. 4, and 1 Edw. 6., c. 14), which confiscated the chantry endowments, included also lands, etc., given by will "to the finding or maintenance of any anniversary or obit or other like thing, intent, or purpose, or of any light or lamp in any church or chapel to have continuance for ever which hath been kept or maintained within five years next before the said first day of this present Parliament."

In 1547, were issued the well-known injunctions of Edward VI.:—

"From henceforth no torches nor candles, tapers or images of wax to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar, before the sacrament, which for the significance that Christ is the very true light of the world they shall suffer to remain still." —Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv., p. 4.

In 1549-50 was passed "an Acte for the abolishinge and puttinge away of diverse Bookes and Images" (3 and 4 Edw. VI., cap. 10), in which it was directed that "anye images of stone, tymbre, alleblaster or earthe graven carved or paynted which heretofore have bene taken out of any churche or chappell, or yet stande in any churche or chappell," which were not destroyed before the last day of June next were to be delivered up to mayors, etc., and by them to the bishops to be burned or destroyed—images and pictures on monuments or tombs being excepted. (*Stat: Revised*, Vol. I., p. 435).

Lastly, the articles of 1 Elizabeth, 1559, repeat the order for taking away all shrines, trindals, rolls of wax, and decking of images and offering of candles.

Now, as to the effect of all these orders, injunctions, and homilies as reflected in the Wills of the faithfull. Speaking generally, the drop in the number of bequests was instantaneous, for whereas in 1534 and 1535—that is, the years previous to Crumwell's injunctions—gifts for the purpose of maintaining lights are numerous; in 1537, and succeeding years, they are extremely rare; and by 1540, practically may be said to cease,

The following statement collects together *all* the references to lights, or altars other than the high altar, after 1537.

	Date	Parish	Reference.
John Gefferson (ix., 248)	1537, Dec.	Woolwich	O^r lady
Wm. Snowe (ix., 256)	1537-8, Feb.	Higham	O^r lady
Agnes Balard (ix., 261)	1538	Erith	Rood and St. Christopher
John Lorkyn (ix., 294)	1538, May	Chatham	St. John, Rood
John Absolon (ix., 268)	1538, Aug.	Cuxton	Rood
Richard Grofe (ix., 278)	1537, May	Swanscombe	St. Hildefert
Richard Fuller (ix., 297)	1539, Sept.	Deptford	Altars of St. Clements, St. Clare, O^r lady, The Trynite, and the High Altar.
Richard Fowler (ix., 315)	1540, Aug.	Greenwich	Brotherhood of St. Ann and St. George
Do.	1540, Aug.	Greenwich	Picture of O^r blessed lady
Henry Violet (ix., 318)	1540, Nov.	Beckenham	5 tapers in braunche before the rood
Elizabeth Miller (ix., 351)	1541, May	Rochester St. Nicholas	St. John's Altar
Sir Richard Tuttisham, preste (ix., 353)	1541, June	Milton	Herse light.
Robert Ley (x., 35)	1543	Cudham	The lyght of Chelsham iij^d
Thomas Andrewe (x., 189)	1546	Stoke	Sepulchre
John Tutsam (xi., 17)	1546-7, Jan.	West Peckham	St. Ann's Altar
John James (xi., 53)	1545-6, Feb.	West Malling	O^r lady's image in o^r lady chapel
Sir Robert Pilton, prest (xi., 225)	1548, Nov. [The latest.]	St. Margarets by Rochester	O^r lady's aulter.

In the foregoing remarks I have endeavoured to place before you the evidence, principally from Wills, as to the lights, images, and altars in the Diocese of Rochester previous to the changes in the English Church in the Sixteenth Century. I have done so with as few observations or surmises of my own as were possible, my object being to set forth the actual custom of the people, as far as practicable, in their own words. The result is, I fear, a rather dry collection of disjointed notes; and I can only express a hope that, for purposes of comparison and reference, they may be found useful to workers in this part of the archæological vineyard.

APPENDIX A.

At the confiscation of the property of endowed lights in the first year of Edward VI., the following parishes were found to be possessed of lands for this purpose. (Chantry Certificates, Kent, No. 28, P.R.O.)

20. Seele. Light land for the finding of a light w^t in the said parishe churche of Seele. Clear value 3^s 6^d.
62. Trotyclyffe. Lampe landes gyven many yeres paste to the maintenannce and findinge of one lampe within the parishe church there for euer by whom it is not knowen. The yerelye value of the same landes xvj^d.
65. Mallynge. Lampe rente geven by Luke Clerke to the mayntenance of one lampe before o^r ladys aulter to burne for euer. The same rent is by the yere 5^s 4^d.
67. Lamberherste. Light rente gyven by Robert Omyaden for one taper before the crucyfyxe. vj^d by yere.
69. Bytborough. Lighte rente employed alwayes to the fyndinge of a light before the high aulter. By yere 3^d ob.
80. Horsmonden. Torche rente, alwayes employed to the fyndinge of ij torches in the tyme of high masse w^t in the seid churche to burne. By yere x^s.
97. Lee. Lampe lande. Employed to the fynding of a lampe w^t in the same churche. Yerelie value ij^s viij^d.
104. Dartford. Light lands gyven by John Groveherste to the finding of the Pascall light there for ever. Clere value x^s.
Lampe land. Employed to the finding of a lampe w^t in the same churche. Yerlie value xviij^s.
111. Wylmyngton. Obit landes given by Thomas Barnes, John Danyell and Walter Moyle as well to the kepinge their obytts for ever as to the mayntenance of Saynt Johns light there. Value clere vij^s iij^d.

192. Woldeham. Lampe landes gyven to the parish church. Employed to mayntenance of a lampe w^{t} in the said church. Clere value xxj^{d}.
195. Fawkham. Lampe land. Clere value vj^{d}.
197. Melton. Light landes for mayntenance of the Pascall light there. Value xviij^{d}.
200. Saynt Maryes. Lampe land. Value xij^{d}.
201. Halstowe. Lampe rente. Value xvj^{d}.
202. St. Nicholas, Rochester. Light rente gyven by John Hardell for the maintenannce of dyuers lights w^{t} in the said church for euer. Rent iij^{s} iiij^{d}.
207. Snodlande. Obite landes gyven by dyuers p'sons as well for the kepynge of obittis and lampis as for yeve ale and holye bread for ever. Yerelye value clere iij^{s} viij^{d}.

APPENDIX B.

Pilgrimages.

In addition to the placing of tapers before the images of saints in their parish church, folk were frequently moved either to undertake a pilgrimage to some celebrated shrine, or to lay this burden on their executors in their Wills. All this is so well known that it will be superfluous to enter into any details here; but it will be of interest to place on record such bequests for this purpose as occur in the Wills of these West Kent people :—

Gigles Johnsone, of Gravesend, in 1490, "in tendyng w^{t} gods grace to passe ouer the see in pylgremage to the holy blod of Wylsnake," made his Will before setting out (v., 363).

Thomas Fryth, of Chelsfield, in 1492, desired his feoffees to pay John Beuerage nine pounds to fulfil his testament and "also to do pilgermage to M. John Shorn and to o^{r} lady of Crowham" (vi. 136).

Thomas Wylfort, of Erith, in 1529, willed, "iij pilgeymags to be doon unto our Ladye of Walsyngham. The s^{od} to the blode of Hayles. The iij to Saynt Thomas of Canterbury. These I was chargid. A nother to the rode of Dagnam and the iij^{d} to Saynt Tilforts" (*i.e.*, Hildfert at Swanscomb), (viii. 201).

Wm. Gossep. of Charlton, in 1530, left 6s. 8d. "for on to do oblicacion att Walsyngham for a p'mes made be for tyme" (viii., 249).

Margery Eueryngham, of Gravesend, widow, left to her "cosyn Harrysons wyf at London my best gyrdell vnder thys manner that she wyll goo a pylgrimage to our lady of Walsyngham and there to offer for me a nobyll my best kyrtell and my best gown" (viii. 253).

John Beste, of Ash, in 1533, desired his executors to "hire on to go a pilgrimage for me to Walsyngham, Canterbury, to Mr John Shorn and to Saynt Albons" (ix. 111).

EXTRACTS FROM WILLS RELATING TO THE CHURCHES OF WEST KENT.

In the parochial lists which follow references are given to certain Wills in which proof will be found of the existence of the particular light, &c., referred to. As proof of the Dedication of each church, an extract from, or reference to, at least one Will is given. Under the general head of *Lights, &c.*, are grouped references to images, to lights before images, and also to altars other than the high altar. Of all of these, two references are given whenever possible, as a rule one early and one late. Notices are also appended of the Sepulchre and Rood Lights, and any others specially mentioned in the Wills. At the end of each parochial list are placed references to Brotherhoods, since they in most cases were intimately connected with the light of the patron saint of the guild named.

The references in brackets, *e.g.* (v. 248), are to the Will Registers of the Consistory Court of Rochester, now at Somerset House. This signifies Book V., folio 248. References to Wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury are shown in the usual manner, *e.g.* (P.C.C., 13 Godyn).

Thorpe's *Registrum* and *Custumale Roffense* are referred to as (*Reg.* or *Cust. Roff.*), and the references to the Episcopal Registers as (Reg. H. de Heythe, folio —). &c.

The extracts and references here given will, it is hoped, be found useful to those engaged in drawing up parochial histories. They will, at any rate, serve to show what an almost inexhaustible mine of information on almost every subject exists in early Wills, a mine hitherto, unfortunately, little worked, but which is beginning to receive the attention it deserves.

ADDINGTON. *Dedication.* ST. MARGARET.—To be buried in the churchyard of Saint Margaret at Adyngton.—John Capell, 1494 (v. 248).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY. To maynten o^r lady ligth a ewe callyd a moder shepe.—Thomas Hankyn, 1504 (vi. 123).

Sep. in capella assumpcōis b^te Marie de novo constructa ecclesie p'och. de Adyngton.—Wm. Watton, armiger, 1463 (P.C.C., 13 Godyn).

ST. MARGARET.—To Seynt Margarets ligth xij^d.—Thomas Hankyn, 1504 (vi. 123).

HOLY TRINITY.—To ye Trynete lyght iiij^d.—Thos. Godden, 1528 (viii. 251).

ST. ANNE, ST. MARY MAGDALENE.—Lego pro reparacione capelle Ste Anne et Ste Marie Magdalene predicte ecclesie vj^s viij^d.—Wm. Watton, armiger, 1463 (P.C.C., 13 Godyn).

ROOD.—Ad sustentacionem luminis supra altam trabem ad ardendum coram ymagine crucifixi iij^s iiij^d.—Robt. Elyot, 1474 (iv. 147).

Brotherhood. ST. MARGARET.—Also I owe to the bredered of Saynt Margaret v^s.—Wm. Bemonde, 1510 (vi. 279).

ASH NEXT WROTHAM. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL. Thomas Vmfraye, in 1518 (vii. 169), desires "to be buried in the churchyard of Saynt Petyr of Asche."

To be buried in the churchyard of Petir and Poull of Asche.—Thos. Dypdale, 1513 (vii. 6).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Lum. b^s Marie vnam vaccam.—John Hodesole, 1423 (P.C.C., 2 Luffenam).

William Attwode, *c.* 1501 (v. 408), wills, "to be bereyd in the chapell of Asch before the ymage of o^r blessid lady ther, and an honest prist shall syng for my sowle & my frynds soules in the chapell of o^r blessid lady a foreseyde."

Margarete at Wode, widowe, in 1514 (vii. 32), desired to be buried in the chaunsell of ouer ladie of the parish churche of Ashe.

ST. BLAISE.—John Boot, 1448 (i. 68).

To Saynt Blasys ligth on moder shepe and vj^li xiij^s iiij^d to a honest secular preste to celebrate in the parish church of Ash in the chapell of Saynt Blase by the space of on hole yere.—James Launce, yeoman, 1527 (viii. 102).

ST. NICHOLAS.—J^n Hodesole, 1423 (P.C.C., 2 Luffenam), and James Launce, 1527 (viii. 102).

ST. PETER.—To Saynt Petyr light a taper of j^li wex ther to be bren at conuenyent tymes the terme of v yeris and to be renuyd as ofte as nedith.—Thomas Vmfraye, 1518 (vii. 169).

ST. KATHERINE.—Henry Bolle, 1462 (ii. 240).

ROOD.—Lego summo crucifixo iiij^d.—Richard Reyman, 1487 (v. 144).

Lego lum. alte trabis, Johanna Man, 1474 (iv. 214).

Lego b^te Marie super trabem.—William Hodsole, labourer, 1499 (vi. 121).

William Hudsoll, gent, of Kemsing, in his Will, dated 8 June, 1512, left "Blaksoll Croft in Stanfforde Parisshe to remain for euer to the church of Asshe to fynd a lampe burnyng in tyme of dyuyne s'uice saying for evermore" (vii. 6).

TRENDIL.—Ad maintenendum le Trendil x^s.—John Hodesole, 1423 (P.C.C., 2 Luffenam).

ASHURST. *Dedication.* ST. MARTIN.—Sir Martin Crystofer, rector of Ashhurst, in his Will, dated 3 Feb., 1524 (viii. 8), bequeaths "onto the parishe churche of Saynte Marten a couerlyte & a surples."

Lights, &c. ST. MARTIN.—A taper before Saynte Marten, 1524.—Sr Martin Crystofer (viii. 8).

OUR LADY.—"On before o^r layde" (do.).

ST. ANNE.—Vnto the same churche vj^s viij^d to by an image of Saynte Anne to stande at Saynte Annes awlter (do.)

ROOD.—Item I will that the cote w^t all suche broches & Ryngs as be theron set before the blyssed Rode remayn styll duryng my lyf & after my decease I will that they be bestowed to moste hono^r of God & the sayde rode by the dyscression of Mr Willm Waller & the wardens of the saide churche for the tyme beying.—Sr Marten Cristofer, 1524 (viii. 8).

I bequeithe iij tapers before the loo Roode (do.).

AYLESFORD.[1] *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—To be buried in the churchyerde of Saynte Petyr & Powle of Alisforde.—John A Rowe, 1524 (vii. 354).

Symon Halervyle in his Will, *c.* 1484, desired to be buried in the churchyard of St. Peter at Aylisforth (v. 43).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—To ouer ladies ligth in the chauncell vj^{d}.—Richard Hamonde, 1510 (vi. 272).

To be buried in the chappell of ouer lady in Alisforde Churche. To ouer lady ligth vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Thomas Cossington, gent., 1518 (vii. 125).

To be buried w^{t}in the parish church of Alisforde in the chapell of the north side of the saide church before ouer lady. To o^{r} lady aulter a table cloth playn.—Vrsula Kempsey, 1520 (vii. 198).

ST. MICHAEL, ST JOHN BAPTIST, ST. PETER, ST. CHRISTOPHER, ST. MARGARET, HOLY TRINITY, ST. NICHOLAS—all mentioned in the Will of John Bochere of Aylesford, 1448 (i. 63).

Wm. Swynee, in 1474 (iv. 196), mentions Holy Cross, B. Mary, Holy Trinity, St. Cristofer, St. Peter, St. Margaret, St. John.

Lego tabule altaris S^{co} Margarete iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—Roger Chambre, 1457 (ii. 76).

St. Christopher was apparently popular; he occurs in several Wills. In 1522 Wm. Ovenell (vii. 265) says: "I will that the stok of Saynt Cristofer ligth be made worth xx^{s} of my propre costs."

St. Margaret occurs in 1493, 1498 and 1501; St. John Baptist in 1493; St. Peter in 1491. The Holy Trinity in 1491, 1498, 1501 and 1530. In 1527 (viii. 135), Nicholas Bruschyng left "a cowe to the entent to haue a lampe w^{t} ligth burnyng before the blessid Trynite euery holy daye at euynsong, matens, mass and euynsong."

ST. BLAISE.—Richard Crowcher, 1475 (iv. 220).

"Saynt Blasis wodd" is mentioned amongst other property by Wm. Sotheron in 1557 (xii. 361).

ST. ERASMUS, ST. ANTHONY.—Thos. Dethe, 1475 (iv. 221); also in 1501 and 1510.

ST. LAURENCE.—Thos. Mowyer, 1491 (v. 172).

ST. AMME (*sic*).—Peter Harterop, 1510 (vi. 277).

HERSE.—Ad Lumin. hercie iiij^{d}.—Richard Smyth, 1509 (vi. 238).

ROOD.—Y^{e} crosselyght ij^{d}.—Harry Birch, 1456 (ii. 81).

At Cossington, in this parish, was a chapel dedicated in honour of St. Michael] founded by Sir Stephen de Cosenton, temp. Edward I. (*Reg. Roff.*, p. 149); and another with the same dedication at Tottington, founded by Richard, Lord Poynings, temp. Richard II. (Hasted's *Kent*, Vol. II., p. 171, and *Custumale Roffense*, pp. 66 and 67).

BARMING, EAST. *Dedication.* ST. MARGARET.—Sep. in cimiterio S^{co} Margarete de Bermyng...ecclesia paroch. de Bermyng fundata in honore S^{co} Margarete.—Henry Bealde, 1457 (ii. 81).

Lights, &c.—OUR LADY, ST. MARGARET, ST. MICHAEL.—Wm. Rede, 1527 (viii. 108).

Lego ad pict. ymaginis b^{e} Marie in chancello et alte crucis x^{s}.—Ralph Pate, 1465 (ii. 344).

ROOD.—Wm. Rede, 1527 (viii. 108).

BECKENHAM. *Dedication.* ST. GEORGE.—Richard Pledge, 1540 (ix. 392).

In 1524 (vii. 347) Thomas Kempsall bequeaths his soul "vnto almyghti god to o^{r} blyssed ladie and virgyn Seinte Mary to Saynte George martyr my avowee and to all the glorious cōpanie of heuyn."

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—In 1531 Elyn Kyndyrley (viii. 279) desired Henry Violett "to by a candylstyke to sett v tapers on before o^{r} lady ye price of ye candylstyke viij^{s}.'

To our ladie ij wedding ryngs, a tache, a pair hoks and my wiffs beddes.—Jn. Hickenson, 1535 (ix. 218).

ST. GEORGE.—Ad emendacionem Sancti Georgii xx^{d}.—Robt. Payne, 1457 (P.C.C., 16 Stokton).

In 1536, John Hichenson left a donation to the "amending of Saynt Georg^{e} harness."

ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—Robt. Payne, 1457 (P.C.C., 16 Stokton). William Mydday, 1490 (vi. 135).

[1] The church of the friars in this place was dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary (see Will of Wm. Heede, 1513, 18 Fetiplace).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Robt. Payne, 1457 (P.C.C., 16 Stokton).
ST. KATHERINE.—Robt. Payne, 1457 (P.C.C., 16 Stokton). A taper before the image of Saint Kateryn.—Wm. Brodefote, 1509 (vi. 254).
ST. ANTHONY.—Thomas Kempsall, 1524 (vii. 347).
ROOD.—In 1540 Henry Violett left v tapers in the braunche before the roode (ix. 318).

Brotherhood. ST. GEORGE.—To the brotherhed of Saint George in the same church vj^{s} viij^{d}.—John Duns, gent., 1534 (P.C.C., 28 Hogen).

BIDBOROUGH. *Dedication.* ST. LAWRENCE.—To be buried in the churchyard of Sainte Lawrence of Bitborowe nigh to the Palme Crosse.—Thomas At Hill, 1524 (vii. 362).

See *Registrum Roffense*, p. 166, for the Deed regarding the founding of this church in 1219.

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Ad lumin. b^{e} Marie in ecclesia de Bitborowe vnum cereum ardentem omni tempore servicii tam diu vita mea.—John Eldriche, 1526 (viii. 47).
ST. NICHOLAS, ST. CHRISTOPHER, ST. BLASE.—John Salmon, 1526 (viii. 90).
ROOD.—Ad lumin. ante magnam crucem, 1492.

BIRLING. *Dedication.* ALL HALLOWS.—Ric. Bedyel, 1446 (i. 42), and John Bedyl, 1482 (v. 5).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—John Stephyn, 1485 (v. 58).
OUR LADY BESIDE THE CHANCEL DOOR.—Anna Cowherde, 1472 (iv. 27).
OUR LADY BESIDE SEYNT KATERYN.—Thos. Costell, 1486 (v. 140).
OUR LADY'S ALTAR IN THE CHAPEL.—Wm. Philipp, 1516 (vii. 64). Lego ad factur. unius trabis coram altari beate Marie vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Andrew Cleygate, 1453 (ii. 1).
ST. JAMES.—John Bedyl, 1482 (v. 5).
ST. KATHERIN.—James Bedyl, 1482 (v. 5).
ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—John Stephyn, 1485 (v. 58).
ST. MICHAEL ARCHANGEL.—John Stephyn, 1485 (v. 58).
ST. CHRISTOPHER.—John Stephyn, 1485 (v. 58).
ST. NICHOLAS, ST. NICHOLAS IN THE CHANCEL.—Andrew Cleygate, 1453 (ii. 1), and John Stephyn, 1485 (v. 58).
ROOD.—The High Cross in the nave, 1473; The Rode, 1473; Lum. magni crucifixi, 1485.
HERSE.—To the herse ligth xij^{d}.—Jn. Coton, 1489 (v. 98), and in 1499.
THE TORCHE LIGHT.—1489.

Brotherhood. ST. JAMES.—Item I bequeth to the brotherhode of Seynt James in Bierling as long as the brotherhode is kept there vj^{s} viij^{d}, and if the saide brotherhod harpe to fayle thanne I wull that the encrese of the saide vj^{s} viij^{d} be disposed to the reparacon of the chirche of Bierling.—Robard Cleygate (iv. 165).

BRENCHLEY. *Dedication.* ALL HALLOWS.—To be buried in the churchyard of All Halowes of Brenchley.—John Poyle, 1524 (vii. 341).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Thomas Gyles, 1506 (vi. 225).
OUR LADY IN THE HIGH CHANCEL.—To stand before our lady in the sayd hygh chawncell a taper of halfe a ponde of wex and ther to be lyghted at the hygh mass tyme in euery other Sonday and in euery other gooddayes of the yere as after followyth.—Thomas Stonarde, 1533 (ix. 124).

My sone William his heyris and assigns shal fynde or do to be fonde a lamp brenyng afore the ymage of o^{r} lady in the church of Brenchle that is to seye vpon the Sondayes & upon other festeful dayes wylis godds dyuyne s'uyce is a doyng for euer & for lak of fyndyng of the seyde lampe itt shall be leffull to the church wardens of the seyde church of Brenchle to distres & distrayn in ij pec^{s} of lande callyd Brakefens.—John Downer, 1499 (vi. 32).

To be buried in the p. ch. of Alhalowes of Brenchesle in the chauncell of o^{r} lady before Seynt Antony.—Wm. Kypping, 1509 (P.C.C., 23 Bennett).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—To the lyght of o^{r} laydye of Pyttye iiij^{d}.—Stephen Fordeman the elder, 1526 (viii. 82).

A prest to syng wythin the seyd parish church of Brenchley att the awter of oure blessyd lady of Pytte.—John Downer, 1523 (vii. 304).

If I die in Kent then to be buried in the parish church of Brenchesley before the Image of o^r lady of Pitie in the chapell called Brenchesleys chapel in the south side of the said church.—Wm. Thomas, oon of the clerks of the kings eschequyer, 1530 (P.C.C., 25 Jankyn).

ALLHALLOWS.—Ad deauracionem ymaginis Omnium Sanctorum xx^s.—Thomas Gyles, 1506 (vi. 225).

To be buried w^t in the hight chaunsell of Brenchley before the tabernacle of all halows yf my executors can resonably agree w^t the vicar there.—Michael Bowreg, 1529 (viii. 209).

To stande before alhalows in the hygh chawnsell a taper of half a pond of wex & ther to be lyghted at the hygh mase tyme in euery secunde Sonday of the yere and in other good days.—Thos. Stonarde, 1533 (ix. 124).

ST. NICHOLAS.—To be buried in the church of Brenchley befor the tabernakyll of Sent Nicholas.—John Mawde, 1532 (ix. 18).

To the necessary reparacions of Saynt Nicholas chaunsell w^tin ye said church x^d.—Andrewe Fioschenden, 1533 (ix. 120).

ST. ANTHONY.—See *supra* (o^r lady in the high chancel).

ST. MARGARET.—To ye makyng off a new tabernacle for Saynt Margarett in ye churche xl^s.—Thomas Haler, 1531 (viii. 292).

ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—Robert Dan, 1511 (vi. 296), and John Dan, 1515 (vii. 79).

ST. JAMES.—A preste to syng at the aulter of Sayntt Jamys in the parish church of Brenchelee xxxiij^s iiij^d.—Stephen Fordeman thelder, 1526 (viii. 82).

ST. STEPHEN.—To the lyght of Sayntte Stephyn iiij^d.—Stephen Fordeman the elder, 1526 (viii. 82).

ST. KATHERINE.—To be buried before the altar of Saint Katerine.—Thomas Kyppyng, 1510 (vi. 303), and John Lorkyn, 1535 (ix. 168).

ST. ARMIGILIS.—Sep. in ecclesia de Brencheley coram ymagine S^ct Armigilis.—Thomas Robert, senior, 1508 (P.C.C., 14 Bennett).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Robert Dan, 1511 (vi. 296).

ST. DOMINIC.—Ad lumin. S^ci dñici ij^d.—Robert Dan, 1511 (vi. 296).

ROOD.—High Cross, 1473; Beme light, 1498; Lumen super trabem, 1506; Hye Beme, 1526 (viii. 82). Ad deaurationem ymaginis crucifixi et beate Marie et Sancti Johannis Evangeliste vj^s viij^d.—Thomas Gyles, 1506 (vi. 225).

HERSE.—Nearly every parishioner in his Will remembered "the herse light."

Lego pro cereo ad ardend. super lee herse in dicta ecclesia iij^s iiij^d.—Thomas Kyppyng, 1510 (vi. 303).

TORCH LIGHT.—To the Torches viij^s.—Wm. Burre, 1501 (vi. 30).

HOCK-TYDE.—Item lego pro torche at hok tyme xij^d.—Robert Dan, 1511 (vi. 296).

BROMLEY. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Corpus meum ad sepel. in ecclesia Sanct' Petri et Pauli.—Thos. Sybyle, 1421 (P.C.C., 52, March).

To be buried in the churchyard of the apostles Peter and Paul of Bromley.—Robt. Wooder, 1459 (ii. 190).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY IN THE CHANCEL.—To our lady in the chaunsell a taper of iiij^d.—Henry Kighley, 1520 (vii. 200).

OUR LADY IN THE CHAPEL OR LITTLE CHANCEL.—To o^r lady in the chapel a taper.—John Colman, 1500 (v. 380).

A taper to our lady in o^r lady chaunsell.—Andrew Litlegrome, 1513 (vii. 180).

A bassyn and v tapers of virgyn wex to be sett affore oure lady in the lytell chauncell xx^s.—William Both, 1525 (viii. 41).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—Henry Payne, 1455 (ii. 101). To o^r lady of Pety a taper price ij^d.—Thos. Mathew, 1500 (v. 389).

ST. PETER.—To Saynt Petir a taper of vj^d.—Henry Kighley, 1520 (vii. 200).

ST. PAUL.—To the light of Seynt Paule.—Robt. Juler, 1503 (vi. 80).

To the light of Saynt Paule on Saynt Petir nyght next on pound and a half of wex.—John Brysley, 1518 (vii. 164).

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—To the light of Petir and Powle ij tapers of wax of ij^l a pece.—John Colman, 1500 (v. 380).

ST. LOYE (ELIGIUS).—Lum. S^ct Eligii.—Robert Woder, 1459 (ii. 190).

To the light of Saynt Loye xij^d.—Robert Shote, 1494 (v. 248).

To Seynt Looye a taper of a peny.—Thos. Mathew, 1500 (v. 389)

ST. BLAISE.—Walter Crepehogg, 1458, ordered as part of penance to present a torch to the image of St. Blaise in Bromley.—Act. Cur. Consist. fol. 363[a], vide *Cust. Roff.*, p. 213; also Thomas Ferby in 1456, fol. 311[b].

ST. KATHERINE.—Robert Woder, 1459 (ii. 190), and Henry Kighley, 1520 (vii. 200).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Robert Woder, 1459 (ii. 190), and Andrew Litlegrome, 1513 (vii. 180).

ST. JAMES.—Robert Woder, 1459 (ii. 190), and Henry Kighley, 1520 (vii. 200).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Robert Woder, 1459 (ii. 190), and Robert Cooke, 1475 (iv. 198).

ST. MICHAEL, ARCHANGEL.—Robert Cooke, 1475 (iv. 198), and Richard Shott, 1500 (v. 375).

ST. SEBASTIAN.—Robert Shott, 1494 (v. 248). Seynt Bastian ligth.—Richard Shott, 1500 (v. 375).

ST. THOMAS.—Richard Shott, 1500 (v. 375). Saynt Thomas a taper of iiij[d] and to the paynting of the same image xx[d].—Henry Kighley, 1520 (vii. 200).

HOLY TRINITY.—To the trynite to stande on the hight aulter a taper of ij[d].—Andrew Litlegrome, 1513 (vii. 180). To the aulter before the trinite a taper of iij[d].—Henry Kighley, 1520 (vii. 200).

ST. JOHN EVANGELIST.—I bequeith for a ymage of Saynt John Evangelist to be sett in the body of the church x[s].—Henry Kighley, 1520 (vii. 200). A taper affore Saynt John Evangelist, 1525.—William Both (viii. 41).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Henry Kighley, 1520 (vii. 200).

ROOD.—I will John my son bye a lampe of laton prise x[s] to hange afore the Rode in the church of Brumley.—Robert Juler, 1503 (vi. 80).

BURHAM, BURGHAM, BOROWHAM. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—Thomas Rowe, 1450 (i. 85).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.*—Thomas Rowe, 1450 (i. 85). To the ymage of our ladye in the chaunsell iiij[d].—Thomas a Dene, 1516 (vii. 66), also in 1505 (vi. 169). O[r] lady in the body of the churche iiij[d]. (do.) (do.)

ST. GEORGE.—Thomas Rowe, 1450 (i. 85), and Thomas a Dene, 1516 (vii. 66).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Thomas Rowe, 1450 (i. 85).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Richard Hamond, 1458 (ii. 138).

ST. MICHAEL.—Thomas Rowe, 1450 (i. 85), and William Monde, 1521 (vii. 216).

ST. STEPHEN.—Petyr Lyon, 1473 (iv. 106). To the ligtht of Saynt Steuen iiij[d].—Robert Frere, 1511 (vi. 289).

ST. LAWRENCE.—Petyr Lyon, 1473 (iv. 106).

ST. JAMES.—Thomas a Dene, 1516 (vii. 66), and William Monde, 1521 (vii. 216).

HOLY TRINITY.—Harry Bugge, 1442 (i. 44). To the ymage of the trynite iiij[d]. Thomas a Dene, 1516 (vii. 66); William Monde, 1521 (vii. 216).

ROOD.—To the crucifix ligtht iiij[d].—Robert Frere, 1511 (vi. 289). I bequeith j[li] wex to bren uppon the higth beame before the higth rode.—William Monde, 1521 (vii. 216). To the Rodelygth vj[s] viij[d] for a stokke.—John Boore, 1534 (ix. 151).

HERSE.—To the mayntenance of the herse ligtht of Borougtham churche to be kepte for euermore ij sufficiant kyne to be delyuered to the churchwardens.—Richard Ware, 1511 (vi. 307).

CAPEL. *Dedication.* ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR OF CANTERBURY.—To be buried in the churchyard of Saynt Thomas martyr of Capell.—Jamys Halsnoth, 1526 (viii. 56). (The word *martyr* is struck through as also in the will of John Wynter, 1527, viii. 89).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—To the paynting of ouer ladie in Capell churche xx[d].—Richard Wrynge, 1512 (vii. 26).

Lego altari b[e] marie virginis vnum pannum tinctum.—George Bowreg, 1513 (vii. 352).

Lego ad nouam ymaginem fabricandam beate Marie virginis vj[s] viij[d].—John Penyale, 1515 (vii. 53).

ST. NICHOLAS.—George Bowreg, 1513 (vii. 352).

ST. BLAISE.—George Bowreg, 1513 (vii. 352).

ROOD.—Lego ad fabricacionem ymaginis crucifixi viij[d].—George Bowreg, 1513 (vii. 352).

* Richard Ware, in his will dated 28th December, 1511 (vi. 307), wishes "to be buried in the church of Bcrougtham before ouer ladie aulter ther in the myddest a genste the saide aulter. To the reparacion of the churche and of the hangeyng of the belles yf neade be and for the payntyng of the rode lofte and of the ymage and tabernacle of o[r] ladie in y[e] same churche and for the mendyng of the churche walles their x[li]." Also he founds a chantry at our Lady's altar.

CHALK.* *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—Isabella Tebold, 1439 (i. 55). To be buried in the churchyard of o^r ladie of Chalke.—Stephane Stokwode, 1525 (vii. 365).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—A taper of j pounde wexe on the braunches be fore ouer ladie in the quere.—Margery Maye, 1513 (vi. 356).

To the mayntenance of a lyght before the ymage of ouer lady in the Northe chawnsell.—John Marten, 1495 (v. 259).

Altari b^te Marie in cancello.—John Tayler, 1486 (v. 76).

To iiij lights of our lady w^t in the said church 4 bush. of barley.—Richard Alen, 1510 (P.C.C., 38 Bennett).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—To be buried in Chalke Churche in the chauncell bifore the figure of our lady of Pety.—Sir Thos. Boswyn, clerk, 1500 (P.C.C., 4 Adeane).

ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—Thos. Martyn, 1473 (iv. 129), and John Pottkyn, 1490 (v. 162).

ST. JOHN.—Thos. Martyn, 1473 (iv. 129), and John Pottkyn, 1490 (v. 162).

ST. ANNE.—Thos. Martyn, 1473 (iv 129), and John Pottkyn, 1490 (v. 162).

ST. JAMES.—Thos. Martyn, 1473 (iv. 129), and John Pottkyn, 1490 (v. 162).

ST. MARGARET.—Thos. Martyn, 1473 (iv. 129), and John Pottkyn, 1490 (v. 162).

ST. LOY.—Richard Alen, 1510 (P.C.C., 38 Bennett).

ST. NICHOLAS.—John Pottkyn, 1490 (v. 162), and Richard Alen, 1510 (P.C.C., 38 Bennett).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Richard Martin, 1456 (ii. 69), and John Pottkyn, 1490 (v. 162).

ST. GEORGE.—Margery Maye, 1513 (vi. 356).

ST. SONDAY.—Richard Alen, 1510 (P.C.C., 38 Bennett).

ST. ANTHONY.—Margery Maye, 1513 (vi. 356), and Richard Alen, 1510.

ROOD.—To the hye cros lyght.—Thomas Martyn, 1473 (iv. 129).

There was a light in the chancel (that before the Reserved Sacrament) alluded to as follows:—

"To the lyght of the lampe in the hye chauncell a modyrshepe."—Thos. Martyn, 1473 (iv. 129), and John Pottkyn, 1490 (v. 162).

SEPULCHRE.—Item coram sepulcro domini in ecclesia de Chalk.—Isabella Tebold, 1439 (i. 55).

CHARLTON. *Dedication.* ST. LUKE.—To be buried in the churchyard of Saynt Luke in Charlton.—William Gossep, 1530 (viii. 249).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Richard Borne, 1507 (vi. 236).

Sep. in ecclesia parochiali de Charleton coram altari Beate Marie.—John Fulthorp, 1493 (P.C.C., 28 Dogett).

ST. LUKE.—Richard Borne, 1507 (vi. 236).

Lego imagini Sancti Luce evangeliste in cancello iij^s iiij^d.—John Fulthorp, 1493 (P.C.C., 28 Dogett).

ROOD.—Lumen S^co Crucis iiij^d.—Richard Borne, 1507 (vi. 236).

HOLY TRINITY.—Lum. S^co Trinitatis xxij^d.—Wm. Myrfyn, rector, 1459 (ii. 145).

CHATHAM. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—John Rolfe, 1455 (ii. 27), and Thomas Longe, 1483 (v. 22).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—John Rolff, 1474 (iv. 182).

To y^or lady ligth in the queer.—Richard Godarde, 1487 (v. 106).

SALUTATION OF OUR LADY.—To ye salutacion of our lady in the church of Chetham xx^d to be bestowed where most nede ys apon the seide ymage.—Margret Taylor, 1533 (ix. 66).

ST. JOHN EVANGELIST.—Robert Longe, 1504 (vi. 103).

To the light of Saynt John the eũgelist.—John Smyth, 1524 (vii. 328).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—John Rolff, 1455 (ii. 27).

To be buried in the chapell of Saint John Baptist w^t in the chirch of Chatham and to the light of Saint John Baptist in the chapell aforsaid xl^s.—John Longe, 1528 (P.C.C., 35 Porch).

ST. JAMES.—John Rolfe, 1454 (ii. 27).

To the light of Saynt James the appostoll.—John Smyth, 1524 (vii. 328).

Thomas Henley, 1545 (x. 167) desires to be buried "in Saint James chapell in the church of Cheatham."

* I bequeth to the chapell in the crosse a masboke, a chalice and a payre of vestments, that the vicar may syng ther when it please hym on worken daies.—Sir Thomas Boswyn, clerk, 1500 (P.C.C., 4 Adeane).

ST. ANTHONY.—Thomas Longe, 1483 (v. 22), and John Cok, 1509 (vi. 251).
ST. MARGARET.—John Monde, 1535 (ix. 186).
ST. KATHERINE.—A taper of wax yerely during the life of Emote my wife before the image of Saynt Kateren.—Thomas Smyth, 1502 (vi. 199).
ST. ANNE.—Thomas Smyth, 1502 (vi. 199).
ST. NICHOLAS.—John Cok, 1509 (vi. 251), and John Longe, 1528 (P.C.C., 35 Porch).
ST. LAWRENCE.—To the light of Saynt Lawrence the martyr.—John Smyth, 1524 (vii. 328), and John Longe, 1528 (P.C.C., 35 Porch).
ROOD.—To the rode lyghth.—Richard Rolfe, 1517 (vii. 117).
To the hye crosse lyght.—Richard Godarde, 1487 (v. 106).
To the light afore the high crosse ij busshels of Barley.—John Longe, 1528 (P.C.C., 35 Porch).
ALL SOULS.—Lum. Omnium animarum xx^{d}.—John Twymer, 1453 (i. 147).*

CHELSFIELD. *Dedication.* ST. MARTIN.—Henry Dawnce, 1468 (iii. 8).
To be buried w^{t} in the church of Saynt Marten of Chellisfeld by the north side of the higth aulter.—Alice Bray, 1509 (vi. 268).
Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Henry Dawnce, 1468 (iii. 8).
Lego picture ymaginis b^{te} Marie in cancello vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Ric. Aschlegth, 1493 (v. 204).
Taper before the ymage of ouer ladie in the north parte of the churche.—Alice Braye, 1509 (vi. 268).
OUR LADY OF PITY.—I bequeth a cow to fynd a taper byfore our Lady of pyttey.—Wm. Cokke, 1472 (iv. 25).
To ye payntyng of our lady of Pite xij^{d}.—Thos. Jetour, 1472 (iii. 159).
ST. JOHN.—To ye light of Seynt John viij^{d}.—Thos. Jetour, 1472 (iii. 159).
[The little Aisle on the south side of the nave is locally known as St John's Chapel.]
ST. JAMES.—Lego duas columpnas coram ymagine S^{ti} Jacobi.—Ric. Aschlegth, 1493 (v. 204). Also Alice Bray, 1509 (vi. 268).
HOLY TRINITY.—Vij^{s} to fynde a taper to bren before the trinite in ye church for euermore.—Alen Clogate, 1508 (vi. 213). Also Jn. Beviriche, yeoman, 1513 (P.C.C., 24 Fetiplace).
ST. MARTIN.—Taper before the ymage of Saynt Martin.—Alice Bray, 1509 (vi. 268).
ROOD.—To be buried in the bodie of the churche of Chellisfelde before the crucifix.—Master Richd. Bounter, parson, 1493 (P.C.C., 40 Horne).
SEPULCHRE.—Itm. I wille that Willm Whythed the yenger shall fynde a taper brennyng by fore the sepulker at Ester of iij^{li} wex duryng hys lyue.—Wm. Whythed, 1468 (iii. 18). A taper iij^{li} wax to bren before the sepulture of ouer lorde w^{t} in the said church at the tyme of Easter that is to saye from goode fridaye to thursdaye in the Ester weke to be brennyng at tymes conuenyant according as other ligthes be wonte and used to be kept there about the sepulture.—Alice Bray, 1509 (vi. 268).

CHISLEHURST. *Dedication.* ST. NICHOLAS.—To be buried in the churche yarde of Saynt Nicolas.—Richard Wybarn, 1525 (viii. 28). Agnes Mogier, 1518 (vii. 243).
Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—John Welles, 1494 (v. 235). Lumen sancti Marie in medio ecclesie vj^{d}. Lumen sancte Marie in cornu altaris vj^{d}.—John Cheseman, 1515 (vii. 48).
ST. NICHOLAS.—To seynt Nicolas lighth xij^{d}.—John a Dene, 1494 (v. 233). Also Richd. Cressell, gent., 1508 (P.C.C., 12 Bennett).
ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—I will that the valo^{r} of xij^{d} in wex schall burne before the Image of Mary Magdalene as long as it will indure.—Agnes Mogier, 1518 (vii. 243). To be buried in the church of Saynt Nicholas in the Ile before Mary Magdalen.—Jn. Bassett, 1526 (viii. 108).
ST. JAMES.—John Shott, 1504 (vi. 97).
ST. KATHERINE.—To the Image of Seynt Kat'yn to bren att dyuyne s'uyce a taper of wax p'ce iij^{d}.—Wm. Gavell, 1497 (v. 287). To the aulter of Saint Kateryn viij^{d}.—John Swetesyre, 1507 (vi. 236).
ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—To the lygth of Seynt Baptist (*sic*) ij^{d}.—Wm. Grene, 1490 (vi. 137). Also Richd. Cressell, gent., 1508 (P.C.C., 12 Bennett).

* John Monde, in 1535, leaves tapers to iiij saints in the p. ch. of Chatham—St. James, St. John, St. Nicholas, and St. Margaret—and desires his wife to pave St. James' chapel (ix. 186).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—John Cheseman, 1515 (vii. 48). Wm. Grene, 1490 (vi. 137).

ST. ANTHONY.—John Hasillwod, 1508 (vi. 210).

ROOD.—Lego le braunche pendenti coram crucifixo xij^{d}.—John Cheseman, 1515 (vii. 48).

HERSE.—To the heerse ligth there xx^{d}.—John Shott, 1504 (vi. 97).

BASON.—To ye bason ligth j shepe.—John Bassett, 1526 (viii. 108). Wm. Moyger, 1506 (vi. 192). Thos. Elys, 1528 (viii. 162).

PASCHAL.—Item lego sustent. lum. pascalis vnum croftum vocatum le Redens post decessu Johanne uxoris mee. Thos Brokeman, 1485 (vi. 153).

TORCH LIGHT.—Lego vnam torcham cerei ad ardend. coram eukaristia ibidem vj^{s} viij^{d}.—John Elys, 1470 (iii, 78).

CLIFFE. *Dedication.* ST. HELEN.—To the parish church of Sainte Ellyn in Cliffe for to bye surplices for the quier there 20^{s} sterling.—Edward Lyndall, citizen and goldsmith, 1534 (P.C.C., 22 Hogen).

To the high awter of Saint Elyn of Clyffe xx^{d}. Stevyn Tudor, 1509 (P.C.C , 15 Bennett).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—To the parish church of Cleue and to the ligth of o^{r} lady besyde the pulpett there xx^{d}.—Robt. Qwikerell, 1483 (v. 35).

Lum. b^{te} Marie in capella xij^{d}, et lum. b^{te} Marie apud pulpittum iv^{d}.—Richd. Elys, 1469 (P.C.C., 27 Godyn).

ST. HELEN.—To the light of Saint Elyn xij^{d}.—Steven Tudor, 1509 (P.C.C., 15 Bennett).

ST. LAWRENCE.—Ligth of Seynt larance xx^{d}.—Robt. Qwikerell, 1483 (v. 35). Also Stevyn Tudor, 1509 (P.C.C., 15 Bennett).

ST. GEORGE.—Ligth of Seynt George xx^{d}.—Robert Qwikerell, 1483 (v. 35), and Richd. Elys, 1469 (P.C.C., 27 Godyn).

ST. CHRISTOPHER, ST. JOHN, ST. JAMES.—Richard Elys, 1469 (P.C.C., 27 Godyn).

ROOD, &c.—Ymagines crucifixi ac b^{e} Marie semper virg. et S^{ct} Johannis Evangeliste supra solarium.—Nich. de Ryssheton, rector, 1413 (P.C.C., 26 Marche).

COBHAM. *Dedication.* ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—To be buried in the churchyard of the Blessed Mary Magdalen of Cobham.—John Sprever, barbitonsor et Medicus, 1448 (i. 61).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Lum. b^{e} Marie Virginis tres vaccas p^{ce} xl^{s}.—Ralph de Cobham, 1402 (P.C.C., 3 March).

Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in capella b^{te} Marie in ecclesia Colleg. de Cobham.—Jn. Claveryng, 1408 (P.C.C., 18 March).

To the light in the chapel of the B.M.V. in parte boriali xij^{d}.—John Sprever, 1448 (i. 61).

To the light of the B. Mary in capella xij^{d}.—John Jermen, 1493 (v. 213).

Towarde bying of a boke of our lady mass in o^{r} lady chapell in Cobham vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Wm. Hunt, 1527 (viii. 126).

ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—Ralph de Cobham, 1402 (P.C.C., 3 March).

To Mary Magdalen ligth at the high aulter xij^{d}.—Richd. Sprever, 1516 (vii. 75).

Lego lum. b^{te} Marie Magdalene ardent. circa Sacramentum in ecclesia vj^{d}.—Ric. Gerdeler, 1500 (v. 388).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Ralph de Cobham, 1402 (P.C.C., 3 March). John Marschall, 1525 (viii. 14).

ST. MICHAEL; ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Robt. Holt, 1503 (vi. 75).

ST. GEORGE.—My executors to sell my beste gown of tawney and my harness that is to for to saye my brigonders, salet, gorget, splents and my crosbowe and w^{t} the money to by a ymage of Saynt George to be set in the churche of Cobham.—Petyr Horney, 1512 (vi. 344). Also John Marschall, 1525 (viii. 14).

ST. KATHERINE.—Richard Sprever, 1516 (vii. 75).

HOLY TRINITY.—Lego torcham ad altare trinitatis.—Jn. Sprever, barbitonsor, 1448 (i. 61).

LIGHT DE PLOTTE; LIGHT OF SOLESTREET.—Lego lum. b^{e} Marie de Solestrete i bz. ordei.—Walter Marchall, 1453 (i. 135). Lego lum. de Solystrete viij^{d} et Lum. de Plotte vj^{d}. Jn. Sprever, 1448 (i. 61).

Lego ad sust. luminis de Plotte vj^{d}.—John Pette, made in the house of Peter Levey at Plotte, in the parish of Cobham, 1447 (i. 42).

ROOD.—To the crucifix light.—Richd. Stace, 1491 (v. 174).
To the hygth lygth ij^{d}.—Thos. Stace, 1493 (v. 217).
BROTHERHOOD.—Lego fraternitati luminis torticarum ibidem ij bz. ordei.—Walter Chyppe, 1458 (ii. 115).

COWDEN. *Dedication.* ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—John Style, 1471 (iv. 193). Thos. Wikyng, 1510 (vi. 274).
Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Alan Besche, 1452 (i. 125). Richd. Wigenden, senior, 1510 (vi. 312).
ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—Lego imagini b^{te} Marie Magdalene vj^{s} viij^{d}.—John Saxpes, 1505 (vi. 127). Ric. Wigenden, 1510 (vi. 312).
ST. JOHN BAPTIST; ST. KATHERINE; ST. MARGARET.—Ric. Wigenden, 1510 (vi. 312).
ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—A taper before Saynt Petyr and Powll.—Ric. Wigenden, 1510 (vi. 312).
ST. ANTHONY.—Richd. Wigenden, 1510 (vi. 312).
ST. ERASMUS.—Ric. Wigenden, 1510 (vi. 312). Johan Wekinden, 1524 (vii. 362).
ST. JAMES, ST. NICHOLAS.—Richd. Wigenden, 1510 (vi. 312).
ST. VNCOMBER.*—Richd. Wigenden, 1510 (vi. 312). I bequeith to bie an Image of Saynt Vncomber to stand in Cowden Churche of alebaster iiij^{s}.—Johan Wekinden, 1524 (vii. 362).
HOLY TRINITY.—Johan Wekinden, 1524 (vii. 362).
ROOD.—To the payncting of the rode lofte xl^{s}.—Wm. Turnor, 1511 (P.C.C., 16 Fetiplace).
SEPULCHRE.—A taper of v^{li} wex to bren before the sep^{l}ture vppon Goode Fridaye and in the tyme of Easter.—Ric. Wigenden, 1510 (vi. 312).

COWLING. *Dedication.* ST. JAMES.—John Smyth, 1434 (i. 1); John King, 1473 (iv. 97).
Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—John Smyth, 1434 (i. 1); Wm. Pocok, 1527 (viii. 123).
ST. SAVIOUR (Our Lord).—Lego noue fabrice S^{ci} Saluator^{s} in dicta ecclesia d^{i} quart. brasii.—Thos. Stephynson, 1503 (vi. 69).
ST. JAMES.—Lego branchie S^{ti} Jacobi iiij^{d}.—John Smyth, 1434 (i. 1); Ric. Browne, 1530 (viii. 261).
ST. KATHERINE.—Wm. Kyng, 1473 (iv. 98); Johan Swynesto, 1500 (v. 366).
ST. PETER.—John Bradmede, 1487 (v. 103).
ST. CHRISTOPHER.—John Bradmede, 1487 (v. 103); Mathewe Benison, 1518 (vii. 141).
ST. ANNE.—Jn. Stace, 1498 (v. 343); Thos. Stephynson, 1503 (vi. 69).
ST. ERASMUS.—Jn. Stace, 1498 (v. 343).
ST. JOHN.—To the light of Seynt John.—John Kyll, 1503 (vi 82).
ST. THOMAS.—To the ligth of Seynt Thomas vij shepe.—Anne Hix, 1504 (vi. 169).
ROOD.—John Smyth, 1434 (i. 1).
To the sust. of the lampe befor the Roode in the myddle Aley iiij moder shepe.—Wm. Pocok, 1527 (viii. 123).
SACRAMENT.—j^{li} of wax to bren a fore the sacrament ther.—John Kyll, 1503 (vi. 82).

CRAY, FOOTS. *Dedication.* ALLHALLOWS.—To be buried in ye churchyarde of hallhalows of Fotiscraye.—John Setecop, c. 1494 (v. 240).
Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Peter Swetesyre, 1498 (v. 309).
ALL SAINTS.—To the image of all saints in Fotiscray church ij pound of wax.—Sir Hugth Tailor, 1535 (ix. 19).
ST. KATHERINE.—To making an image of Seynt Katerine at Fotiscray vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Sir Hugth Tailor, 1535 (ix. 197).

CRAY, NORTH. *Dedication.* ST. JAMES.—John Wilet, 1450 (i. 78).
To be buried w^{t} in the churchyard of Saynt Jamys thappostyll at Northcraye.—John Hall, 1518 (vii. 161).
Lights, &c.—OUR LADY.—Katherine wife of Stephen at Halle, 1471 (iii. 121).
SEPULCHRE.—I will that Petir Strodyll of North Craye shall kepe yerely two tapers of fyue pounds wax burnyng before the sepulcre w^{t} in the said church foreuermore for which he hath a certayn parcell of lond of me called Williams londe in the parishe of Northcray.—William Swetesyre, 1527 (P.C.C., 23 Porch).

* Robert Banks, of Lamberhurst, left x^{s} in 1536 "to the ligth of Saynt Vncombre in Wadehurst Churche, Sussex" (ix. 229).

CRAY, PAUL'S.—*Dedication.* ST. PAULINUS.—John Ferby, 1454 (ii. 26).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—To be buried in oure lady chapell betwixt the high aulter and where my grandfader lyeth in the parish church of Pauliscray.—Andrew Ferreby, gent., 1505 (P.C.C., 31 Adeane).

Sep. ex parte boriali capelle S^ce^ Katerine virginis coram ymagine beate Marie dei genitricis.—Thomas Feerby, 1465 (P.C.C., 8 Godyn).

ST. KATHERINE; ST. EDMUND.—Sep. in ecclesia S^ti^ Paulini in australi parte capelle S^ce^ Kat. ibidem. Item ad altare S^ce^ Katerine et ad altare S^ci^ Edmundi xx^s^.—John Ferby, 1454 (ii. 26). To be buried in the chapell of Sainte Catheryn in the church of Paulscraye.—Thos. Ferryby, gent., 1547 (xi. 21).

CUDHAM. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Wm. Janyn, 1464 (ii. 305); Elizabeth Jenyns, 1531 (ix. 1). Sir Arnold Baxter vicar of Cudham in his will d. 1525 says "to be buried in the chancell of Seynt Peters church of Codam" (viii. 15).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—I bequeith to make clene the table of ou^r^ lady xl^d^ and a kow bullok to fynde a taper a fore ou^r^ lady in the chaunsell.—John Rowghede, 1523 (vii. 296). An honest prist to synge att o^r^ lady autir.—Walter Walis, 1503 (vi. 75).

* ST. KATHERINE.—Lego capelle S^ce^ Katerine xl^d^.—Wm. Janyn, 1464 (ii. 305). Lego capelle S^ce^ Katerine pro pavimento totaliter de meis expens^s^.—Henry Rumney, 1472 (iv. 18).

ST. LAWRENCE.—Ad reparacionem capelle S^ti^ Lawrencii viij^d^.—Geoffry Bedylle, 1480 (iii. 274).

ST. MARGARET.—Elianora Farrant, 1518 (vii. 130).

ROOD.—Lego nouo solario coram crucifixo in ecclesia de Codeham xv^d^.—Thos. Hobard, 1468 (iii. 15).

CUXTON. *Dedication.* ST. MICHAEL.—Jn. Absolon, 1453 (ii. 118); Geffrey Absolon, 1483 (v. 19).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Sep. in capella beate Marie Virginis infra ecclesiam de Coklestone.—Geffry Absolon, 1505 (vi. 315).

ST. MICHAEL.—Geffrey Absolon, 1483 (v. 19); Mathewe Bogarste, 1520 (vii. 198).

To be buried in the chancel of St. Michael in Cokelestone church, 1472 (Ed. Palter, rector, iv. 36).

ST. PETER.—To be buried in the churche of Cokston before ye ymage of Sainte Petur.—Jn. Absolon, 1524 (vii. 344).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—To Saint Johns light ij bushell of barley.—Jn. Absolon, 1524 (vii. 344).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—John Absolon, 1453 (ii. 118).

ROOD.—To the bying of vj bolls of laton for the rode v^s^.—Thos. Chamber, 1529 (viii. 236). And to the reparacion of the Roode aulter v^s^.

To the payntyng of the Rode beem ther liij^s^ iiij^d^.—Elizabet Smythes, 1503 (vi. 68).

HERSE.—To the herse ligth of the church of Cokiston j^li^ of wax.—Wm. Wadman, of Halling, 1515 (vii. 43).

SEPULCHRE.—To the giltyng of the Sepulchre which I wold be payntyd & giltyd before the feaste of Eastre xx^s^.—Jn. Absolon, 1538 (ix. 268).

DARTFORD. *Dedication.* HOLY TRINITY.—Alice Selkynden, 1447 (i. 54); Wm. Stokmede 1474 (iv. 90).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Lego vestimentum altari b^e^ Marie in ecclesia Paroch. de Dertford.—Wm. Hasell, 1425 (P.C.C., 3 Luffenam). Sep. in capella B.V.M. coram ymagine ejusdem ad finem altaris infra ecclesiam S^ce^ Trinitatis de Dertford.—Jn. Blore, 1445 (i. 60). Lego lum. b^e^ Marie iuxta summum altare iij^s^ iiij^d^.—Jn. Gulby, 1454 (ii. 20). O^r^ lady ligth in the chawncell vj^d^.—Alis Marten, 1504 (vi. 127). To be buried in the chapell of ouer lady at Dertford.—Thos. Stokton, gent., 1528 (viii. 168). To yow^r^ lady light vnder the Roode xij^d^.—Hugh Serle, 1523 (vii. 313).

There was a chantry known as the Stanpet chantry founded in Our Lady's Chapel on the north side of Dartford Church (see *Reg. Roff.*, p. 309).

HOLY TRINITY.—To the trinitye ligth in Dertforde xx^d^.—Thos. Barnarde. 1492 (vi. 154); Alise Marten, 1504 (vi. 127).

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* This capella may be the church of Knockholt.

ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.—Sep. ante altare beati Thome Martiris in ecclesia parochiali Dertford.—Jn. Okeherst, 1440 (i. 2). Ad lum. S^ti Thome Martiris viij^d.—Thomas Munter, 1498 (v. 309). To the aut^r of Seynt Thomas a tuell of diaper.—Johan Harte, 1504 (vi. 99). To Seynt Thomas autir my gret chest w^t Iron barres to sett before the autir.—Alice Marten, 1504 (vi. 127). To be buried before Saynt Thomas aulter in the parish church of Dertforde.—Peter Cotyar, 1527 (viii. 132).

ST. ANTHONY.—Sep. coram ymagine S^ci Antonii.—Wm. Stokmede, 1474 (iv. 90).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—To be buried a fore ye ymage of o^r lady of Pytie.—Thos. Barnarde, 1492 (vi. 154). To be buried bifar the Image of ou^r ladie of Piety.—Wm. Parker, 1534 (ix. 135).

ST. ANNE.—To be buried befor Saint Anne in the Mawdlyn chapell.—Wm. Jhones, 1516 (P.C.C., 18 Holder).

ST. BARBARA.—The altar of St. Barbara mentioned by Elsabeth Hamond, 1532 (ix. 60).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Thos. Barnarde, 1492 (vi. 154).

ST. LOYE.—To the ligth of Seynt loye viij^d.—Thos. Barnarde, 1492 (vi. 154).

ST. KATHERINE.—Andrew Auditor, 1528 (viii. 191). Sep. in capella b^e Katerine de Dertforde.—Wm. Skogan, 1521 (vii. 215).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST, ST. PETER, ST. JAMES.—To lights of Seyntt John Baptist, Seynt Petir and Seyntt Jamys yn the same church xij^d.—Hugh Serle, 1523 (vii. 313).

ST. CLEMENT.—The Lampe afore Sainte Clement to be kept for oon yere.—Wm. Lownde, 1530 (P.C.C., 26 Jankyn).

ST. SITHE.—To be buried in the church of Dertford before the Image of Saynt Sithe ther and they that have my tenements in Vpp Strete to fynde before the image of Saynt Sithe a taper of j^ll of wex the space of xx^ti yeris.—Henry Curle, 1527 (viii. 88).

ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—To be buried in Mary Magdalen chapell in the church of Dartforde.—Robert Hakst alias Hawes, servant and baker to the prioress and covent of the monastery of Dartforde, 1530 (viii. 238) (see St. Anne).

ROOD.—I bequeth for the canstik before the Roode assmoche as will performe the hole sute.—Wm. Parker, 1534 (ix. 135).

ROOD ON SOUTH SIDE OF THE CHURCH.—To be bereid in the church of ye holy trynyte in Dertforde besy the crosse in ye south syde of the seyde church.—Richard Pynden, 1489 (vi. 146).

SEPULCHRE.—My feoffy Robert Derby to cause a taper of iiij^ll wax standing in the church of Dertford before the sepulcr at Easter everi yere.—John Morley, 1533 (ix. 110).

William Lownde of Dartford in his will d. 1530 desired "that the lamp afore Sainte Clement and fyve tapers at the high awters end and the sepulcre tapre and a square taper before the Rode be kept and maynteyned by myn executors for oon yere" (P C.C., 26 Jankyn).

Brotherhoods. HOLY TRINITY.—Lego fraternitati S^co Trinitatis de Dertford ij^s.—John Marshall, vicar of Wilmyngton, 1456 (ii. 63).

To the Broderheth of the holy Trinite in the same church iiij^d.—Johan Harte, 1504 (vi. 99).

To the broderhoth of the trinite ther iiij^d.—Wm. Gardyner, 1504 (vi. 108).

ST. BARBARA.—To the Broderheth of Seynt Barbara ther iiij^d.—Johan Harte, 1504 (vi. 99).

ALL SAINTS.—Ad sust. Gilde Omnium Sanctorum in Dertford.—John Okeherst, 1440 (i. 2).

Lego fraternitati Omnium Sanctorum in eadem ecclesia iij^s iij^d.—Agnes Lynsey, 1464 (6 Godyn). This guild together with that of the Blessed Virgin (not mentioned in wills) supplied Pilgrims to Canterbury with Signs of St. Thomas.

DARTFORD. CHAPEL OF ST. EDMUND (See *Reg. Roff.*, p. 314 and *Cust. Roff.*, p. 104).

Sepeliend. ad ostium capelle nouiter fundate in cimiterio S^ci Edmundi super le Charnell.—Thos. Worship capellanus de Derteford, 1456 (ii. 46). To the reparacion of the chapell of St. Edmund King and Martyr.—Roger Rotheley, 1467 (iii. 9). Also I bequeth to the reparacion of the glasse wyndowe at Senct Edmunds auter ij^s.—Jn. Freeman, 1473 (iv. 127). To be buryed in the chirchyarde of Seynt Edmund the Kyng in Dertford. To the reparacion of the glasse wyndow of Seynt Thom', Edmunds chapell iij^s iiij^d.—Thos. Revet, 1474 (iv. 155)

To be buried w[t] in the chapell of Seyntt Edmonds before hys image there. To mayntenance of a taper to born be fore Seyntt Edmond yn the chapell aforeseyd xij[d] be yere duryng thyrty yers to bren euery day when any masse ther schall fortune to be seyd.—Hugh Serle, 1523 (vii. 313). To the reparacion of Saynt Edmonds chapell vj[s] viij[d].—Wm. Parker, 1534 (ix. 135).

CHAPEL OF ST. JOHN AT WESTON CROSS.—Lego ad reparacionem capelle S[ti] Johis Baptiste existentis in eadem parochia apud Weston Crosse vj[s] viij[d].—John Totenham, 1474 (iv. 187).

DARTFORD MONASTERY. *Dedication.*—Sep. in cimiterio beate Marie et beate Margarete virginis de Bellomonte in Dertford.—Agnes, wife of Richd. Fagge, 1458 (ii. 127).

To be buried in the church of Seint Margarete w[t] in the monastery of Dertford wher I haue made and ordeyned my tombe. Wm. Milett, 1500 (P.C.C., 18 Moone).

Lights &c. OUR LADY; ST. ERASMUS; THE ROOD.—To be buried in the South Ile of the church of the monastery of Dartford behynde William Englisshe yf it so please my lady prioresse and hir susters, and if not some other place in the churchyarde or Cloyster of the same monastery. To the Rode light in the same monastery to fynde a Taper to bren before the Rode at Jesus masse euery Fryday. To the mayntenance of our Lady light which the seruaunts kepe iij[s] iiij[d].—To the mayntenaunce of a Taper to brenne before Saint Erasmus euery Sonday a masse while as long as the money will endure iij[s] iiij[d].—William Sprever, 1525 (P.C.C., 35 Bodfelde).

To be buried in the chapell of our lady within the monastery of Dartford and a tombe to be made for me in the chapell of o[r] lady price xiij[li] vj[s] viij[d].—Katherine somtyme wife to Sir Maurice Berkeley knyght and lord Berkeley, 1526 (P.C.C., 10 Porch).

Lego ad lum' beate Marie monasterii predicti unam vaccam.—Wm. Parys of Dartford, 1456 (ii. 52).

DENTON. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—To be buryed in the cherch yerde of o[r] lady of Denton —Richd. Veysy, 1483 (v. 41).

Lights. ROOD.—I bequeth in oyle to be brent afore the Rode xij[d].—John Bolt, 1499 (v. 358). [This church is now in ruins.]

DEPTFORD. *Dedication.* ST. NICHOLAS.—To be buried w[t] in the parish church of Depforde called Seynt Nycholas.—John Tydder, 1518, (vii. 136).

Lights &c. OUR LADY.—O[r] ladys altar mentioned by Ric. Fuller, 1539 (ix. 297).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—To the rep. of the aulter of our lady of Pytie xx[d].—John Tydder, 1518 (vii. 136).

ST. NICHOLAS.—To be buried in mi chansell affore Sint Nicholas my patrone and to the payntyng of Santt Nicolas my patrone of Depford xl[s].—Sir Ric. Potter, vicar, 1517 (vii. 102).

HOLY TRINITY.—To be buried by the fundation of the olde walle in the par. church of Saint Nicholas before the holy trinite.—John Belcham *alias* Haster, shipwright, 1494 (P.C.C., 31 Vox). To be bereyed in the church afore the trynyte autur—I bequeth v tapys of wax eueri taper a li. and a lampe to bren ouer my Fader and me before the trinyte autur.—Wm. Poode, 1499 (v. 319). To the rep. of the Trynyte aulter xx[d].—John Tydder, 1518 (vii. 136). Also Ric Fuller, 1539 (ix. 297).

ST. SITHE.—To the ligth of Seynt Cythe.—John Haylok, 1504 (vi. 108).

ST. ANTHONY.—John Haylok, 1504 (vi. 108).

ST. KATHERINE.—To be buried in the p. ch. of St. Nicolas in the Trinite chapell bifore the ymage of Seint Catheryn.—Wm. Waughan, gent., 1506 (P.C.C., 12 Adeane).

ST. CLEMENT.—John Haylok, 1504 (vi. 108). St. Clement's altar mentioned by Ric. Fuller, 1539 (ix. 297).

ST. CLERE.—To the rep. of the aulter of Seynt Clere in the same church of Depforde xx[d].—John Tydder, 1518 (vii. 136). The altar of St. Clare mentioned by Ric. Fuller, 1539 (ix. 297).

SEPULCHRE AND ROOD.—Mentioned by Jn. Baines in 1471, and by others.

DITTON. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AD VINCULA.—Sep. in cimiterio Sancti Petri q^a dicta aduincula de Ditton.—Thos. Godfrey, 1456 (ii. 143).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Thos. Godfrey, 1456 (ii. 143); Agnes Warner, 1497 (v. 301).

ST. JAMES.—Thos Godfrey, 1456 (ii. 143).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—Elyanor Aldressh, 1513 (vii. 3).

ROOD.—Agnes Warner, 1497 (v. 301).

EDENBRIDGE. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Wm. Bele, 1447 (i. 50). Thos. Spachehurst, 1524 (vii. 321).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Wm. Bele, 1447 (i. 50). Thos. Medehurst, 1499 (v. 353)

Lego vnam libram cerei ad sustentacionem luminis in capella beate Marie ecclesie predicte.—William Cryps, 1468 (iii. 22). (There was a chantry in the chapel of the B.V.M. at Edenbridge. Reg. H. de Hethe, fol. 196a.)

HOLY TRINITY.—Thos. Medehurst, 1449 (v. 353).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Sep. in capella Sancti Johannis Baptiste in ecclesia de Etonbrigge.—Richard Martvn, 1499 (P.C.C., 38 Horne).

ROOD.—Sep. in ecclesia Apostolorum Petri et Pauli coram crucifixo.

SEPULCHRE.—A taper before the sepulcre v^li wex.—Barnard Creke, 1513 (vii. 2).

ELTHAM. *Dedication.* ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—To be buried in the chauncell of the parish Church of Saynt John Baptest in Eltham.—Henry Skylman, 1526 (viii. 60).

To be buried in the church of Saynt John Baptist of Eltham where as I am now Vicar in the chawnsell at the pwe or sets eande.—Sir Philip Carrok, 1527 (viii. 124).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—To oure lady in the chawncell a tapper of a li. wex.—Henry Skylman, 1526 (viii. 60).

Our lady ligth in the churche xij^d.—Sir Philip Carrok, vicar, 1527 (viii. 124).

Lum. b^te Marie extra cancellum iij^d.—Richard Homan, 1503 (vi. 77).

O^r lady in the south part of the Quire.—Jn. Frances, 1477.

To be buried in the chapell of our lady in Elteham churche and I will that my twoo vestments oon of chamlet and another of white satten powdred with flowres an aulter cloth of white satten powdred w^t flowres a copper crosse gilt w^t the baner or cross cloth belonging to the same with the crosse staffe twoo surples twoo masse bokes a chales of siluer w^t twoo corporas and the cases twoo latten candlesticks and twoo cruetts of Peawter there remayn in the same chapell to the honor of our blissed lady for euer.—John Brown, gent, 1533 (P.C.C., 25 Hogen.)

OUR LADY OF PITY.—To the aulter of o^r lady of Pete.—Roger Ewgham, 1529 (viii. 223).

To be buried in the churche of Saynt Joone Bapte in Eltham afore our lady of Pyte and to the light of our lady of Pitee xx^d.—Rich. Pemberton, 1494 (v. 232).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—The Image of Saint John Baptist in the north part of the Quire.—Jn. Frances, 1477. Sir Philip Carrock, vicar, 1527 (viii. 124).

ST. KATHERINE.—Ric. Skull, 1474 (iv. 161).

To the aulter of Seynte Katerine iiij^d.—Roger Ewgham, 1529 (viii. 223).

ST. SITHE.—To the light of Saynt Sithe.—Ric. Skull, 1474 (vi. 161). John Downer, 1516 (vii. 73).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Wm. Byrde, 1493 (v. 223). To the aulter of Seynt Nycholas iiij^d.—Roger Ewgham, 1529 (viii. 223).

ST. JAMES.—John a Dene, 1484 (vi. 22).

ST. ANTHONY.—Wm. Byrde, 1493 (v. 223). Thos. Birde, 1503 (vi. 167).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—A taper to bren in service tyme before Saynt Xpofer ymage.—Raff Wotton, 1519 (vii. 173).

ROOD.—To the Roode light xij^d. Sir Philip Carrok, vicar, 1527 (viii. 124).

Lego sust. luminis magne trabis coram crucifixo viij^d.—John a Dene, 1484 (vi. 22).

ERITH. *Dedication.* ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—To be buried w^t in ye churche porche of Saynt John Baptyse of Erythe.—Sir Robt. Wodlace, 1524 (vii. 336).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—A taper of ij^li wex before our lady.—Sir Robt. Wodlace, 1524 (vii. 336). Also xl^s to the church of Eryth towards a vestement for our lady of whyte.

To be buried in the church of Erhigth in o^r lady chapell. Raff. Clarke, 1496 (vi. 362).

To be buried in the chaunsell of o^r lady.—David Mellar, 1536 (ix. 227). (Our lady's chancel was that on the south side.)

ALLHALLOWS.—Jn. Sampson, 1442 (i. 11). John Peryman, 1502 (vi. 63).

ST. NICHOLAS.—St. Nicholas altar was in the north chancel, destroyed later.—Mentioned by Jn. Trell, 1476.

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—To a tabernacle for the image of Saynt John Baptist xij^d.—Agnes Hayton, somtyme wif of Wm. Sampson, 1523 (vii. 278).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—To be buried in the churchyard of Saint John Baptist of Erehithe vnder o^r lady of Pitie there in or nygh the place where as the body of Sir Richd. Abell priest my brother lieth buried and a chapell to be made in the place.—Wm. Abell, 1525 (P.C.C., 5 Porch).

ST. CHRISTOPHER; ROOD.—iij^s iiij^d to bye toow tabres one to berne afore the roode and the other before Saynte Cristopher ymages.—Agnes Balard, 1538 (ix. 261).

Brotherhoods. OUR LADY.—To the fraternite of o^r lady xij^d.—Raff. Clarke, 1499 (v. 302).

ALLHALLOWS.—To the fraternite of al halowys in the seyde church xij^d.—Raff. Clarke, 1499 (v 302).

ERITH, LESNES ABBEY. *Dedication.* OUR LADY AND SAINT THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.—See *Reg. Roff.*, p. 319. In the will of Thomas Lamendby alias Sparrowe, of Bexley, *d.* 1513, is the following:—I give to god and to the church of o^r blessid lady and Sainct Thomas the martir of Lesones a tenement newly bilt called the newe Tilehouse in the parish of Bexley (P.C.C., 24 Fetiplace).

The following is the only reference to the abbey in the wills of the Rochester Court:—

SALUTATION CHAPEL.—To be buryd in the churche of leson abbey before the salutacion chapell.—John Clarke, 1519 (vii. 174).

FARLEY, WEST. *Dedication.* ALLHALLOWS.—John att Nasshe, 1474 (iv. 164).

To be buried in the churchyard of all halows of Farlegh.—Thos. Bruer, 1525 (viii. 35).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Jn. Coveney, 1448 (i. 97).

Vnum quartum frumenti ad continuandum quoddam lumen vocatum le Branche coram imagine b^te Marie Virginis.—Richd. Cross, vicar, 1492 (P.C.C., 5 Dogett).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Thos. Reve, 1522 (viii. 134).

ST. JAMES.—John att Nasshe, 1474 (iv. 164). Thos. Reve, 1522 (viii. 134).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Thos. Reve, 1522 (viii. 134).

ST. KATHERINE.—Thos. Reve, 1522 (viii. 134).

ST. MARGARET.—Thos. Reve, 1522 (viii. 134).

HOLY TRINITY.—Sep. coram imagine Sancte Trinitatis ex parte australi altaris summi.—Richard Crosse, vicar, 1492 (P.C.C., 5 Dogett).

ROOD.—Jn. Coveney, 1448 (i. 97). John Sherewynde, 1456 (ii. 46).

FARNBOROUGH. *Dedication.* ST. GILES.—To be buried in the churchyarde of Saynt Giles of Farneborow.—Wm. Gotarde, 1512 (vi. 323).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Thomas Bankyn of Grenestrete in Farynborow, 1500 (v. 381).

ST. GILES.—To the beying of a curten to be drawen before Saynt Giles xx^d.—Wm. Gotarde, 1512 (vi. 323).

I bequeth to helpe make a tabernacle afore Seynt Gyles in Farnborough x^s.—Jn. Mapelsden, 1505 (P.C.C., 36 Holgrave).

FAWKHAM. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—To be buried in the churchyard of the Blessed Mary of Fawkham before the porch—Thos. Peny, 1444 (i. 31).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—To our lady in Faukham Churche a taper of xvj^d.—John Brete, 1533 (ix. 111). Lum. b^te Marie in cancello.—Johanna Ketill, 1497 (v. 299).

(There was a chantry founded at o^r lady's altar by Sir Wm. de Faukeham, 1274.—Vide Reg. Hamo de Hethe, fol. 21^b, and *Reg. Roff.* p. 354.)

[A window on the south side of the church has painted glass with the B.V.M. of about the same date.]

ST. KATHERINE.—Wm. Ketyll, 1471 (iii. 83).

Lego ad unam yeuale in honore b^te Katerine virg. j. bz frumenti.—John Watts, 1489 (v. 126).

The maytening of a perpetuale ligth before the ymage of Saynt Kateren in the churche a moder schepe and a lambe.—John Sherman, 1502 (vii. 28).

(Mention is made of a chantry of St. Katherine in Faukham in Reg. J. Bottlesham, fol. 192[b].)

ROOD.—John Watts, 1489 (v. 126). Johanna Ketill 1497 (v. 299).

FRINDSBURY.* *Dedication.* ALLHALLOWS.—Wm. Streteend, 1442 (i. 4). Roger Lorkyn, 1441 (i. 5).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Lampas coram Imagine b[e] Marie in cancello.—Jn. Godard, 1446 (i. 40). To ouer lady of Frensbury xl[s] to amende the ledes ouer hur.—Thos. Boydon, 1527 (viii. 142).

To be buried in the church of Frendisbury before the chapell of our lady.—John Langley, 1507 (P.C.C., 33 Adeane).

To be buried in church of All halloys in the allye before our lady qweere nye vnto the fontte.—John Cokk, 1534 (ix. 157).

HOLY TRINITY.—Wm. Streteend, 1442 (i. 4).

ST. JOHN.—Wm. Stretend, 1442 (i. 4). Jefrey May, 1502 (vi. 67).

ST. KATHERINE.—Wm. Stretend, 1442 (i. 4). Robt. Harte, 1528 (viii. 166).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Wm. Streteend, 1442 (i. 4). Henry Golde, 1446 (i. 40).

ALLHALLOWS.—Ad tabernaculum Omnium Sanctorum depyngendum xij[d].—Nich. Mund, 1450. (i. 84).

To al halowyn ligth iiij[d].—Jefrey May, 1502 (vi. 67).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Wm. Streteend, 1442 (i. 4). Richd. Mansfeld, 1528 (viii. 218).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Wm. Marshall, 1457 (ii. 102). Jn. Chamber, 1501 (vi. 35).

ST. GEORGE.—John Lambarde, 1523 (vii. 293).

[ST. MARGARET.—Alice Langley, 1526 (viii. 75), but this may be at Halstow.]

ROOD.—To the making of the Rode loft, a quarter of barley.—Henry Lorkyn, 1471 (iv. 1). Lego facture noue trabis vj[s] viij[d].—Johanna Veddy, 1474 (iv. 143).

HERSE.—To the herse light iiij[d].—Robt. Harte, 1528 (viii. 166).

SEPULCHRE.—Ad lum. S[ci] Sepulcri vj[d].—Roger Lorkyn, 1441 (i. 5).

To the sepulcre ligth of Frendesbury a cow for a taper of iiij[li] wex before the sepulcre the ester tyme.—Alice Langley, 1526 (viii. 75).

GILLINGHAM.† *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—To be buried in the church of o[r] lady in Gillingham beside Robert Piry my firste husband.—Johan Wattes, of Rochester, 1524 (Roch. vii. 319).

Lights, &c.—OUR LADY.—To our lady light in the chauncell xx[d].—Edmund Bamme, 1505 (32 Holgrave). To be buried in the church of Gyllingham before the ymage of our blessid lady bysyde my seate in the said churche. To our Lady light in the high chauncell vj[s] viij[d].—Robert Pirry, 1513 (P.C.C., 32 Fetiplace).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Edmund Bamme, 1505.

ST. MICHAEL.—To the light afore Seynt Mighell in the chapell of Seynt Nicholas afore saide x[s].—Edmund Bamme, 1505. [He desired to be buried "in the South Chauncell in the church of Gillingham in the south parte of the awter wher wyne and water ys wount to stonde."]

ST. KATHERINE.—Robert Pirry, 1513.

HOLY TRINITY; ST. MARGARET; ST. LOY; ST. JOSEPH OF ARIMATHEA; ST. ANTONY.—To the light of our blessed lady w[t] in the chaunsell ij[s] to euery of the light in the bodie of the church that is to say to euery of the lighte of the holy Trinitie, oure Lady, Saint Katheryne, Saint Margarett, Saint Loy, Saint Joseph off Abarimathie and Saint Antony xii[d].—Wm. Godfray, 1525 (P.C C., 19 Porch).

ROOD.—To the Roode light x quarters of Barley.—Edmund Bamme, 1505.

An honest and discrete preste to say masse at the aulter under the rode lofte nowemade in the saide church.—Wm. Godfray, 1525 (P.C.C., 19 Porch).

GRAIN, ISLE OF.‡ *Dedication.* ST. JAMES.—I Adam London of Seynt James w[t] in the Isle of Greane.—1507 (P.C.C., 24 Adeane).

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* There was a chapel at Aeslingham in this parish, rebuilt between 1137 and 1144, and dedicated in honour of St. Peter. (*Cust. Roff.* p. 116.)

† This Parish was in the Deanery of Shoreham.

‡ This parish was in the Deanery of Shoreham, but has been included here because it completes the record of that corner of Kent and because the above are the only mediæval wills preserved that throw any light on the present enquiry.

To be buried in the churchyerde of Saint Jamys of Greene.—Robert Warde, 1516 (P.C.C., 19 Holder).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY; ST. JAMES; ST. KATHERINE; ST. CHRISTOPHER; ST. PETER; ST. JOHN; ST. NICHOLAS; ROOD.—All mentioned by Adam London who left a "moder sheppe" to each.—1507 (P.C.C., 24 Adeane).

The Cross, St. James and St. Anthony mentioned by Robert Ward, 1516.

HERSE.—A cow that the money therof to renewe in wex as ferr as it will streche and the taper to be set aboute the herse when any corse is buried.—Robert Ward, 1516 (P.C.C., 19 Holder).

GRAVESEND. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—Thos. Heryng, 1442 (i. 7); Robt. Lynche, 1442 (i. 7).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Thos. Heryng, 1442 (i. 7); Alis Flower, 1491 (v. 170).

HOLY TRINITY.—Alis Flower, 1491 (v. 170).

ST. THOMAS.—Alis Flower, 1491 (v. 170).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Alis Flower, 1491 (v. 170).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Alis Flower, 1491 (v. 170).

ST. JAMES.—Alis Flower, 1491 (v. 170).

ALLHALLOWS.—To the light of Alhalown vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Jn. Clarke, 1522 (vii. 256).

ST. BARBARA.—To the light of Seynt Barbara in the parish church of Grauisende oon li. of waxe.—Thos. Coll, 1499 (v. 316).

To the autur of Seynt Barbara in Grauyende a tuell of diaper.—Johan Harte of Dartford, 1504 (vi. 99).

ROOD. To the rode werks of the same church xl^{s}.—Alis Flower, 1491 (v. 170).

SEPULCHRE.—To the lyte a boute the sepulcre att Easter a taper of viij^{li}.—Alis Flower 1491 (v. 170).

Brotherhoods HOLY TRINITY.—Fraternitati S^{ce} Trinitatis iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—Thos. Heryng, 1442 (i. 7).

ST. BARBARA.—To the Fraternyte of Seynt Barbara iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—Thos. Coll, 1499 (v. 316).

To the sustentacon of the brethred of Saynt Barbara x^{s}.—Jn. Clarke, 1522 (vii. 256).

Lego re-edificacioni ecclesie parochialis nuper combuste iij^{s} iij^{d}.—John Affolds, 1508 (vi. 208).

The two churches St. Mary's and St. George's were both existing in 1527 as they are mentioned in the will of Thos. Thebolde (viii. 122), mass to be said certain days at St. George's, and on Sundays, &c., at the Parish Church of Gravesend.

In 1514 Edward Nevyll left to "ouer ladie church of Gravesend a cross w^{t} Mary and John of Cooper and Gilte and a banner of silke thereto w^{t} the image of ouer ladie on that on side and the image of Saynt Edwarde on that other side paying ther for and all valo^{r} of iiij marke" (vii. 29).

Stephen Mikilhalf in 1534 desired "to be buried in the church porche of our lady in Gravisend on the south syde" next his father (ix. 152).

The church was reconsecrated after the fire by Bp. Fisher on 3 April, 1510, *Reg. Roff.* p. 202. It afterwards fell into ruin and the chapel of St. George became the parish church.

GRAVESEND CHAPEL. *Dedication.* ST. GEORGE.—"Saynt Georges chapell in Gravisend" mentioned in will of Robt. Gylmyn, 1495 (v. 257), and in the wills of many other Gravesend people, and finally the other church (St. Mary's) disappears from wills by 1548.

Lights, &c. ST. GEORGE.—To Saynt George in the chapell xij^{d}.—Thos. Hudshon, 1513 (vi. 365). A white canstik to the aulter of Seynt George.—Wm. Wade, brewer, 1528 (viii. 202).

ST. BARBARA.—To Saynt Barbara in the saide chapell xij^{d}.—Thos. Hudshon, 1513 (vi. 365).

To Seynt Barbarys chaunsell in Gravesend chapell a vestement of blewe saten complete a challes off syluer parcell gylte a corporas w^{t} a corporas casse a masure w^{t} a band of siluer.—Nicholas Codde, 1531 (viii. 300).

Brotherhood. ST. BARBARA.—To the brotherhed of Seynt Barbara in the chapell of Gravesend xij^{d}.—John Hayton, 1517 (vii. 110).

To the chapell of Saynt George to the maytening of ye bretherhod vj bush. barley.—Wm. Wade, 1528 (viii. 202).

GREENWICH. *Dedication,* ST. ALPHEGE.—To be buried at Saynt Alphey churche in Grenewiche.—Robt. Dethik, 1526 (viii. 25).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—To be buried by my fader w^{t} in Seynte Mari chapell in ye parish church of Seinte Alfe in Est Grenewych.—Jn. Mayhewe Squier, 1464 (ii. 290). To the mayntenance of the light of o^{r} ladies awter iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—Philip Adean, 1525 (vii. 352). To o^{r} lady light in o^{r} lady chapell viij^{d}.—Alis Fischer, 1496 (v. 365). To be buried in the chapell of oure lady in the church of Saint Alphe. To the making of the Tabernacle of our lady in the same chapell vj^{s} viij^{d}. To the sust^{n} of the light before oure lady there a bawked kowe the whiche I bought at Horsham uppon Sainct Georges day last passed.—Thomas Vstwayte esq., 1496 (7 Horne). To the light of our lady in the chapell viij^{d}.—Jn. Edmonde, 1529 (viii. 210). To be buried on the North side of the quire before the picture of our blessed lady.—Ric. Fowler keeper of the King's Manor, 1540 (ix. 315). To be buried in our ladies Ile on the north syde of the churche.—Wm. Grigge, 1517 (P.C.C., 33 Holder).

ST. ANNE.—To be buried in the church of Seynt Alphe in the chapell of Seynt Anne.—Lawrence Burdon brewer, 1492 (vi. 134). To the light in Seynt Anne chapell viij^{d}.—Alis Fischer, 1496 (v. 365). To be buried w^{t} in the chapell of Saynte Anne in the p. ch. of Saynte Alphie.—Philip Adeane, 1525 (vii. 352). The awter of Sent Anne.—Joone Wyllms, 1516 (vii. 78).

ST. AGNES.—Seynt Agnes autur j^{ll} wax.—Robt. Hardyng, 1500 (v. 377).

To ye chapell of Seint Annes w^{t} in ye p'ich church iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—Edmond Russell vicar, 1486 (P.C.C., 26 Logge).

To mainteying of Saint Agnes lyght iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—Wm. Grigge, 1517 (33 Holder).

HOLY TRINITY.—To be b. in the church in G. in the Ile besyde the trynyte autir.—Thomasyn Sheby, 1506 (vi. 191). Thos. Sorness, 1533 (ix. 191).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Jn. Egleston, 1525 (viii. 18).

ST. THOMAS CANT.—Sep. in capella Sancti Thome martiris infra eccl. S^{ci} Alphegi de Est Grenewich.—John Piers, 1437 (21 Suffenam, P.C.C.).

ST. ALPHEGE.—Lum. beati Alphegi vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Wm. Newerke, 1509 (vi. 262).

To be buried before the image of Seint Alphey in ye quere.—Edmond Russell vicar, 1486 (P.C.C., 26 Logge).

ST. MICHAEL.—To be buried in the paryche chyrche of Sent Alphey affore Sent Myell.—Joone Wylliams, 1516 (vii. 78). Thos. Hogeson, 1511 (vi. 349).

ST. JAMES.—Saynte James awter xx^{d}.—Philip Adean, 1525 (vii. 352).

To Saynt James light iiij^{d}.—John Edmonde, fleecher, 1529 (viii. 210).

ST. GEORGE.—To be buried in the church before the pictor of Saynt George.—Wm. Wynsby, 1520 (vii. 198).

To be buried in the chapel of St. George and St. Anne.—Dame Katherine Style, 1531 (9 Thower). Thos. Sorness, 1533 (ix. 191).

ST. GEORGE AND ST. ANNE.—To be buried in the chapell of St. George and St. Anne in the p. ch. of Grenwiche.—Grefythe ap Nicholas, 1542 (x. 9).

ST. ERASMUS.—Sibill Smyth, 1515 (vii. 38).

OUR LADY OF GRACE; OUR LADY OF PITY.—A taper before the fygure of owre laydye of grace in the chappell the north syde of the sayde churche—A taper before the fygure of oure laydye of Pettye w^{t} in the same churche x^{s}.—Alice Newman, 1515 (vii. 101). Lum. b^{e} Marie Pietatis.—John Egleston, 1525 (viii. 18). To be buried in the ch'yard byside the grete stone w^{t}oute the chauncell of our ladie of grace and a lb. of wex to our ladie of grace and our ladie of Pietie.—Thos. Sorness alias Hall, 1533 (ix. 191).

ST. CLEMENT.—Saynt Clements light vj^{d}.—Jn. Edmonde, fleecher, 1529 (viii. 210). To ye light of Saynt Clement xl^{d}.—Roger Grove, 1517 (vii. 103). To be buried in the church of Saynte Alphe before the figure of Saynt Clement.—Margt. Thaccher, 1521 (vii. 210). Sep. in eccl. de G. coram ymag^{le} sancti Clementis in corpore euisdem eccl.—John Egleston, 1525 (viii. 18).

ROOD.—Lum. Sancte Crucis.—Jn. Egleston, 1525 (viii. 18).

Brotherhoods. ST. AGNES.—To the bredereth of Seynt Anys xij^{d}.—John Eleston, 1487 (v. 383).

ST. ANNE.—Sustentation of the fraternite of Saint Anne in the same church xij^{d}.—James Stratford, 1474 (iv. 186).

To the Broderhed of Sent Anne viij^{d}.—Joone Wyllms, 1516 (vii. 78).

ST. GEORGE AND ST. ANNE.—In 1529 John Champneys left his "Bruhowse called ye whitte hartt to the master and wardens off ye brotheryd of Sent George and Sent Anne for an obit the fryday after Sent Denys day in October" (viii. 230).

Mentioned in the will of Jn. Johnson, 1540 (ix. 300) and of Richd. Fowler, 1540 (ix. 315) who left the "brethered prest xij^{d}."

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Wm. Everyth maryner and haberdasher of London, 1454 (P.C.C., 1 Stokton). Wm. Stephenes, chaundeler, 1456 (ii. 68).

To the sustentacon of the fraternite of the holly suruices of Saynt C'ristofer w^{t} in the same churche yff ther be dew minestres to the sayd fraternite at the day of my deth iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—Henry Newerke, 1481 (vi. 11).

HOLY TRINITY.—Jn. Conigborow, 1456 (ii. 79). Wm. Stephenes, chaundeler, 1456 (ii. 68) and Henry Newark, 1481 (vi. 11).

GREENWICH. CHAPEL OF ALL HALLOWS CALLED "THE ROODS."—A trentall in the chapell of Al Halowyn in Grenewych.—Agnes Hardyng, 1501 (vi. 79).

To the rep' of the chapell of Alhalowen in Est Grenewich and for the lightes in the same chapell iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—Thomas Vstwayte Esq., 1496 (P.C.C., 7 Horne).

To poor people v pennyworth brede in the worshipe of the v wounds of o^{r} Sauyor ihu Xpe—This dole to be giuen att the Roodes chapell after the mass be songe eueri fridaye duryng a hole yere after my deceasse.—Richard Piry, 1529 (viii. 227).

GREENWICH. ST. FRANCIS (THE FRIARS' CHURCH).—To be buried in Saynt Frauncess church in Grenewich.—Philipp Aldewyn, 1528 (viii. 180).

To the blessid hous of Saint Frauncess in Est Grenewich vj^{s} viiij^{d}.—Thomas Vstwayte Esq., 1496 (7 Horne).

HADLOW. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—John Kene, 1443 (i. 16); Thos. Crudde, 1476 (iv. 219).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY IN THE CHANCEL.—A taper of wex to bren a fore the image of o^{r} lady in the chauncell.—Thos. Fyscher, c. 1500 (vi. 30).

A taper to stande before the Image of our lady sett w^{t}in the chaunsell of Hadlo.—Jn. Somer, 1529 (viii. 1).

OUR LADY IN THE CHURCH.—Sep. in cim. B.M.V. apud Hadlo et lego ad faciend. unam fenestram in ecclesie de H. ex parte boriali, vidlt per altare B.M.V. xx^{s}.—Thos. Walter, 1448 (i. 70).

A taper of wex befor our lady in the bodie of the church of Hadlowe.—Richard Piry, 1519 (vii. 167).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Volo quod vnum cereum unius libre maneat ardens coram ymagine S^{ci} Xpoferi, 1476.—Thos. Crudde (iv. 219).

Taper afore seynt Cristofer to be funden by the space of v yers.—Thos. Fyscher, c. 1500, (vi. 30).

HOLY TRINITY.—Jn. Stopfelde, 1510 (vi. 278). John Bedenden, 1518 (vii. 159).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Jn. Bedenden, 1518 (vii. 159).

ST. KATHERINE.—John Somer, 1529 (viii. 1).

ST. SITHE.—A taper before the Image of Saynt Sight in Hadlow churche p^{ce} xij^{d}.—Thos. Lakk, 1527 (viii. 142).

HERSE.—Lum. hercie ij^{d}.—Lorans Bealde, 1491 (v. 183).

ROOD.—To the rode lofte of the saide churche of Hadlowe xl^{s}.—John Stopfelde, 1510 (vi. 278).

HALLING.* *Dedication.* ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—To be buried in the chancel of the church of St. John Baptist of Halling.—Roger Siligrove, rector of Stone, 1461 (ii. 195).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Wm. Baron, 1472 (iv. 134).

To the churchewardens ij kene to kepe a taper of a ponde of wax before our lady in the Southe Yell.—Jn. Morysse, 1530 (viii. 251).

ST. BLASE.—Jn. Colt, 1458 (ii. 103).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Wm. Langaster, 1513 (vi. 351); Wm. Wadman, 1515 (vii. 43).

* There was a free chapel of St. Laurence in Upper Halling about a mile from the parish church.

ST. JOHN.—Lum. Sancti Joh'is iiij^{d}.—Robert Senclere, 1508 (vi. 207); to Saint John Lygth.—Henry Tailor, 1522 (vii. 277). For payntyng of Saynte John vj^{d}.—Jn. Morysse, 1530 (viii. 251).

ST. STEPHEN.—Walter Canon, 1442 (i. 17); Henry Tailor, 1522 (vii. 277).

ST. PETER.—Walter Canon, 1442 (i. 17); Wm. Andrew, 1456 (ii. 76).

HOLY TRINITY.—John Colt, 1458 (ii. 103); Henry Tailor, 1522 (vii. 277).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—John Colt, 1458 (ii. 103).

ROOD.—A cowe to mayntene and fynde a lampe to bren before the Roode in the churche fro the scde peele to matens till higth mass be doon and fro the secounde pele to euensonge till euensong be doon for euermore.—Wm. Wadman, 1515 (vii. 43).

HERSE.—To the herse lyght ij^{s} viij^{d}.—Richard Estdown, 1533 (ix. 96).

IN THE CHOIR.—To the lampe in the quyer a cow.—Richard Estdown, 1533 (ix. 96).

HALSTOW. *Dedication.* ST. MARGARET.—Robt. Ludesdon, 1473 (iv. 40); Robt. at Lee, 1492 (v. 46).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Stephen Andrew, 1478 (v. 17); Robt. Luddesden, 1531 (viii. 301).

To be buried in the chaunsell of our lady in the church of Halgstowe.—Geffrey Somer, 1518 (vii. 128); Robert Mychell, 1535 (ix. 198).

ST. MARGARET.—To be buried in my chauncell byfor Saint Margarete.—Syr John Mapilton, parson, 1485 (P.C.C., 23 Logge).

I will viij lambes be sold to the payntyng of the Image of Seynt Margaret.—Thos. Dalam, 1501 (v. 396); Nichs. Moysse, 1532 (ix. 125).

ST. JAMES.—Ad fabr' capelle S^{ti} Jacobi vj^{d}.—Thos. Rolff, 1472 (iv. 41). Ad rep'acoem novi operis capelle S^{ci} Jacobi in ecclesia p'dicta vj^{s} viij^{d}.—John Love, tailor, 1474 (iv. 173). Sust. lampadis coram ymagine Sancti Jacobi apli. Edward Kempe, 1497 (v. 295). Robt. Mychell, 1535 (ix. 198).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Stephen Andrew, 1478 (v. 17); Nichs. Moysse, 1532 (ix. 125).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—A lampe brenyng afore Seynt Xpofere upon the festefull dayes.—John Moyes, 1503 (vi. 88).

HOLY TRINITY.—Elizabet Watts, 1489 (vi. 160).

ST. KATHERINE.—Nichs. Moysse, 1532 (ix. 125).

ST. ANTHONY.—To Sent Antonis light a schep.—Robert Luddesdon, 1531 (viii. 301).

ROOD.—Stephen Andrew, 1478 (v. 17); Robt. Mychell, 1535 (ix. 198).

ROOD ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE FONT.—Sep. in ecclesia coram crucifixo in dextra parte fontis.—Thos. Love, 1502 (vi. 62).

SEPULCHRE.—Also I wul that halsto church shal haue a cowe to maynten a taper to bren a fore the Sepulcr for euermore.—Thos. Love, 1502 (vi. 62).

To the Sepulcre ligtht viij^{d}.—Thos. Love, 1534 (ix. 131).

HARTLEY. *Dedication.* ALLHALLOWS.—Thos. Cotyer, 1473 (iv. 128). To be buried in the churchyard of All Saynts in Harteleye.—John Overer, 1555 (xi. 345).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY. Will of Jn. Parvysse, 1451 (i. 103). Luminari be. Marie in festo Omnium Sanctorum.—Jn. Parvysse, 1451 (i. 103).

HOLY TRINITY.—John Fuller, 1500 (v. 361).

ROOD.—Jn. Parvysse, 1451 (i. 103); Thos. Cotyer, 1473 (iv. 128).

HIGHAM.* *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—James Fulk, 1441 (i. 4); John Webb, 1483 (v. 62).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Lawrence Turke, 1473 (iv. 176).

Ad lum. b^{te} Marie in cancello iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—Henry Best, 1473 (iv. 181).

To the wardens of our lady light viij^{d}.—Thomas Pole, 1527 (viii. 106).

Joone Truston, 1533 (ix. 98).

ST. JAMES.—Corpus meum sepeliend in capella S^{ti} Jacobi infra ecclesiam parochialem de Higham.—Wm. Rolff, 1485 (v. 68). Lum. S^{ti} Jacobi ij^{d}.—James Fulk, 1441 (i. 4).

ST. JOHN.—John Watts, 1501 (vi. 31).

ST. ANTHONY.—Harry Peryott, 1502 (vi. 50).

ROOD.—Lum. Ste Marie super trabem ij^{d}.—James Fulk, 1441 (i. 4).

I will that the masteres of the worke of the Rodelofte haue xx^{s} towarde the edifeying of the same.—Thos. Coorteman, 1500 (v. 364).

* The North Chancel of Higham church was the chapel of the nunnery there, founded in the reign of King Stephen.

To be buried in the church afore the Rode.—Harry Peryott, 1502 (vi. 50).
Too shepe to fynde a lamp to bren be fore the rode lofte for euermore.—Wm. Berfelde, 1517 (vii. 96).

HERSE.—Lum. mortuorum iiij^{d}.—Thos. Pulver, 1444 (i. 26).
Ad Lum. voc. le Herce.—Lawrence Turke, 1473 (iv. 176).
To the herse light viij^{d}.—Wm. Rolff, 1485 (v. 68).
To ye herslyght of ye seide churche on buschell of barley.—Joone Truston, 1533 (ix. 98).

SEPULCHRE.—Lum. S^{ci} Sepulcri ij^{d}.—James Fulk, 1441 (i. 4).

HOO, ALLHALLOWS. *Dedication.* ALLHALLOWS.—Allhallown in the hundred of Hoo.—Alice Pyrvill, 1490 (v. 136).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Stephen At Church, 1461 (ii. 210); Thos. Cripe, 1464 (ii. 266).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—Thos. Roger, 1468 (iii. 5). It^{m} to our lady of Piety a pair of Jete beds w^{t} a ring of them.—Isabella Longeman, 1521 (vii. 233).

OUR LADY IN JESION.—Y^{e} Mary in Jesion.—Thos. Roger, 1468 (iii. 5).
To ye liz^{t} of our lady in Jesen a moder shape.—Dyonys Bradvyle, 1470 (iv. 77). Lum. b^{te} Marie in puerperio.—Thos. Plott, 1503 (vi. 118).
To be buried in the churche of Alhallows before oure lady and Josep.—Robert Wodgrene, 1521 (vii. 228).

ST. SAVIOUR (Our Lord).—Sep. in capella Marie Magdalene coram Sancto Saluatore.—Thos. Pympe, 1508 (vi. 26). [*See St. Sonday.*]

ALLHALLOWS.—Thos. Plott, 1503 (vi. 118); Wm. Pardor. 1508 (vi. 204).

ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—Mary Magdalen lyghth.—Thos. Roger, 1468 (iii. 5).
Sep. in capella Marie Magdalene coram Sancto Saluatore.—Thos. Pympe, 1508 (vi. 26).

ST. PETER.—Thos. Roger, 1468 (iii. 5). To Sent Peter lyght on mother ow.—John Andrew, 1533 (ix. 106).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Thos. Roger, 1468 (iii. 5). To Saynt Nicolas lyght viij schepe and they to laste for eu'more.—Wm. Foreste, 1524 (vii. 340).

ST. JAMES.—Thos. Roger, 1468 (iii. 5); Wm. Pardor, 1508 (vi. 204).

ST. STEPHEN.—Thos. Roger, 1468 (iii. 5).

HOLY TRINITY.—Dyonys Bradvyle, 1470 (iii. 77). A cow w a white face on to the lygth of the Trinite.—Alice Pyrvill, 1490 (v. 136).

ST. SEBASTIAN.—Dyonys Bradvyle, 1470 (iii. 77); Robt. Cripp, 1506 (vi. 229).

ST. FABIAN.—Lum. S^{ci} Fabiani.—Robt. Cripp, 1506 (vi. 229).

ST. SONDAY.—To saynt Sondaye in Mawdlen chapell a cow to maynten those ij lights.—Agnes Symmes, 1522 (vii. 310). [*See St. Saviour.*]

ST. ANTHONY.—Thos. Plott, 1503 (vi. 118).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Thos. Cripe, 1463 (ii. 267); John Streton, 1516 (vii. 50).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Thos. Plott, 1503 (vi. 118).
To Saynt Xpofer lyzght one cow and she to remayn for euermore and to be regester in the masse boke that she never dekey.—Wm. Foreste, 1524 (vii. 340).

ROOD.—To ye lyght be fore ye Roode lofte.—Thos. Roger, 1468 (iii. 5).

SEPULCHRE.—Thos. Plott, 1503 (vi. 118).
To ye sepulture lyght on moder ow.—Jn. Andrewe, 1533 (ix. 106).

"BACHILARS LIGHT."—To the bachilars light before the Sepulcre ij moder schepe.—Raffe Graves, 1514 (vii. 18). [He was a married man.]

Brotherhood. ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—Fraternitati Ste Marie Magdalen 4^{d}.—Jn. Phylpote, 1452 (i. 129).

HOO ST. MARY'S. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—Seint Mareis in the hundred of Hoo.—Thos. Hardy, 1464 (iv. 187).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—A cowe to maynten o^{r} lady ligth ther.—Wm. Fuller, 1505 (vi. 166).
To the paynting of our lady in the chancell on the Southe syd xx^{s} or xxvj^{s}. viij^{d} and hyt be nede.—Thos. Hardy, 1464 (iv. 187). The light of ouer lady in the southside of the chaunsell xx^{ti} moder schepe and a cowe whereof I will the wardens shall dele ij^{s} viij^{d} at ij tymes in the yere to poor people in the ch. of Saynt Maries that is to saye on goode fridaye xvj^{d} and uppon Allsollen day xvj^{d} and the reste to ouer lady light. To the ligth of o^{r} lady in the north side of ye chaunsell.—Richd. Salmon, 1526 (viii. 51). To mayntening of ou^{r} lady lyght for eu' at ye foresyde of ye chauncell x moder shepe.—Richd. Mateyns, 1531, (ix. 11)

To the ligth of ou' ladie in the chaunsell at the south side there to moder shape.—Giles Palmar, 1532 (ix. 100).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—Giles Palmar, 1532 (ix. 100); Richard Makyns, 1531 (ix. 11).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Stephen Perdour, 1448 (i. 58); Stephen Halle, 1475 (iv. 203).

ST. MICHAEL ARCHANGEL.—Stephen Perdour, 1448 (i. 51).

To Seynt Micaellygth a lambe.—Wm. Fuller, 1505 (vi. 166).

ST. ANNE.—Richard Wyke, 1466 (ii. 57); Stephen Devell, 1522 (vii. 260).

HOLY TRINITY.—Stephen Halle, 1475 (iv. 203); Richd. Makyns, 1531 (ix. 11).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—To the paynting of Saynt Xpofer, iiij^{d}.—Rose Goldehawke, 1494 (v. 264). viij^{s} for a candelstik to stande before Saynt Xpofer.—Christofor Marchant, 1529 (viii. 269).

ST. KATHERINE.—Wm. Horstede, 1522 (vii. 260); Ric. Salmon, 1526 (viii. 51).

ST. ANTHONY.—Jn. Fraunces, 1515 (vii. 45); Thos. Whitebrede, 1530 (viii. 291).

ROOD.—Stephen Halle, 1475 (iv. 203). Ad lum. super trabem iiij^{d}.—Thos. Friday, 1484 (v. 57).

ROOD AT THE NORTH SIDE.—To the cross light at ye northe side a lambe.—Jn. Fraunces, 1530 (viii. 299).

"LE TRONE."—Lum. vokat' le Trone.—Thos. Friday, 1484 (v. 57).

SEPULCHRE.—To ye sepulcre light a mother shepe.—Jn. Hall, 1525 (vii. 370) and others.

HOO, ST. WERBURGH. *Dedication.* ST. WERBURGH.—Thomas Bedell, 1528 (viii. 193), and all parishioners.

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Stephen Jacobe, 1480 (iii. 265). Lampas coram altari b^{e} Marie.—Alice Goldehall, 1472 (iv. 41).

To ouer lady ligth ouer the quere doore ij^{s}.—John Bulbek, 1518 (vii. 121).

To be buried in the church of Saynt Warboro in hoo, before ou^{r} lady in the South ile.—Edw. Cobham, gent., 1528 (viii. 188).

Our lady light ij^{d}.—Margery Godfrey, 1535 (ix. 172).

ST. WERBURGH.—Stephen Jacobe, 1480 (iii. 265). Saynt Warboro light iiij^{d}.—Wm. Boo^{r}ne, 1523 (vii. 287), and most parishioners. Thos. Bedell, in 1528 (viii. 193), leaves "a house called Yevall house, to the wardanes and bredryn of the Yevall of Saynt Warborows."

HOLY TRINITY.—Sep. coram altari S^{ce} Trinitatis in ecclesia.—Stephen Jacobe, 1480 (iii. 265), and he also founds a "Yefale on Trinite eve and Trinite Sondaye," and leaves a bequest for "rep'acon of the Trinitie Yle." Lampas coram altari S^{ce} Trinitatis.—Alice Goldehall, 1472 (iv. 41). The trynite light, ij^{d}.—Wm. Boo^{r}ne, 1523 (vii. 287). To be beried withyn the sayd p'ich church in ye Trynyte Yll.—Thos. Bedell, 1528 (viii. 193).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Stephen Jacobe, 1480 (iii. 265). Wm. Boo^{r}ne, 1523 (vii. 287).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Alice Goldehall, 1472 (iv. 41). To the ligth of Saynt Xpofer, a moder shepe to a lampe brynning be fore the saide ymage.—Adam Bote, 1512 (vi. 354).

ST. ERASMUS.—Thos. Mille, 1481 (v. 47).

ST. BLASE.—Davy Bedill, 1493 (v. 206).

ST. ANNE.—Davy Bedill, 1493 (v. 206).

JESUS ALTAR.—Itm to the cros of ihc aulter a yong kow to maynten a light of wex by the hands of the churchwardens.—Jn. Charles, 1531 (ix. 112).

ROOD.—Item, cuilibet lumini super trabem iiij^{d}.—Nicholas Ferror, 1473 (iv. 120).

To the Roode light viij^{d}.—Edw. Cobham, 1528 (viii. 188).

ROOD AT THE TRINITY ALTAR.—To the light of the cross at the Trynite aulter, 1535.—Wm. Brokar (ix. 211).

VARIA.—To the payntyng of a dome over the Rode in the seyde church xx^{s}.—Davy Bedill, 1493 (v. 206).

Lego lumini parochiali vj^{d}.—Wm. Goldhawk, 1452 (i. 126).

HORSMONDEN. *Dedication.* ST. MARGARET.—Sir John Bulbe *alias* Toty, Rector, 1483 (v. 37). To be buried in the parish churchyard of Seynt Margarett of Horsemonden.—Robert Edmede, 1528 (viii. 163).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Henry Beasbych, 1480 (v. 26).

Sep. in capella b^{te} Marie de Horsmonden.—Alice Menge, 1507 (vi. 209).

Sep. in capella beati Andree et Virginis Marie in ecclesia de Horsmonden.—Henry Menge, 1500 (vi. 223).

To the gildyng of our lady tabernacle my wyfe wedding Rynge and iiij^{d} in money.—Robert Edmede, 1528 (viii. 148).

Lum. beate Marie Virginis in capella ex parte Australi ecclesie predicte xij^{d}.—John Patynden, 1501 (P.C.C., 14 Blamyr).

(There was a chantry "in capella beate Marie Virginis in honore annunciacionis ejusdem constructa et in parte Boreali dicte ecclesie situata," founded A.D. 1338, vide Reg. Yonge, fol. 4, and p. 428 *Reg. Roff.*).

ST. MARGARET.—Sep. in cancello coram ymagine b^{te} Margarete Virginis.—Sir John Bubbe, rector, 1483 (v. 37). Henry Beasbych, 1480 (v. 26).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Henry Beasbych, 1480 (v. 26).

ST. ANNE.—Jn. Bregeland, 1451 (i. 114).

Lum. S^{ce} Anne matris dne. Marie j^{d}.—Richd. Bregeland, 1456 (ii. 78).

ST. ANDREW.—Capella beati Andree et Virginis Marie in ecclesia de H.—Henry Menge, 1500 (vi. 223).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—To be buried in the churche befor ouer lady of Pytie, and to the gilding of ou^{r} lady of Pytie vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Wm. Menge, 1528 (viii. 154).

ROOD.—Ric. Eadmede, 1474 (iv. 139).

To the light a for the high crosse.—Richard Bratill, 1474 (iv. 179).

HERSE.—To the light of the herce iiij^{d}.—Ric. Bratill, 1474 (iv. 179).

To the hersse xij^{d} and I gyff to the mayntenance of the herse a kowe after the deceasse of Jane my wife.—John Baldocke, 1525 (viii. 59).

To the newe renewyng of the herselight in the said church vj^{s} viij^{d} and that be renewed by my monthis day.—Alexr. Paynton, 1494 (P.C.C., 20 vox).

TORCH.—To the torche lyzght ij^{s}.—John Baldocke, 1525 (viii. 59).

HORTON KIRBY. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—Sepel. in porticu ecclesie beate Marie Virginis de Horton.—Walter Letecot, 1466 (ii. 393).

To the high aulter of oure ladye of Horton Church vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Richard Best. 1533 (P.C.C. 10 Hogen).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Walter Letecot, 1466 (ii. 393).

(There was a chantry of Our Lady founded in this church.—C. C. Kent P.R.O. No. 28, article 105.)

OUR LADY OF PITY.—John Hancok, 1475 (iv. 184); John Stonestret, 1475 (iv. 227).

ST. NICHOLAS.—John Stonestret, 1475 (iv. 227).

ST. BLAISE.—Lego cereum vnius li. coram ymagine S^{ti} Blacij episcopi.—Thos. Skudder, 1492 (v. 205).

ST. KATHERINE.—A mass att Saynt Kateryne auter in Horton Church.—John Gyrdelor, 1530 (viii. 247).

ST. JAMES.—Walter Letecot, 1466 (ii. 393).

ROOD.—Lego unam vaccam ad unam lampadem ardentem coram crucifixo.—John Stonestret, 1475 (iv. 227).

KEMSING. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie b^{te} Marie in Kemsyng.—Thos. Fremlyn, 1499 (v. 329).

Sep. in cim. b^{e} Marie Virginis apud Kemsyng.—Walter Fremlyng, 1459 (ii. 157).

Lights, &c. [OUR LADY.—There is no mention in wills of an image of Our Lady here, but, apart from any other consideration, the dedication being in her honour, there can be no doubt that one existed.]

ST. KATHERINE; ST. MARGARET.—Ad lum. S^{ce} Katerine et lum. S^{ce} Margarete j ouem.—John Fremlyn, 1457 (ii. 73).

To Saynt Kateren aulter and to Saynt Margetts aulter to bye too aulter clothes and other things necessary vnto the saide aulters vj^{s} viij^{d}.—John Wybarn, 1519 (vii. 166).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Walter Fremlyng, 1459 (ii. 157).

TRENDLE.—Lego Vnam vaccam ad sustentationem vnius trendell in ecclesia de Kemsyng.—Wm. Smyth, 1458 (ii. 124).

ROOD.—Wm. Powle, 1488 (v. 113).

* ST. EDITH, Chapel of.—A torche to be dispended in honor of God, of ouer lady and of Saynt Ide, wt in hur chapell standyng in the churche yarde of Kempsing.—Reynolde Cartar, 1526 (viii. 98). Light before the image of Saint Edith of Kemsyng.—Thos. Elcy, 1475 (iv. 202).

Lego pro reparacione capelle Sce Edithe in cimiterio de Kemsing existentis xld.—Wm. Smyth, 1458 (ii. 124), and John Meller, 1459 (ii. 134).

KINGSDOWN. *Dedication.* ST. EDMOND THE KING.—John Horne, 1550 (xi. 118).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Agnes Fabyan, 1494 (v. 239).

ST. EDMOND.—Agnes Fabyan, 1494 (v. 239).

ROOD.—Lego ad facturum unius panni honesti ad penend. in fronte camere crucifixi xvd.—Jn. Medehurst, 1421 (i. 104).

LAMBERHURST. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—Wm. Thomas, 1451 (i. 114). Jn. Sandell, 1525 (viii. 6).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—John Kyngwood, 1459 (ii. 164). Wm. Richarde, 1494 (v. 238).

ST. MARGARET.—Vs to by a laton candlestik to stande before the ymage of Saynt Margarete in the bodie of the churche.—John Foull, 1519 (vii. 178).

ST. THOMAS.—Lego vnam tabulam alabasti Stl Thome in ecclesia predicta xijd.—Wm. Patenden, 1472 (iv. 29). To be buried in the church of Lamberhurst, before the aulter of Saynt Thomas.—John Dyne, 1521 (v. 242). A trental at the aulter of Saynt Thomas.—1522, Nic. Foull, 1522 (v. 277). Sep. in eccl. Ste Marie Virg. coram ymagine Sancti Thome martiris de Lamberhurst.—Thos. Geffraye, 1510 (P.C.C., 28 Bennett).

ST. KATHERINE.—Ad opus fenestre occidentis ecclesie et cancelli Sce Katerine vjs viijd.—Jn. Courthope, 1446 (i. 38). To be buried in the chapyll of Sent Cateryn of the parych churche of Lamberhurste.—1487, Thomasina Darell (v. 87). To the pavying of the saide churche that is for to say from the dore of the Sowthe syde of the saide church vnto the chawnsell dore of Saynt Katerine vjs.—Wm. Richarde, 1494 (v. 238).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Ad facturam noue Imaginis Sancti Johannis Baptiste, xxs.—Thos Geffraye, 1510 (P.C.C., 28 Bennett).

ROOD.—Sep. in ecclesia de Lamberhurst coram crucifixo Dni nri Ihu Xpi.—Henry Fraunceys, 1473 (iv. 131). The light called the Bemelight, 1475.

OUR LADY SUPER FERETRUM.—Lego lum. be Marie super feretrum vnam vaccam ad crescendam annuatim.—Agnes Thomas, 1509 (vi. 235).

HERSE.—To the herse ligth iiijd.—Jn. Dyne, 1521 (v. 242), (and many others).

BANNER OF ST. GEORGE.—Vnum Vexillum Stl Georgii ecclesie predicte precd viijs.—Thos. Geffraye, 1510 (P.C.C., 28 Bennett).

LEE. *Dedication.* ST. MARGARET.—John Harris, 1531 (ix. 26).

To be buryed in the paryshe churche of Seynt Margitts of Lee.—Roger Browne, 1542 (3 Spert. P.C.C.)

Lights, &c. OUR LADY OF PITY.—To be buried in the parrishe chirch of Lee next Lewesham afore our lady of Pitee.—Wm. Grenryge, 1504 (P.C.C., 26 Holgraves).

Robert Ryppon, the elder, in his will, d. 5 July, 1500, left xxd "to euery light founded in the same church."—(P.C.C., 12 Moone.)

[There are very few wills of this parish.]

LEIGH. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—Sep. in cimiterio be Marie de Legh.—Nicholas Rumshet, 1485 (vi. 22).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY. To be buried in the chaunsell of the parish church of Lee, before ye Image of or blyssid lady at ye north end of ye hyght aulter of lygh vjs viijd.—Humpfrey Lewknor, Esquyer, 1529 (viii. 293).

ST. THOMAS.—Lego fabrice capelle Scl Thome xxs—Richd. Durkynghole, 1457 (ii. 104), and Stephen Becher, 1458 (ii. 153).

To be buried in St Thomas chapell in Ligth church.—Reginald Rowe, 1529 (xi. 229).

Sir Thomas de Penshurst was granted a free chapel for ever within his manor of Penshurst, but within the bounds of the parish of Leigh. The chapel

* Walter Fremlyng in his will, dated 20 Dec., 1459, leaves seven candles to burn "in ecclesia et capella Sancte Edithe, viz., j ante crucem j ante imaginem Sce Edithe, ij ante imaginem Sce Katerine, ij ante imaginem Sce Margarete, et j ante imaginem Scl Xpofori in dicta ecclesia de Kemsyng."—(ii. 157.)

was dedicated in honour of St. Thomas the Apostle and St. Thomas the Martyr. In 1249, Richard de Wendover, Bishop of Rochester, granted a forty days indulgence to those who, on the anniversary of the dedication of this chapel, should offer up prayer at the altars of those saints, and also at the altar consecrated by him, in honour of the blessed confessors, St. Edward and St. Nicholas (vide *Reg. Roff.* p. 460). The chapel was suppressed by Edward VI. The above bequests to St. Thomas' chapel may refer to this, but Reginald Rowe's request indicates a chapel with a similar dedication within Leigh Church itself.

LEWISHAM. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—To be buried in the churchyard of our Lady in Lewisham.—J^n^ Gossipp, smyth, 1476 (iii. 146).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—To be buried be fore our ladie in the chaunsell—Sir John Aschley, curate, 1513 (vi. 367).

I bequeth to o^r^ lady in the wall at Luesam a taper of ij^d^.—Thos. Hawkyn, 1501 (vi. 40).

To the lighte of ouer ladie standeying on the south side of the bodie of the churche, a taper of wex of the pondre of half a li. perpetually to be founden by myn eyres, and to be ligtht brennyng the Sondaies and other festiuall daies—Richd. Batt, 1512 (vi. 336). To o^r^ ladie lighte be fore my pwe, iiij^d^—Thos. Johnson, 1525 (vii. 353). To ouer ladie ligth on the pilo^r^ at my sete ende xij^d^—John Kichell, 1514 (vii. 18).

To the building of o^r^ lady chapell in the same church iij^s^ iiij^d^—Richd. Howchenson, 1500.

To be buried in o^r^ lady chapill, w^t^ in the Parish Church of Lewsham—Robt. Cheseman, 1547 (ix. 2).

To ou^r^ lady festum loci xvj^d^—John Berepikyll, 1528 (viii. 161).

SALUTATION OF OUR LADY.—To sustentation of a Tapyr before the salutacion of oure lady in the same church yerely xx^d^.—Cristian Sprig, 1473 (iv. 80).

HOLY TRINITY.—Capelle S^ce^ Trinitatis iij^s^ iiij^d^.—Stephen Levendale, 1463 (ii. 269).

To the Trynyte ligthe xij^d^.—Stephen Colman, 1521 (vii. 243). To be buried in the Trinite chaunsell off the churche of oure lady off Leuesham.—Johan Cheseman, 1527 (viii. 199).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Sep. in capella S^ce^ Trinitatis in ecclesia B^e^ Marie coram ymagine S^ti^ Johannis Bapt.—John Gwyn, 1476 (iii. 154).

To be buried in the chapel of the Trinite within the Parisch Church of Lewesham before the image of Saint John Baptist nigh unto the wall there.—Robert Cheseman, 1498 (P.C.C., 20 Horne).

ROOD.—Lum. coram ymagine crucifixi xx^d^. Jn. Gwyn, 1476 (iii. 154).

BASON. To ye bason lyt vj^d^.—Wm. Scott, 1473 (iv. 105). To the light called Basyn lyte iiij^d^.—Thos. Lowen, 1473 (iv. 138). Johan Cheseman, 1527 (viii. 199).

KING HENRY VIth.—To the light before Kyng Henrye vj^d^.—Thos. Johnson, 1525 (vii. 353).

? HERSE —Lum. communi mortuis in corpore ecclesie iiij^d^.—Peter Toller, 1471 (iv. 25).

Brotherhoods. HOLY TRINITY.—Fraternitati S^ce^ Trinitatis vnam vaccam—Wm. Sprigg, 1471 (iii. 109).

Lego fraternitati S^ce^ Trinitatis in eadem capella (Capella S^ce^ Trin.) vj^s^ viij^d^.—Jn. Gwyn, 1476 (iii. 154). John Smyth, 1509 (vi. 256).

OUR LADY AND ST. GEORGE.*—I will toward the brotherhod of our lady and Saynt George xl^d^.—Richard Edwardes, Whelwrigth, 1527 (viii. 129).

To the bretherhod of our lady and Saynt George in the saide my P'issh Church xij^d^.—John Berepikyll, husbandman, 1528 (viii. 161).

LEYBOURNE. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—To be buried in the churchyerde of Sente Peter and Sente Paule of the paryshe of Leyborne.—Matthew Sexten, 1525 (viii. 10).

* The village Inn, "The George," which formerly stood close to the Parish Church, and is mentioned in deeds of Elizabeth's reign, may be the survival of this guild.

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—John Parker, 1461 (ii. 216).

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL. ij tapers of wax to bren afore the ymage of Seynt Peter and Paule.—Harry Lorkyn, 1484 (v. 43). To the gildeing of the ymagies of Petyr and Powll in ye said church vj^s^ viij^d^.—Water Goden, 1508 (vii. 202).

ROOD.—Lum. Imaginis crucis in navi ecclesie 4^d^—Wm. Lorkyn, 1477 (iii. 296).

SACRAMENT.—vj^s^ viij^d^ to the churchewardens for a lampe there w^t^ to be bought and to hang and burne before ye sacrament all the tyme of deuyn seruyse and for the vpholdyng of ye same lygth and lampe on cow—John Brode, 1533 (ix. 88).

CAPELLA AT COMPE.—Lum. S^ce^ Trinitatis apud Comp, et coram ymagine S^ce^ Marie in eadem capella iiij^d^—John Parker of Compe in Leyborne, 1461 (ii. 216).

LONGFIELD. *Dedication.* ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—Margaret Myddelton, 1530 (viii. 267).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY. To be buried in the chapell of ouer ladie w^t^ in the churche of Longefeld.—John Middleton, 1511 (vi. 343).

ST. MARY MAGDALEN; ROOD. Wm. Middleton, 1463 (ii. 260). Margaret Myddelton, 1530 (viij. 267).

LUDDESDOWN. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Wm. Bokeland, 1444 (i. 37).

To be buried in churchyard of Saynt Peter, Luddesdown.—Peter Poor, 1531 (viii. 296).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Thos. Eastdown, 1474 (iv. 204).

To be buried in the church of Luddesdoun before the pictor of ouer lady, and to the light of ouer lady on mother schepe.—Jn. Mason alias Pett, 1522 (vii. 255).

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Lum. apostolorum Petri et Pauli vj^d^.—Wm. Bokeland, 1444 (i. 37).

ST. PETER.—To the light of Saynt Petyr iiij. mother schepe.—Jn. Mason alias Pett, 1522 (255).

ST. KATHERINE.—To the reparacon of the chapell of Seynte Kateryn w^t^ yn the seyde chyrch j qr of barley.—John Drover, parson of Luddesdowne, 1462 (ii. 250).

Ad lampadem ardentem coram ymagine S^ce^ Katerine vnam vaccam.—John Buklande, 1494 (v. 237).

To Sent Kat'yn lyght viij^d^.—Jhon Bogherst, 1533 (ix. 105).

ROOD.—Thos. Eastdown, 1474 (iv. 204). Jn. Bogherst, 1533 (ix. 105).

TORCH.—To the seide church a new torche of ye value of vj^s^ viij^d^.—John Bogherst, 1533 (ix. 105).

LULLINGSTONE. *Dedication.* ST. BOTULPH.—John Garbett, 1531 (viii. 297).

John Whitwode, 1542 (ix. 400).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Sep. in ecclia parochiali S^ci^ Boltulphi abbatis de Lullyngstone, coram ymagine b^te^ Marie—et lego lum. b^e^ Marie xx^d^.—John Wythiall, gentilman, 1467 (P.C.C. 23 Godyn).

ROOD.—Lum. S^ce^ Crucis xij^d^.—Jn. Wythiall, 1467.

MALLING, WEST OR TOWN.* *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—Alice Dene, 1455 (P.C.C., 4 Stokton). Rowland Stephynson, 1471 (iv. 84).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Alice Dene, 1455 (P.C.C., 4 Stokton).

To be buried in the churche of our ladye of West Malling, in the chapell of our lady on the south side of the said churche. John Brown, yeoman, 1488 (P.C.C., 31 Milles).

A trentall in the chapell of o^r^ lady x^s^.—Robt. Lane, 1487 (v. 85). To be buried in the church of West Malling in our lady chapell whereas I have used to sytt at s'uice tyme right under the foote of the ymage of our lady there.—John James, 1545 (xi. 53.)

(There was a chantry founded in the chapel of our Lady. Reg. H. de Hethe fo. 171^b^.)

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—John Clerke, 1444 (i. 20). Jn. Bakar, 1474 (iv. 141).

ST. PETER.—Peter Hall, 1452 (i. 131).

OUR LADY IN JESON.—Lum. b^te^ Marie in Jeson in ecclesia.—Agnes Coppyng, 1484 (v. 123). I will there be founde a taper of li. wex before the Image of our lady of Ihm.—Thos. Lyndall, 1521 (vii. 225).

* John Goldsmyth, 1475, and many others describe themselves as "de vico Sancti Leonardi" West Malling. (This Chapel was about three-quarters of a mile from the town.)

ST. CRISPIN AND ST. CRISPINIAN.—To the lite of Cryspyne and Crispiniane iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—Robert Huntwike, 1525 (vii. 379).

OUR LADY PURIFICATION.—I will ower lady purificacon haue my green girdell.—Margery Sandes, 1522 (vii. 279).

(Probably in the Abbey Church as she wished to be buried therein.)

ROOD.—To the making of a newe sealing ouer the Rode lofte xlvj^{s} viij^{d}.—Jn. Browne, 1488 (P.C.C., 31 Milles). Half my diaper cloth to the Roode aulter.—Joone Mathewe, 1529 (viii. 214).

ROOD OF REST.—To the Rode of Reste my lytyll rede couerlet for to lye befor the auter ther upon the hygh dayes.—Wm. Stafforde, 1493 (v. 229).

A taper to be sett before the rode of reste p^{ce} ij^{d}.—Wm. Coppyng, 1515 (vii. 37).

If I dye at home my body to buried in the Rode chaunsell in the churche of Westmalling where the awter nowe standeth to have the same awter broken and a newe to be made in a place more conuenient w^{t} in the same chaunsell at myn owne propre charge and cost and I will that if maister vicar or any other parishen will take vpon them to make the Rode chauncell as I in tyme past haue moved them then x^{li}.—Robert Myllys, 1518 (P.C.C., 11. Ayloffe).

I bequeith to the Reparaciones of the Roode chapell xx^{d}.—Robt. Huntwike, 1525 (vii. 379).

Brotherhood. ASSUMPTION OF OUR LADY.—Lego capellano fraternitatis b^{e} Marie xij^{d}.—John Clarke, 1444 (i. 20).

To the fraternyte of the Assumption of o^{r} lady in Westmallyng vj^{s} viij^{d}.—and to Sr William the broderede prist x^{s}.—Wm. Gurney, 1499 (v. 347).

To the brotherhod of our lady xij^{d} and my diaper cloth to be cutt in the myddes and on half to goo to the brotherhod aulter.—Joone Mathewe, 1529, (viii. 214).

To the box of the brotherhode of o^{r} ladie vj^{s} viij^{d}—Robt. Huntwike, 1525 (vii. 379).

To the bretherhod of our ladie 12^{d}.—Wm. Maze, carpenter, 1535 (ix. 181).

MALLING ABBEY CHURCH. *Dedication.* ASSUMPTION OF OUR LADY.—To be bereyed in the church and monastery of the blessed Assumption of o^{r} lady w^{t} in the abbey of the seyde monastery.—Wm Gurney, 1499 (v. 347).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY OF PITY.—To be buried by my husband in the Neese of the monastery of ou^{r} blessid lady of Westmalling.—Elisabett Pellycan, 1487 (4 milles, P.C.C).

To be buried in the body of the church of the monastery of Malling called the Nesse that is to say at the southe ende of the awter by fore the ymage of oure lady of Petie.—Wm. Catelyn, 1499 (P.C.C., 13 Moone).

HOLY TRINITY.—Lego ad sust. luminis coram ymagine Sancte Trinitatis in monasterio de West Malling vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Wm. Watton de Addington, armiger, 1463, (P.C.C., 13 Godyn).

To be buried in the chapell of our lady w^{t} in the monastery of Westmallyng.—Wm. Pellycan, 1484 (P.C.C., 4 Milles). To the light befor the seints in the same chapell of our lady iij^{s} iiij^{d} to the light before the hooly Trinite there xx^{d}.

MAPISCOMBE. To be buried in the churche of Mapyscombe—Lawrence Pothede, 1525 (vii. 373). His will was proved in the churche of Mapiscombe, 20 May, 1525.

[This church is now in ruins; the parish was united to Kingsdown c. 1638.]

MEREWORTH. *Dedication,* ST. LAWRENCE.—Stephen Browne, 1472 (iv. 129). John Taylor, 1491 (v. 177).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Stephen Browne, 1472 (v. 129). A taper before the Image of o^{r} blessid lady.—Jems Bowerman, 1504 (vi. 125).

ST. LAURENCE.—Stephen Dan, 1500 (v. 382).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Stephen Browne, 1472 (iv. 129).

ST. STEPHEN. Stephen Browne, 1472 (iv. 129). John Taylor, 1491 (v. 177).

ST. KATHERINE.—Stephen Browne, 1472 (iv. 129.)

ST. JAMES.—Roger Taylor, 1491 (v. 178).

ROOD.—Lum. ante crucem iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—Stephen Browne, 1472 (iv 129).

Lum. alte trabis xij^{d}.—Roger Taylor, 1491 (v. 178).

MERSTON. Formerly a separate parish, is now united to Shorne, and the church has disappeared. It was dedicated in honour of St. Giles.—See *Reg. Roff.*, p. 498.

MILTON BY GRAVESEND. *Dedication.* St. Peter and St. Paul.—Sep. in ecclesia S^ti. Petri de Melton.—Isabella Broughton *alias* Pette, 1446 (i. 35). Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli de Melton.—John Gunne capellanus, 1459 (ii. 147).

To be buried in the churchyard of the blessed apostles Petir and Powll of Melton.—Robt. Gylmyn, 1495 (v. 257).

To be buried w^t in the churche of Saynte Petur of Melton.—John Perye, 1524 (vii. 356).

To be buried in the chauncell of Saint Peter of Milton.—Thos. Burston, 1516 (vii. 68).

Lights, &c. Our Lady.—Johanna Vscher, 1487 (v. 85). John Okley, surgeon, 1509 (vi. 256).

To be buried in the chapell of our lady in the parish church of Melton.—Sir Thos. Newsam, 1527 (viii. 151).

(There was a chantry founded in our Lady's Chapel in Milton, c. 1321.—Reg. H. de Hethe, fol. 124b).

St. Peter.—Johanna Vscher, 1487 (v. 85). Ric. Rawlett, 1533 (ix. 92).

St. Peter and St. Paul.—Ad lum. beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli^j q^r ordei.—John Gunne, capellanus, 1459 (ii. 147).

St. Margaret.—Johanna Vscher, 1487 (v.)85.

St. Barbara.—John Johnsone, 1500 (v. 372)

St. Katherine.—John Johnsone, 1500 (v. 372). Lego luminari ante S^co Katerine vnum cereum.—Thos. Baker, alias Lyle, 1511 (P.C.C., 16 Fetiplace).

St. Erasmus.—John Okley, surgeon, 1509 (vi. 256). Richard Asheley, 1510 (P.C.C., 27 Bennett).

St. Eligius.—Item coram Imagine Sancti Eligii vnam libram cere.—Thos. Baker *alias* Lyle, 1511 (P.C.C., 16 Fetiplace).

St. Saviour.—Item Sancto Saluatori nostro in cancello vnam libram cere.—Thos. Baker *alias* Lyle, Milton, 1512 (P.C.C., 16 Fetiplace).

St. John Baptist.—John Okley, surgeon, 1509 (vi. 256). Richard Asheley, 1510 (P.C.C., 27 Bennett).

Herse.—To the herse light of the churche 30 lbs. of wex. — Sir Ric. Tuttisham, priest, 1541 (ix. 353).

Rood.—To the goode rode of Melton chapell xij^d.—Thos. Grenesmyth, 1523 (vii. 301). Half a pownd of waxe to the goode Roode of Melton chapell.—John Perye, 1524 (vii. 356). To the chapell of Melton vj^s viij^d to bye a brounche of laton before the roode.—Sir Thos. Newsam, 1527 (viii. 151). I gyff on acre of londe lying under Rogey hyll vnto the mayntenaunce of a tryndill before the Roode in ye bodie of the church of Mylton.—Robert Bromfelde, 1531 (viii. 276).

Rood in South Part of the Church.—Lum. S^co Crucis in eadem ecclesia in parte australi xxij libras cere.—John Okley, 1509 (vi. 256).

High Altar.—To the finding of a lampe yerelie before the sacrament of the highe aulter ij^s.—Thos. Burston, 1516 (vii. 68).

I bequeath two tapers of ij^li of wax euery peece to be kept on the two greate candlesticks before the highe aulter to burne at tyme of gods dyvine seruice during the terme of xxx yeres.—Thos. Burston, gent., 1516 (vii. 68).

Brotherhood. St. Peter.—Lego instauro Sancti Petri vnam libram cere.—Thomas Baker, *alias* Lyle, 1511 (P.C.C., 16 Fetiplace). To the brotherhod of Seynt Peter in Melton oon quart^r of barlye to be delyueryd at Candylmas next.—Wm. Browne, 1528 (viii. 173). Detts which I do ow—furst to ye wardens of Sent Peters gild xj^s.—Robt. Broke, 1532 (ix. 92).

NETTLESTEAD. *Dedication.* Our Lady.—To be buried in the churchyard of o^r blyssed ladye at Netylstede before the church dore.—Robt. Oswester, alias Morys, 1524 (vii. 364). To be buryd w^tin the chauncele of the churche of o^r lady at Nyttylstede dyrectly before the holy sacrament of the altare.—Symone Godffrythe, parson, 1522 (vii. 270).

Lights, &c. Our Lady.—To be buried in the quere of the Parishe Churche of Nettilsted before the Image of oure blessed lady in the selfe place where as the sepulture

of oure lorde is wounte to stonde at the Fest of Ester.—John Pympe, 1496 (P.C.C., 2 Horne). To our ladie ligthe xij^{d}.—John Goodewyn, 1513 (vi. 374).

HOLY TRINITY; ST. CHRISTOPHER; ST. KATHERINE; ST. MARGARET.—John Goodewyn, 1513 (vi. 374).

OUR LORD.—Ad lampadem coram imagine domini nostri Ihū Xpi in ecclesia de Nettilstede.—John Hasill, 1503 (vi. 165). I gyve for to be bestowyd for a Fygure of ihū the quantety of a man staynyd in a clothe and to be naylyd vpon a borde w^{t} my name wretyn in hyt to be sett in the lyfte syde of the hyght alter in the churche of Nyttlystede, xx^{s}.—Symone Godffrythe, parson, 1522 (vii. 270).

ROOD.—Lum. alte trabis in eadem ecclesia coram cruce xx^{d}.—John Godewyn, 1488 (v. 282). To the Rode ligth xij^{d}.—John Godewyn, 1513 (vi. 374).

SEPULCHRE.—*Vide* Our Lady light.

ST. MICHAEL; ST. IGNATIUS (altars of).—John Pympe in 1496 desired that "the two alters in the body of the church be parclosed abowte w^{t} the fayrest borde that canne be made of oks growing on the maner of Netilsted that oone in honour of Saint Mighell that other in the hono^{r} of Saint Ignasius."—(P.C.C., 2 Horne).

NURSTED. *Dedication.* ST. MILDRED.—Sep. in cimiterio S^{co} Mildrede de Nustede.—John Rugge, 1448 (i. 58).

OFFHAM. *Dedication.* ST. MICHAEL.—Sep. in porticu ecclesie S^{ci} Michaelis apud Offham.—Wm. Lambyn, 1444 (i. 22).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Wm. Lambyn, 1444 (i. 22). Ad Sustentacionem j lampadis in capella S^{co} Marie.—Wm. Cristiane, 1448 (i. 64). A taper to brene afore o^{r} lady.—Jn. Parker, 1505 (vi. 174.)

ST. ANNE.—Wm. Lambyn, 1444 (i. 22); Thos. Sprengett, 1485 (v. 54).

ST. MICHAEL.—To the rep. of the Image of Seynt Macaell in Offham xvj^{d}.—John William, 1501 (v. 413), and a candilstik to stande a fore seynt Micaell.

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—A taper to brene a fore seynt John Baptist.—John Parker, 1505 (vi. 174).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—To ye ligtht of Saint Xpofer in Offham d^{i} q^{r} of barley.—Water Goden, of Leyborn, 1508 (vi. 202).

CROSS.—Lum. alte crucis vj^{d}.—Wm. Lambyn, 1444 (i. 22). Y^{e} Cros lygth v^{d}.—Thos. Sprengett, 1485 (v. 54). To the hye Rode ligth xij^{d}.—John Hankyn, 1489 (v. 123).

PECKHAM, WEST. *Dedication.* ST. DUNSTAN.—To be beryed w^{t} in the cherchardde of Saynt Dunstan of Weste Pekeham, 1526 (viii. 80).—James Stace, 1500 (v. 387).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Wm. Pertriche, 1474 (iv. 149). A taper befor the pictor of our lady.—John Fischer, 1533 (ix. 104).

ST. DUNSTAN.—A grett candilstik to stande a fore Seynt Dunstan.—Jn. William, 1501 (v. 413).

ST. ANTHONY.—Lego ecclesie predicte de bonis meis quantum ad emēdacionem competentem S^{ci} Antonii de alabasta facta.—James Stace, 1500 (v. 387). To be doone for me on the day of Saint Antony which is the 17 dai of January eueri yere, x^{s}.—Richard Tuttisham of West Pecham, 1530 (P.C.C., 17 Jankyn).

ST. ANNE.—To be buried in the churchyard a fore the aulter of Saynte Ann, 1546.—John Tutsam (xi. 17).

ROOD.—My best cowe to fynde a taper a fore the Roode.—Jn. Fischer, 1533 (ix. 104).

PECKHAM, EAST.* *Dedication.* ST. MICHAEL.—Ego Ricardus Ecclesley clericus et Rector S^{ci} Michaelis Archangeli de Est Pecham, 1426.—(P.C.C., 6 Luffenam). John Cayser, 1491 (P.C.C., 45 Milles).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—To be buryd in the chancele of our blessyed lady w^{t} in the church of Est Pecham.—Joanna Waller, of West Mallyng, 1520 (vii. 202). Lum. beate Marie jacentis in valuis ecclesie Sancti Michaelis de Peckham.—Walter Walshe, 1515 (23 Holder). To be buried in the chapell callyd the chappell of our Lady in the churche of Est Pekham.—William Whetenhall, Esq., 1539 (P.C.C., 34 Dyngeley).

(There was a chantry founded in Our Lady's Chapel by Richard Culpeper—*vide* Reg. J. Lowe, fo. 207*).

* This parish was in the Deanery of Shoreham.

ST. MICHAEL.—John Cayser, 1491 (P.C.C., 45 Milles). John Arkynbold, 1524 (vii. 363).

OUR LADY OF GRACE.—To the light before the Image called our lady of Grace in the same church xij^{d}.—Robt. Thecher, 1528 (P.C.C., 39 Porch).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—To the payntyng of the image of o^{r} lady of Pitie vj^{s} viij^{d}.—John Cayser, 1491 (P.C.C., 45 Milles).

ST. NICHOLAS.—John Cayser, 1491 (P.C.C., 45 Milles).

ST. BLAISE.—To the reparacon of Saint Blasys window in the church of Est Pecham xl^{s}.—John Cayser, 1491.

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—To the paynting of the image of Saint Cristofer x^{s}.—Jn. Cayser, 1491.

ROOD.—To the beame light viij^{d}.—Robt. Thecher, 1528 (P.C.C., 39 Porch). To the reparacion and gilting of the crosse vj^{s} viij^{d}.—John Cayser, 1491.

PEMBURY. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie Sanctorum Petri apostoli et Johannis Baptiste de Pepyngbury.—Johanna Gylys, 1473 (iv. 65). To be buried in ye churchyard of Petyr and Saynt John de Baptist of Pepyngbury.—Richd. Bowxsell, 1474 (iv. 194).

Dedication. ST. PETER.—Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie S^{ci} Petre de Pepyngberry.—Thos. Amherst, 1489 (v. 159). To be buried in ch'yarde of Saynt Peter ye Apostill of Pepingbury.—Alice Lorkyn, 1529 (viii. 222).

Dedication. ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Sep. in cimiterio beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli de Pepinbery.—Thos. Lorkyn, 1451 (ii. 236). Anthony Boysse, 1540 (ix 330).

Lights, &c.—OUR LADY'S CHAPEL IN THE CHURCHYARD.—To paynting of the image of ouer blessid ladye in the chappell of Pepingbury, vj, viij^{d}.—Reginald Hadcher, 1516 (vii. 68). To the chapell of ouer ladie standing in the churche yarde to be prayed for viij^{d}.—Wm. Lorkyn, 1533 (ix. 116). To be buried in the churchyard betwixt the chaunsell and the chauntrey.—John Polley, 1535 (ix. 216). A taper to bren bifore our lady in the chapell of Pepinbury.—Wm. Fuller, 1534, (ix. 160).

(This chantry was founded c. 1380 by John Colpeper in a new chapel in honour of the Blessed Virgin in the churchyard.—*Vide* Reg. J. Bottlesham, fol. 152^{a}).

OUR LADY AT ST. JAMES'S ALTAR.—See "St. James."

ST. PETER.—To be b. in the quyer before Sent Peter.—Syr Robert Joysy, Vicar, 1533 (ix. 35).

ST. JAMES.—A taper to bren before the ymage off our blyssid lady at Saynt Jamys auter xijd.—Alice Lorkyn, 1529 (viii. 222).

HERSE.—Thos. Amherst, 1489 (v. 159); Alice Lorkyn, 1529 (viii. 222).

PLUMSTEAD. *Dedication.* ST. NICHOLAS.—Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia Sancti Nicholai de Plumstede in cancello b^{te} marie in loco vbi ossa Thome Fulham patris mei, cuius anime propicietur deus, requiescant humata.—Thomas Fulham, 1406/8 (P.C.C., 15 March).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY; ST. NICHOLAS; ALL SAINTS.—Lego sex torc' predicte ecclesie S^{ci} Nich^{i} de Plumstede ad honorem Dei, b^{te} Marie, S^{ci} Nich^{i} et Omnium sanctorum celi.—Thos. Fulham, 1406. Our Lady's Chapel—see above. To our lady light ij^{d}.—Jn. Smarte, 1525 (P.C.C., 4 Porch).

ST. JAMES.—To Saint James light ij^{d}.—John Smarte, 1525 (P.C.C., 4 Porch).

N.B.—There are no early wills of Plumstead folk in the Rochester Court.

Brotherhood. ST. NICHOLAS.—Lego gilde S^{ci} Nich^{i} dimid. quart. frumenti.—Wm. Person, yeoman, 1504 (P.C.C., 31 Holgrave).

RIDLEY. *Dedication.* ST. PETER.—On 29th August, 1495, John Huls was instituted "ad ecclesiam Sancti Petri de Rydley per resign. Wmi. Okey ult. rect. ad presentationem Abbatis et Conventus de Gracijs."—Reg. Spir. Roff. D fo. 10^{a}.

Lights, &c. ST. ANNE.—John atte Sethe, 1446 (i. 36).

ROCHESTER. CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF SAINT ANDREW.

IN THE CHOIR.

IMAGE OF ST. ANDREW.—Corpus meum sepeliendum coram ymagine aurata Sancti Andree ex opposito sedis episcopalis in ecclesia mea Cathedrali de Rochestria

ex parte boreali in choro.—John Lowe, Bp. of Rochester, 1463 (P.C.C., 32 Godyn).—Item feretro S^ci Andree in Roff. i^d.—John Sylvan, 1504 (vi. 96).—Item Feretro S^ci Andree Roffen. ij^d.—Henry Skudder, of Horton (vi. 108), and most people at Horton Kirby. Also persons at Strood, but from no other parishes.

IN NORTH CHOIR TRANSEPT.

SHRINE OF ST. WILLIAM OF PERTH.*—To the payntyng of the Shryne of Seint William vj^s viij^d.—Edmunde Cherkey, gent, 1474 (P.C.C., 15 Wattys). I bequeth to the schryne, in the monastery of Sent William in the seyd abbey xx^d.—Julyan Hyckes, 1493 (v. 211). To sust^n of the ligth a bougth seynt Will^ms Shryne.—John Beaule, 1480 (vi. 45). To Seynt Williams Ligth xij^d.—Jane Skipwith, 1516 (vii. 82). To the shryne of Seynt William ij^d.—W^m. Bett of Strode, 1523 (vii. 288), also Thomas Noone of Strode, decrepidus, 1523 (vii. 290) To Saynt Williams Shryne, in Rochester iiij^d.—Thomas Newton, bocher of Strode, 1523 (vii. 298).

A chantry was founded by Bp. H. de Hethe, in 1346, at the altar near the tomb of St. William, where our Lady's mass is said daily (see his Register, folios 222, 223, and *Reg. Roff.*).

ALTAR OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in parte boriali nauis ecclesie Cath. inter predecessores meos. Volo quod scabellum meum situat. iuxta altare S^ci Johannis nuper per me in monasterio emptum non remanebit in eternum. Item, altari S^ci Joh'is in monasterio vnum le table cloth dyaper. Lego Dom. Nich^o. Dersingham monacho capud S^ci Joh'is Baptiste.—Sir John Drake, chaplain of the chantry of St. John, in the monastery of Rochester, 8 Aug. 15 H. viii. (vii. 305).

This chantry at the altar of St. John Baptist was founded by Bp. John de Sheppey (1353-1360).

In the choir also were the shrines of :—

ST. PAULINUS AND ST. YTHAMAR.—These are not named in any wills. (See *Trans. St. Paul's Eccl. Soc.*, vol. i., p. 217, &c., W. H. St. John Hope, M.A.). They probably stood behind the High Altar (see also *Reg. Roff.*, pp. 119-121).

IN THE NAVE.

IMAGE OF OUR LADY OF GRACE. — To be buried in the Cathedral church of Rochester a fore the image of o^r lady of grace.—John Bischopp, brother of Dan William Bischopp, Prior of Rochester, 1497 (vi. 60). To ouer ladie of grace to the mayntening of hur ligths beying in the bodie of the abbey church: iiij^d.—Michael Ottewell, 1518 (vii. 134). To be buried in the Cathedral church of Rochester in the body of ye churche before ouer lady of grace and to the ligth before our lady of grace in the same church xl^d.—Alice Warner, 1527 (viii. 146). To be buried before the ymage of our lady in the body of the Cathedral church in Rochester.—John Warner, 1532 (ix. 69).

THE ROOD.—To the payntyng of the Rode lofte in the seyde Cathedral Church x marke.—Wm. Brune, 1503 (vi. 73). To the rode ligth in the abbey xij^d.—Jane Skipwith, 1516 (vii. 82).

NORTH TRANSEPT.

ROOD ALTAR.—To be buried in the church of Seynt Andrew in Rochester be twene the Rode autur and the north dore and the autir of Seynt Ursule.—John Beaule, 1480 (vi. 45)

IMAGE OF SAINT CHRISTOPHER.—To be buried in the Cathedral church of Rochester before the ymage of Seynt Vrsula and Seynt Xpofer there.—Wm. Brune, 1503 (vi. 73).

ALTAR OF ST. URSULA.—To be buried in the Cathedral church of Rochester afore the ymage of Seynt Vrsule and to the autir of Seynt Vrsule in the seyde church a playn tuell markyd w^t blake silke.—Richd. Qwyk, 1501 (v. 411). Mass at Seynt Vrsula alter.—Marten Bere, 1513 (vii. 1). To the ligth of Saynt Vrsula in the abbey viij^d.—Wm. Watts, 1518 (vii. 124). To the supportacion of the chapell of Seynt Vrsula w^t in the abbey of Rochester xx^s.—Wm. Ladd of Dartford, 1504 (vi. 116). To be buried in the kyngs collige at Rochester before the chapill of Saynt Vrsula.—Elizabeth Knollis, 1543 (x. 116).

ROOD.—Corpus meum ad sepeliendum in ecclesia Cath. Roff. ante crucem iuxta hostium boreale ecclesie.—Wm. Ryverse, 1496 (v. 282).

* A baker of Perth, murdered outside Rochester in 1201, on his way to Jerusalem. Canonized in 1256.

ST. WILLIAMS DOOR.—To be buried in the churcheyarde of Seynt Nicholas of Rochester at the northe dore of the colledge called Seynt Willyams dore, 1540 (ix. 374).

AT PRESENT UNPLACED.

ALTAR OF JESUS.—To be beryd in the monastery of the Cathedral church before the autur of Ihū and for my sepulcur there vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Agnes Crowche, 1498 (v. 307). To the autir of Ihū in the seyd Cathedral church a fyne shete to make an autir cloth.—Richd. Qwyk, 1501 (v. 411). To the roode at ihc aulter in the abbey of Rochester ij yards of veluet prise xx^{s} for a garment.—Thos. Shemyng, draper, 1523 (vii. 291).

ALTAR OF ST. JAMES.—To the aut^{r} of Seynt James the apostell w^{t} in the seyde Cathedral church xl^{d}.—John Dogett, 1490 (v. 130). To the autir of Seynt James in the seyde Cathedral church a cloth of Diaper.—Richd. Qwyk, 1501 (v. 411).

Gilbertus episcopus dedit . . . . . duas fenestras vitreas ad altare beatorum Johannis et Jacobi (*Registrum Roffense*, p. 121).

IMAGE OF SAINT BARBARA.—To the ligth of Saynt Barbara and Saynt Vrsula in the abbey wher I am suster xl^{d}.—Johan Pownde, widow, 1526 (viii. 63).

(From the association with St. Vrsula this was probably in the north transept.)

ALTAR OF ST. PETER.—Osbernus de Scapeia, postea prior, fecit fenestram ad altare Sancti Petri (*Reg. Roff.*, p. 121).

ST. GILES.—Thorpe, p. 153 *Custumale Roffense* has the following note:—"As the poor brethren of the hospital of St. Bartholomew near Chatham, received the oblations at the altars of St. James and St. Gyles and were on that account subject to the charge of covering the ailes of the church, these altars, it is likely, were in the ailes."

CHAPEL OF OUR LADY.

(South Transept.)

To be buried in the Cathedral chirch of Seint Andrewe in Rouchestr beside the body of Edith sumtyme my wife which lieth a yenst their wher as the durr of our lady chapell was of oold tyme, in which place I will myn executors make to be leid a conuenient stone of marble with a remembrance of Imagery thereon of me and of the said Edithe and also of Elyanor my wife and of all my children with scriptur conuenient and accordyng to the tymes of our decessyng.—Edmunde Chertsey, gent., 25 March, 1474 (P.C.C., 15 Wattys). To the sustentation of a taper in the chapell of our lady in the seyde monastery vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Julyan Hyckes, 1493 (v. 211). To be buryed w^{t} in the abbey of Sent Andrewe of Rochester in the chapell of oure lady next to my wyff and for my grave vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Thomas Harlow, 1518 (vii. 139). To be buried w^{t} in our lady chapell w^{t} in the monastery of Saynt Andrews of Rochester beside my husbande.—Margaret Welles, 1526 (viii. 46). To be buried w^{t} in the Cath. Churche of Rochester in the chapell of ou^{r} lady there.—John Normanvile, esquyr, 1530 (viii. 273). Isabell Normanfeld, widow, ditto, in 1535 (ix. 258).

IMAGE OF THE BIRTH OF JESUS.

My purse of golde to be offeryd w^{t} ye botons of syluer and gilt to the byrth of Ihu w^{t} in the chapell of ou^{r} lady in the seyde monastery.—Julyan Hyckes, mayde, 1493 (v. 211).

There was an altar in the chapel of the infirmary dedicated in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1240. (*Custumale Roffense*, p. 172, quoting *Ang. Sac.*, Vol. 1., p. 349) see also p. 119 *Reg. Roffense* for gifts thereto.

IN THE CRYPT.

The following altars in the crypt are mentioned, their exact position therein is still a matter of doubt:—

ST. KATHARINE.—Walterus, Episcopus, dedit . . . casulam que est cotidiana ad altare Sancte Katerine. Robertus de Langereche dedit calicem et casulam et alia plura ad altare Sancte Katerine in criptis. Robertus de Hecham dedit fenestram ad altare Sancte Katerine (*Reg. Roff.*, p. 121, 123).

ST. MICHAEL; HOLY TRINITY.—Heymericus de Tunebregge, monachus, in criptis fecit fenestram ad altare Sancti Michaelis et ad altare Sancte Trinitatis (*Reg. Roff.*, p. 123).

ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—Theodericus, monachus, acquisivit de quadam muliere de Hallinges unde fenestra et casula et alia plura in criptis ad altare Sancte Magdalene facta sunt (*Reg. Roff.*, p. 124).

ST. DENIS.—An annual rent given by John de Borstalle, Chaplain of St. Bartholomew's next Rochester, to the prior and convent of Rochester in return for offerings at the altar of St. Denis "in criptis" (*Reg. Roff.*, p. 218). Dated 21, Edw. III.

ST. EDMUND.—Thorpe, in the *Custumale Roffense*, p. 171, speaks of the south choir aisle as "St. Edmund's Chapel, though the altar erected in honour of him was placed in the undercroft" (*Reg. Roff.*, p. 125).

ROCHESTER. ST. NICHOLAS.—Thos. Prylle, 1472 (iv. 133) and all parishioners.

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Thos. Prylle, 1472 (iv. 133). To be buried in the chapell of o^r lady in the seyd church, and to the reparacion of the said chapell xl^s.—Wm. Mungham, 1496 (v. 299). To the light of o^r lady in the body of the churche iij^s iiij^d.—d^o.

ST. NICHOLAS.—Thos. Prylle, 1472 (iv. 133).—Jn. Mellar, 1528 (viii. 170).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Thos. Prylle, 1472 (iv. 133). Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie St Nich^l prope altare Sancti Johannis Baptiste in eadem ecclesia.—Edmund Cotyng, 1510 (vi. 281). To be buried in the aley before Saynt Johnes aulter, under Saynt Anteney, in the church of St. Nicholas.—Jn. Shemyns, 1523 (vii. 292). Prest to synge at Seynt John's aulter in Seynt Nicholas church for my soul, &c.—Elizabeth Miller, widow, 1541 (ix. 351).

ST. ANTHONY.—Wm. Balle, 1474 (iv. 162).—Elianor Champney, 1535 (ix. 199).

ST. GEORGE.—Thos. Kyngston, 1457 (ii. 89).—Jn. Mellar, 1528 (viii. 170).

ST. BARBARA.—John Vancurle, 1490 (v. 131). To be buried in the ch. of Saynt Nicolas in the aley of the rigth syde before the image of Saynt Barbara.—Jn. Forest, 1526 (viii. 42).

HOLY TRINITY.—Sep. in ecclesia S^ci Nicholai ante altare S^ce Trinitatis.—Thos. Boloure, 1455 (ii. 29). To the light of the Trynite aulter xl^d.—Thomas Shemyng, 1523 (vii. 291).

ST. NICHOLAS; ST. JAMES.—To be buried before the ymage of Seynt Jamys.—Nich. Smith, 1505 (P.C.C., 29 Holgrave).—Jn. Forest, 1526 (viii. 42).

ST. KATHERINE; ST. MARGARET; ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Robt. Crofte, 1502 (vi. 53).

ST. JOHN EVANGELIST.—Wm. Brude, gent, 1503 (vi. 73).

ST. GREGORY.—Nich. Smith, 1505 (P.C.C., 29 Holgrave.)—Joana Mongeham, 1510 (vi. 300).

ST. MICHAEL; ST. ERASMUS.—Thos. Shemyng, 1523 (vii. 291).

ST. CRISPIN and ST. CRISPINIAN.*—To Seynt Crispyn and Crispinian lights xij^d.—Wm. Style, 1523 (vii. 301).

OUR LADY IN THE WINDOW ON THE SOUTH SIDE.—To be buried in the Parish Church of Saynt Nicolas yn Rochest^r in the alye before our lady in the wyndow yn the south side, and to our lady ligth yn the south wyndow xij^d.—Wm. Watts, 1523 (vii. 307).

ST. LAWRENCE.—John Forest, 1526 (viii. 42).

ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR; ST. MARY MAGDALENE.—A tapar of a pounde off waxe in the church of Sent Nicolas in the hono^r off Seynthe Thomas the holye m^t and other in ye worchipe off Seynth Marye Magdeleyne in the same churche.—John Mellar, 1528 (viii. 170).

ROOD.—Thos. Prylle, 1472 (iv. 133); to the makyng of the Rode lofte accordyng to the patron of Richard Sutton ther xx^s.—Robt. Crofte, 1502 (vi. 53).

ROCHESTER. ST. CLEMENT.—To be buried in the north side of Saynt Clement's church at Rochester beside my furste wyff.—John Ryvett, 1526 (viii. 30).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Matilda Style, 1484 (v. 38).—Jn. Robys, 1505 (vi. 176). To the church of St. Clements and to the chapell of o^r lady in the seyde chirch iij^s iiij^d.—Thos. Harlow, 1518 (vii. 139). I will therbe ij tapers of a pounde a pece found for ever of the rent of my house whiche standith betwixte the aungle and the cheker on be fore our lady in the quyre of Saynt Clements and a other before our lady in the north side of the churche where as I shall lye.—John Ryvett, 1526 (viii. 30).

* There is an Inn with this sign at Strood, across the Medway.

JESUS CHRIST.—Lum. Jhu Xpi ibidem di. li. cere.—Matilda Style, 1484 (v. 38).
ST. SYTHE.—Lum. S^ce^ Cithe.—Matilda Style, 1484 (v. 38).
ST. JOHN.—Wm. Crype, 1457 (ii. 82).
ST. ANTHONY.—Matilda Style, 1484 (v. 38).
HOLY TRINITY.—John Langle, 1491 (vi. 165).
ST. CLEMENT.—Jn. Langle, 1491 (v. 165).—Jn. Robys, 1505 (vi. 176).
ROOD.—John Langle, 1491 (v. 165).—Jn. Robys, 1505 (vi. 176).
TRENDYL.—To the Trendyl light iiij^d^.—John Langle, 1491 (v. 165).

ROCHESTER. ST. MARGARET.—Thomas Codde, vicar, 1465 (ii. 328) and all parishioners.
Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Thos. Chowyng, 1473 (iv. 100). To ouer lady ligth in the body of the saide churche xij^d^.—Richd. Chambre, 1518 (vii. 118). To ouer lady ligth in the chapell viij^d^.—Elianor Chamber, 1533 (ix. 75).
HOLY TRINITY.—Thomas Codde, vicar, 1465 (ii. 328).—Roger Rose, 1501 (v. 398).
ALL HALLOWS; ST. MICHAEL ARCHANGEL.—Thos. Codde, vicar, 1465 (ii. 328).
ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Thos. Codde, vicar, 1465 (ii. 328). John Blower, 1488 (v. 94).
ST. JOHN BAPTIST; ST. KATHERINE.—Thos. Codde, vicar, 1465 (ii. 328).
ST. MARGARET.—Di. li. wex yerely to the stok of Saynt Margarets lyghte in the saide church.—John Darvall, 1494 (v. 246). Elianor Chamber, 1533 (ix. 75).
OUR LADY OF PITY.—Henry Machyn, c. 1517 (vii. 118). Elianor Chamber, 1533 (ix. 75).
ST. GEORGE.—Elianor Chamber, 1533 (ix. 75).
ROOD.—Sep. in ecclesia coram ymagine crucifixi in nave ecclesie.—Thos. Codde, vicar, 1465. Lego picture ymaginis crucifixi ibidem et ymaginis S^ce^ Marie et S^ct^ Joh^is^ Evangeliste xx^s^.—(ii. 328).
SEPULCHRE.—A taper of v^li^ wex before ye sepulcre in the church of St. Margarets.—John Darvall, 1494 (v. 246).

ROCHESTER. CHAPEL OF THE BRIDGE.*—Founded by John de Cobham in honor of the Holy Trinity and for the health of all faithful departed.—*Vide* Reg. W. Bottlesham, fo. 45, and *Reg. Roff.*

Thos. Dalton.—Capellanus in capella S^ce^ Trinitatis iuxta pontem Roffen.—1458 (ii. 119). Lego capelle S^ce^ Trinitatis ad finem pontis Roffen. j novum psalterium vnum superpellicium et dua candelabra mea optima.

Sir Henry Tynney, "capellanus pontis Roff."—viii. 61, 1526. (He wished to be buried at St. Clements).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY; HOLY TRINITY.—To the chapell of the breg, £6 13*s.* 4*d.* to make a trinite and the tabernacle and a tabernacle to o^r^ lady—Sir Henry Tynney, 1526 (viii. 61).

Chantry certificates, P.R.O., Kent No. 28, section 210. state that the priests were to celebrate "for the helth of the soule of the founder and in honor of the Trynytie, o^r^ ladie and of all saynts for euer."

Lego ad emendacionem unius calicis pertinen. ad capellam animarum ad pedem pontis vj^s^ vij^d^.—John Northcot, 1492 (v. 190).

ROCHESTER. ST. KATHERINE'S CHAPEL; ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S; ST. THOMAS' CHAPEL.—Mentioned in the will of Thomas Shemyng, 1523 (vii. 291) and others. He had a house in Rochester called "The Horne w^t^ the Hope," and another in "Estgate Strete beying at Saynt Austen's Well."

RUXLEY. *Dedication.* ST. BOTULPH.—To be buried w^t^ in the churche of Saynt Botulphe of Rokisley.—Richd. Marchall, 1513 (vi. 370).

There are only two or three Ruxley wills in the Rochester Court. The parish was united to North Cray in 1557. The church is now used as a barn. There is a view of it in *Custumale Roffense* Pl. xxiv.

RYARSH. *Dedication.* ST. MARTIN.—Sep. in cimiterio Sancti Martini de Riershe.—Wm. Vesy, 1450 (i. 86). Thos. Dorant, 1451 (i. 97).
Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Ad pict. ymaginis b^te^ Marie in Australi parte dicte ecclesie x^s^.—Robt. Reynolde, 1501 (vi. 35). A taper before the ymage of our lady in the North side of the church.—Thos. Estland, 1519 (vii. 176). A cowe to fynd a light before ou^r^ lady on the North Side—Thos. Estlande, 1527 (viii. 132).

* An account of this chapel will be found in *Trans. S.P.E.S.*, i., 206.

ST. MARTIN.—Ad picturam ymaginis b^{ti} Martini in eadem ecclesia xl^{s}.—Robt. Reynolde, 1501 (vi. 35).

ST. KATHERINE.—Ad picturam ymaginis b^{te} Katerine.—Robt. Reynolde, 1501 (vi. 35).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Sep. in ecclesia coram altari S^{ci} Nicholay.—D. Wm. Wyxy, Vicar, 1450 (i. 91).

ST. JAMES.—Robt. Reynolde, 1501 (vi. 35).

ROOD.—To bye a crucifix w^{t} a pictor of our Lorde thereuppon and to be sett in the myddeste of the rode beame there vj^{s} viij^{d}.—John Walsyngham *alias* Purley, 1517 (vii. 98). Xij^{d} to beye a candlestik of laton to stande uppon the Rode lofte before the hight cross.—Thomas Estland, 1519 (vii. 176). To the lamp burning before the high cross, a cowe.—Henry Cleygate, 1481 (v. 18).

HERSE.—Ad sust: lum: voc. le hercelight viij^{d}.—Wm. Raynolde, 1473 (iv. 116). Henry Cleygate, 1481 (v. 18).

SEPULCHRE.—A taper to bren a fore the Sepulcer at Easter.—Thos. Estland, 1519 (vii. 176).

SEAL. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Sep. in cimiterio Petri et Pauli de Sele. Peter Smyth, 1461 (ii. 215). To be buried in the churchyard of the Parysshe churche of Seynt Petur & Paule thappostolls in Seale.—John Idley, 1524 (vii. 335). Sep. in cimiterio S^{ci} Petri de Seall.—Robt. Clarke, 1492 (v. 190).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—A taper of ij pounds to be made and sett up be fore our lady in ye chaunsell of our lady in the seide church of Seale & to burn at times convenient.—John Porter, 1533 (ix. 84). Peter Smyth, 1461 (ii. 215).

ST. ERASMUS.—Thos. Elcy, 1475 (iv. 202).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Peter Smyth, 1461 (ii. 215). John Snosmere, 1486 (v. 142).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Peter Smyth, 1461 (ii. 215).

ST. PETER.—Robert Clarke, 1492. (v. 190).

ST. KATHERINE.—Peter Smyth, 1461 (ii. 215). To Saynt Kateren aulter j table cloth.—Margaret Crower, 1512 (vi. 335).

TRENDLE.—To the trendle ligth and other necessaries to the churche behoff on cowe price xij^{s}.—Alice Olyuer, 1520 (vii. 214).

ROOD.—To the makyng of the rode lofte xij^{d}.—Jn. Dane, 1492 (v. 188). Lego vnam peluem ad supportacionem lampadis coram crucifixo.—John Everarde, 1492 (v. 193).

I bequeith to ye mayntenyng of ye lyght brynnyng of ij lattyn canstiks or stondors be fore ye hight aulter in Seale church xij^{d} by yere for iiij yers.—Maryon Oliver, 1532 (ix. 85).

These candlesticks had been given by Wm. Olyver in 1516 (will P.C.C., 17 Holder).

SHIPBORNE. *Dedication.* ST. GILES.—John Colyn, 1496 (v. 268). To be buried in the churchyard of Saint Gyles thabbot of Shipborne.—John Dyne, 1517 (P.C.C., 35 Holder).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Ij tapers of ij^{li} wax on of them to stand afore the Image of ou^{r} blessed lady to bren in the tyme of Dyuyn Service and the other before the Image of Saynt Michael tharchangel in the saide churche.—James Watts, 1519 (vii. 171).

ST. MICHAEL.—Wm. Watt, 1485 (v. 53).—Henry Yonge, 1526 (viii. 48).

ST. KATHERINE.—Wm. Bochar, 1508 (vi. 211).

HERSE.—Lum: hersie iiij^{d}.—John Colyn, 1496 (v. 268).

SHORNE. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—To be buried in the churchyarde of the appostylls Petyr and Paule of Shorn.—Wm. Waleyce, 1473 (iv. 94). To be buried in the p. ch. of Sainte Peture of Shorne.—Jn. Jorden, 1512 (vii. 345). Also simply Saint Peter in will of Jn. Howet, 1449 (i. 77), and others.

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Peter Catter, 1449 (i. 65). To the ligth of o^{r} lady in the Sowth chawncell a bushell of barley.—Jn. Page, 1491 (v. 166). To ou^{r} lady chapell of Shorn church of the South side xl^{s}.—Sr Robt. Whittyngham, Vicar, 1528 (viii. 185). To be buried before ou^{r} lady in ye South chaunsell.—John Herenden, 1527 (viii. 109). To the ligth of o^{r} lady in the South ile of the seyde church iij^{li} wax.—Agnes Oxenden, 1485 (v. 60). [The South Chancel was known as Roundall Chancel, from the manor of that name in the parish.]

Brotherhood. ALL SAINTS, BEDSHAM. — Lego fraternitati omnium sanctorum in vico de Bedsham infra paroch. de Sowthflete vj^{s} vij^{d}.—Wm. Custaunce, of Stone, 1450 (i. 110).

SPELDHURST. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—To be buried in the churchyard of our blessyd ladie of the parish of Spelhyrst.—Humfry Copyng, 1524 (vii. 320). To be buryed in the churche yerde of Spelhurste holdyn of the natyuite of ou^{r} ladie.—Richard Abraham, 1524 (vii. 350).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—A taper of half li. wex before our lady at my departyng.—Ric. Holmeby, 1528 (viii. 169).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Ric. Abraham, 1524 (vii. 350). To the Xpofer xij^{d}.—John Copping, 1522 (vii. 244). To the gildyng of the ymage of Saynte Xpofer of Spelhurste xij^{d}.—Wm. Crocher, 1525 (vii. 377).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—John Watts, 1515 (vii. 63).

ST. PETER.—To the gyldyng of Saynte Petur xij^{d}.—Richard Abraham, 1524 (vii. 350).

ROOD.—To Mary and John iiij^{d}.—Humfry Copyng, 1524 (viii. 320). To the roode Mary and John xij^{d}.—John Copping, 1522 (vii. 244). To the making of the window a fore the rode fote xij^{d}.—Wm. Crocher, 1525 (vii. 377).

HERSE.—Lum. vocat' le hers xij^{d}.—John Curdde, 1472 (iv. 23).

[The chapel at Groombridge, in honour of St. John, Apostle and Evangelist, was founded in 1239 by William and Hawis Russell (Reg. H. de Hethe, fol. 141a). It was rebuilt in 1625 by John Packer, Esq., and dedicated to the service of God "in gratitude for the safe return of Charles, Prince of Wales, from Spain."]

STOKE. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Sep. in cimiterio Petri et Pauli de Stoke ex parte boriali ante ostium cancelli.—Wm. Brown, Vicar, 1445 (i. 33). To be buried in the bodie of the church of Saynt Petyr and Paule of Stoke.—Thos. Iden, Esq., 1511 (vi. 312). In the will of Adam Sander, 1483 (v. 19) it is simply St. Peter; also in the will of John a Furde, 1524 (vii. 369), and others.

Lights, &c. OUR LADY AT THE HIGH ALTAR.—To o^{r} lady ligth at the hie autur ther iiij^{d}.—John Cryp, 1501 (vi. 69).

OUR LADY ON SOUTH SIDE.—To our ladie ligthte on the southside of the church of Stoke a cow to maynten the said ligthte for euer.—Thos. Iden, Esq., 1511 (vi. 312). A cowe to fynde a lampe light be fore o^{r} ladye in the south side of the churche of Saynte Petur of Stoke.—John a Furde, 1524 (vii. 369).

OUR LADY ON NORTH SIDE.—To o^{r} lady in the north side iij^{d}.—John Bote, 1517 (vii. 114).

OUR LADY IN OUR LADY'S CHAPEL.—Ad reparacionem capelle beate Marie de Stoke iiij oues matrices.—Thos. Tuder, 1452 (i. 117). V tapers of wex of a^{lb} to brene be fore o^{r} lady in the chapell of ou^{r} lady there on Tyme of dyvyne s'uys at tymes ther a costomyd.—Adam Sander, 1483 (v. 19).

Lum. Beate Marie ibidem vocatam Whighte ymage ij^{d}.—Agnes Hamond, 1473 (iv. 172).

ST. PETER.—Thos. Iden, Esq., 1511 (vi. 312).

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Luminibus apostolorum Petri et Pauli 4 oues matrices.—Thos. Tuder, 1452 (i 117).

ST. ANTHONY.—Agnes Hamond, 1473 (iv. 172); Jn. Bote, 1517 (vii. 114).

ST. KATHERINE.—Kateryn Tutor, 1491 (v. 176).

ALLHALLOWS.—Jn. Cryp, 1501 (vi. 69).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Agnes Hamond, 1473 (iv. 172).

ST. JOHN; ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Lum. S^{ti} Johis ij^{d}.—Agnes Hamond, 1473 (iv. 172). Light of St. John iij^{d}.—John Bote, 1517 (vii. 114). Lum. S^{ci} Johis Bapt. ij oues matrices.—Thos. Tuder, 1451 (i. 117).

SEPULCHRE LIGHT.—Lum. S^{ci} Sepulcri xij^{d}.—Robt. a Barton, 1474 (iv. 136). To the light of the Sepulcre vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Thos. Iden, Esq., 1511 (vi. 312); and most other parishioners.

HERSE.—Lego ad sustentacionem luminis vocat. herselight xij^{d}.—John Hamonde, 1485 (v. 63).

ROOD.—Thos. Tuder, 1451 (i. 117); John a Furde, 1524 (vii. 369).

CHAPEL OF OUR LADY.—Lego altari capelle B. Marie in eadem parochia.—Wm. Roplond, 1447 (i. 38). Ad sustentacionem capelle S^{ce} Marie de Stoke.

Robt. a Barton, 1474 (iv. 136). Lego capelle b^te^ Marie iiij^d^.—John Hamonde, 1485 (v. 63). To the chapell of o^r^ lady there a cow and a bullock, the wardeyns of the church and of the chapell to keep the same.—Kateryn Tutor, 1491 (v. 176).

STONE. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie S^cte^ Marie Virginis de Stone.—Wm. Custaunce, 1450 (i. 110). Ric. Mayken, 1452 (i. 124).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Sep. in ecclesia coram altare S^cte^ Marie in parte boriali et lego fabrice reparacioni de la Ile ibidem vbi sepultura mea fierit 40^s^.—Ric. Mayken, 1452 (i. 124). A taper afore o^r^ lady in the north Ile.—William Petitt, 1480 (iii. 240). To church of Stone xxvj^s^ viij^d^ half to be apploied to the honor of our lady in the chauncal the other half a bowt the reparacion of the Steple.—Reynold Chayney, 1508 (vi. 215). A trentall before our blessyd lady of Stone.—Jarradue Myddeham, of Swanscomb, 1531 (viii. 302). Taper bifore our ladye.—Alice Stile, 1535 (ix. 192).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—To the light of ouer lady of piety xij^d^.—Robt. Foster, 1522 (vii. 258).

ST. ANTHONY.—A taper before Saynt Anthonye.—Alice Stile, 1535 (ix. 192).

ST. BLAISE.—To be buried in ye church of Stone in Saynt Blase chapell.—Reynold Chayney, 1508 (vi. 215).

ALLHALLOWS.—To Alhallone light on the rode lofte ther a quarter of barley.—Thos. Wade, 1496 (P.C.C., 24 Horne).

ROOD.—To be buried before the Rode.—John Bokelond, 1473 (iv. 233). To the rode light xij^d^.—Robt. Foster, 1522 (vii. 258).

To be buried in the north side of the chauncell of the Parish Church of Stone, and I will that myn executour in conuenient hast after my deceas cause a Chapell of Lyme and Stone to be made and bilded over me w^t^ a conuenient marbill stone to be laide upon my grave there and will that they bestowe and expende in and about the same thirty pounds.—Sr John Wilshire, Kt., 1526 (P.C.C., 16 Porch).

STROOD. *Dedication.* ST. NICHOLAS.—Thos. Hencote, 1473 (iv. 103), and all parishioners.

Lights, &c.—OUR LADY.—To the bylding of o^r^ lady chapell in the same church xl^s^.—John William, 1501 (vi. 33). To the reparacon of o^r^ ladie chapell.—Robt. Aslake, 1511 (vi. 301). To o^r^ ladie light in the chapell ij^d^.—Jn. Smyth, 1523 (vii. 298). To be buried w^t^ in our lady chaunsell in Strode besides my father.—John Noone, 1520 (vii. 199). To o^r^ lady light in the queyre iij^d^ and o^r^ lady light in hur chapell iij^d^.—Thos. Noone, 1523 (vii. 290).

OUR LADY OF THE PILLAR.—To the lyght of ouer lady of the peloure iij^d^.—Margt. Cok, 1494 (v. 241). To o^r^ ladie at the Pilor ij^d^.—John Smyth, 1523 (vii. 298).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Thos. Hencote, 1473 (iv. 103); Edmund Fuller, 1519 (vii. 177).

HOLY TRINITY.—Thos. Hencote, 1473 (iv. 103). To the byldyng of the Trinite chansel xl^s^.—John Rygbye, 1517 (v. 108). To the mayntenawnce of the lampe lighte in the trinite chapell xx^d^.—Isabell Wodcok, 1493 (v. 240). Agnes Blowfeld, 1525 (viii. 23).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Thos. Hencote, 1473 (iv. 103); Johan Bet, 1507 (vi. 208).

ST. GEORGE.—John Herst, 1479 (v. 79); Wm. Bett, 1523 (vii. 288).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Mariona Bewell, 1483 (v. 33); Jn. Goldoke, 1536 (ix. 244).

ST. ANNE.—John Herst, 1479 (v. 79); Edmund Fuller, 1519 (vii. 177).

ST. KATHERINE.—John Herst, 1479 (v. 79); Johan Bet, 1507 (vi. 208).

ST. ANTHONY.—John Rygbye, 1517 (vii. 108).

ST. JAMES.—Ad lum. S^ci^ Jacobi dua apiaria.—Jn. Cowper, 1457 (ii. 87). Wm. Bett, 1523 (vii. 288).

ST. SUNDAY.—To Saynt Sondaye ligth under Saynt George 1^d^.—Robt. Aslake, 1511 (vi. 301). A taper of xij^d^ by fore the image of Saynt Sonday.—John Russelle, mercer, 1497 (16 Horne, P.C.C.).

ST. SITHE.—To the gyldyng of Seynt Sythe iij^d^.—John Munde, 1524 (vii. 339).

ST. MARGARET.—A taper of xij^d^ to bren before Saynt Margaret.—John Noone, 1520 (vii. 199).

ST. ERASMUS.—John Noone, 1520 (vii. 199).

ST. PETER.—Johan Bet, 1507 (vi. 208); Wm. Bett, 1523 (vii. 288).

ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—Johan Bet, 1507 (vi. 208). I gif my best kerchef to the payntyng of Mary Magdalene.—Agnes Blowfeld, 1525 (viii. 23).

ROOD.—Thos. Hencote, 1473 (iv. 103). Lego lumini S^co^ Crucis in le Rodeloft iij^d^.—Wm. Stace, 1473 (iv. 200).

TRENDELL; PASCHAL.—To mayntene the higth crosse ligth the Trendell and the paschall that no poo^r^ people paye thereto.—Wm. Huntar, 1517 (vii. 90).

SEPULCHRE.—To ye sepulcre light 4^d^.—Jn. Goldoke, 1536 (ix. 244).

ROOD "ad le Pyller iuxta ostium australe."—Lum. crucis apud le Pyler.—Thos. Stodfold, 1474 (iv. 178). Lum. S^co^ Crucis ad le pyller iuxta ostium Australe in ecclesia predicta iij^d^.—Robert Sprever, 1483 (v. 27). Lum. S^co^ Crucis iuxta hostium Australe vj^d^.—John Herst 1479 (v. 79). To the light of the rode at the south dore j^d^.—Robt. Aslake, 1511 (vi. 301).

ROOD "iuxta hostium boriale."—Lum. S^co^ Crucis iuxta hostium boriale iij^d^.—Wm. Stace, 1473 (iv. 200).

THE CROSS ALTAR.—To the crosse aulter of the saide parish a towell.—Isabell Wodcok, 1493 (v. 240).

Brotherhood. OUR LADY.—To the bretherhod of ouer lady vj^s^ viij^d^.—John Wales, butcher, 1518 (vii. 124). To you^r^ lady broderhodd xij^d^.—Thos. Wright, scissor, 1523 (vii. 310).

STROOD "NEWERKE."—Hospital of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Strood called Newerke—see *Reg. Roff.* p. 637, &c.

OUR LADY OF PITY.—Lum. b^e^ Marie Noui operis de Strode voc' le pite xij^d^.—Wm. Leuesham, 1475 (iv. 204). To our lady of Pytte in ye Newwarke iij^d^.—Jn. Munde, 1524 (vii. 339).

ST. SAVIOUR.—Lum. Sancti Saluatoris de Newerke iij^d^.—Thos. Hadds, 1482 (v. 10).

[There was a leper hospital on the hill above Strood, which, like that near Chatham, was dedicated in honour of St. Bartholomew. It was known as "White Ditch."]

SUTTON-AT-HONE. *Dedication.* ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—To be buried in the churchyard of Seynt John Baptist at Sutton.—John Att Mere, 1472 (iv. 22). Wm. Rawley, 1544 (x. 63).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—John Calverton, vicar, 1465 (ii. 373). Roes Motte, 1499 (P.C.C., 8 Blamyr).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—Margaret Wynkar, 1449 (i. 77). V tapers of iij qrt wex a pece before the figure of ouer blessid lady of Piety, to be reneuyd at the festis folouyng, at the natyuite of our Lorde, the resurrection and the assumption of o^r^ ladie.—Simon Profest, 1519 (vii. 184).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Before the pictur of Saynt John Baptist V tapers to be renuyd at the natyuite of o^r^ lorde and Saynt John Baptist.—Simon Profest, 1519 (vii. 184).

ST. NICHOLAS.—John Att Mere, 1472 (iv. 22). Roes Motte, 1499 (P.C.C., 8 Blamyr).

ALLHALLOWS.—Margt. Fryth, 1472 (iv. 24). To the ligth of al halowyn xx^d^.—John Lyme, 1482 (v. 15).

ST. LOY.—To Saynt loys lygthe xij^d^.—Simon Tumber, 1519 (vii. 160).

ST. KATHERINE.—Margt. Fryth, 1472 (iv. 24). John Lyme, 1482 (v. 15).

HOLY GHOST.—Lego Sancto Spir. vnam candelam ij^d^.—Wm. Godbouer, 1493 (v. 218).

ROOD.—Before the holy rode a taper of j^li^ wex to be renuyd at the natyuite of our Lorde.—Simon Profest, 1519 (vii. 184).

Brotherhood. ALL HALLOWS.—To the Broderheth of al halowyn of Cunysby xx^d^.—John Lyme, 1482 (v. 15). (It is not clear whether this is a local gild.)

HOUSE OR HOSPITAL OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST DE SUTTON-AT-HONE is mentioned by Rowland Stephynson of West Malling, 1471 (iv. 84), and Wm. Godbouer, 1493 (v. 218).

Thomas Chanceller, Esq., wished to be buried "in the chapell of our blissed lady and Saint John the Baptist at the maner of Sutton-at-Hoone."—1507 (P.C.C., 15 Bennett).

SWANSCOMBE. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Richd. Smyth, 1475 (iv. 192). Lego stauro ecclesie Beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli de Swannescomp x^s^.—

Reginald Thomas, clk. 1492 (P.C.C., 11 Vox). St. Peter in will of Wm. Pulman, 1541 (ix. 342).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—John Bucklande, 1530 (viii. 239). To ouer lady aulter a shete of iiij lls to make two aulter clothes.—Robt. Lyncoll, 1517 (vii. 104).

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Mr. Gilbert Carleton, vicar of Farningham, in his will dated 1500, requested his executors to new gilt "the ymages of Peter and Paule standing aboue the high awter after and in lyke maner and forme as of late the ymages of our lady and Seynt Peter and Seynt Pawle in the p'isshe church of Swanscomb be paynted and gilted."—(P.C.C., 17 Moone.)

ST. HILDEFERT.—Lego to South yle de S^co^ Hildeuerto iij^s^ iiij^d^ et solut' quando operarij sint ibidem operando.—Andrew Smyth, 1453 (ii. 15). Lego stauro et lumini Sancti Hildeuerti xx^d^.—Thos. Reginald, clk. 1492 (P.C.C., 11 Vox). Lum. S^ti^ Hildeuerti viij^d^.—Richd. Smyth, 1475 (iv. 192). To be buried in the South chapell of the parish church of Swannescomb before the holy image of Saint Iilduert.—Nicholas Grove, 1520 (P.C.C., 32 Ayloff). I will iij trentall off masses to be don in Swanscomp churche and a prest to syng before Sent Hildeuerts a quarter of a yere besydes the trentall.—Jarrardue Myddelham, 1531 (viii. 302). To Ste Hildeuerte aulter vj^d^.—Richard Grofe, 1537 (ix. 278). To the parish church of Swannyscombe a stremer of stayned clothe w^t^ an image of Sainte Hilforde and my conysaunce of my armes in the same prise of iiijs.—Wm. Swanne, Esq., 1533 (P.C.C., 16 Hogen).

TRENDLE.—To the trendle ligth ij^d^.—John Bucklande, 1530 (viii. 239).

ROOD.—Ad Lum. super magnam trabem xij^d^.—Richd. Smyth, 1475 (iv. 192). To the rode lofte a spruse chest.—Robt. Lyncoll, 1517 (vii. 104).

Brotherhood. ST. HILDEFERT.—Lego fraternitati S^ci^ Eldeuerti vnum quarterum ordei.—Thos. Puswell, 1450 (i. 111). Wm. Frawnceys, 1465 (ii. 329).

[At Greenhithe, in this parish was a chantry founded by John Lucas temp. Edw. III. in honour of the Blessed Virgin.—*Reg. Roff.* p. 657.]

TESTON. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Thomas Sponer, 1526 (viii. 31). John Gore, 1482 (v. 10). St. Peter, in will of John Pak, 1451 (i. 102), and of Jn. Crowherst, 1510 (vi. 276).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Richd. Philpott, 1501 (v. 385).

ST. PETER.—Jn. Crowherst, 1510 (vi. 276).

ST. MICHAEL.—Thos. Pak, 1505 (vi. 122).

ROOD.—John Gore, 1482 (v. 10). Thomas Pak, 1505 (vi. 122).

HERSE.—Thos. Pak, 1505 (vi. 122).

TROTTERSCLIFFE. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie Apostolorum Petri et Pauli de Trottesclyve.—John Clyterowe, 1463 (ii. 259). Sep. in cimiterio S^ci^ Petri de Trottesclyf.—Richd. Chaunceler, 1455 (ii. 32). Sep. in cimiterio ecclesie Sancti Petri Apostoli de Trosclyue.—Michael Oberay or Everarde of Berlyng, 1458 (ii. 117).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Johan Osbarne, 1523 (vii. 338). Ric. Chaunceler, 1455 (ii. 32).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Ric. Rowse, 1451 (i. 105). Edmunde Prynte, 1501 (v. 412).

ST. PETER.—Thos. Deysy, 1504 (vi. 167).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Ric. Chaunceler, 1455 (ii. 32). Jn. Tenaker, 1466 (ii. 376).

ST. JAMES.—Wm. Wolleryge, 1532 (ix. 30).

SEPULCHRE.—A pownd of wax to repare the Sepulcurre lyght.—Johan Osbarne, 1523 (vii. 338)

ROOD.—Richd. Chaunceler, 1455 (ii. 32).

BANNER OF ST. GEORGE.—I bequeth to the church a baner cloth w^t^ a Image of Seynt Geroge callyd a stremer vj^s^ viij^d^.—Edmunde Prynte, 1501 (v. 412).

Brotherhood. Lego servicio S^ci^ Petri, 4 bus. ordei.—Richard Chaunceler, 1455 (ii. 32).

TUDLEY. *Dedication.* ALLHALLOWS.—Parnell Kyppyng, 1525 (viii. 11). To be buried in the church of All Seynts of Tudeley before ye Roode.—Thos. Wyseman, 1509 (P.C.C., 22 Bennett).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Jn. Wyseman, 1459 (ii. 169). To our ladie light in Tudley church xl^d^.—Walter Kippyng, 1523 (vii. 281).

ALLHALLOWS.—To be buried in the Chaunsell of Tudley, before the ymage of Alhalows.—Robert Bowreg, 1520 (vii. 202).

ST. MARY MAGDALEN.—To be buried in the church of Tudley before the ymage of Mary Magdalen, 1523—Walter Kippyng (vii. 281).

ROOD.—Ad lum. super trabem xij^{d}.—Jn. Wyseman, 1459 (ii. 169). To the church of Tudeley one cowe, the churchewardens to maynteyn and renewe yerely ageynst the fest of Ester ij tapers to stande before the ymags of the holy rode at Tudeley and Alhalowen.—Johan Bowregge, 1527 (viii. 112). Lum' crucis in pulpito iiij^{d}.—Thos. Walsh, 1460 (ii. 170).

Richard Fane, Gent, whose will is dated 20 March, 32 H. viii. willed "to be buryed in the chapell of the churche of Tudeley, whiche chapell he caused to be made."—(26 Alenger, P.C.C.)

TUNBRIDGE. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Wm. Carter, 1446 (i. 49). To be buried w^{t} in the parish church of Petir and Poull of T.—John Cock, 1516 (vii. 60)

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—A taper of wex to bren before ye image off o^{r} blessyd lady duryng ye terme of on hole yere.—Richd. Mylls, 1531 (viii. 290). Sep. in ecclesia de Tombregg in capella beate Marie.—Henry A. Vane, 1456 (ii. 79).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—John Wattes, 1521 (vii. 241).

ST. KATHERINE.—John Wattes, 1521, (vii. 241).

ST. ANTHONY.—A taper to bren before Saynt Antonye duryng ye terme of on hole yere.—Richard Mylls, 1531 (viii. 290).

JESUS CHRIST.—Lego ad altare Ihu Xpi in eadem ecclesia iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—Wm. Tyherst, 1474 (iv. 152).

ST. NICHOLAS.—To be buried in the p. ch. of T. by fore Seynt Nicolas autir.—Richd. Latter, 1506 (vi. 186). To the gilting of Saynt Nicholas in ye church of Tumbreg.—George Gybon, 1517 (vii. 94).

ST. JOHN.—I will a taper of wex schall bren before Saynt John.—Richd. Rolf, 1513 (vi. 361).

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Ad pictur. duarum ymaginum videlicet Apostolorum Petri et Pauli iiij^{d}.—Wm. Hykeman, 1441 (i. 18).

SEPULCHRE.—To maintenaunce of the Sepulcar lyght iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—Godlyne Adams, 1518 (vii. 126).

ROOD.—Lego operi de le Rodelofte de Tonbregge iij^{s} iiij^{d} quum faciunt illud.—John Byschop, senior, of Hadlo.,—1483 (v. 23).

TUNBRIDGE.—PRIORY OF ST. MARY MAGDALENE.—Corpus meum cepeliendum in prioratu beate Marie Magdalene de Tunbregge.—Margery Pertrych, 1486. To the church of Saynt Mary Magdalen in Tumbreg xx^{d}.—Wm. Chester, 1513 (vii. 14).

(The only references.)

[Tunbridge Railway Station now occupies the site of this Priory.]

WATERINGBURY. *Dedication.* ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—To be buried in the parish churchyard of Saynt John Baptiste of Wateringbery besyde the Palme crosse.—John Hyllis, 1524 (vii. 319).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—O^{r} lady ligth iiij^{d}.—Wm. Coppyng, 1491 (v. 197). Towarde the tabernacle of our lady xl^{s}.—James William, 1522 (vii. 284). To our lady a taper of a lb.—Jhon Dedyke, 1532 (ix. 87).

ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—John Atte Style, 1448 (i. 77). Light of Seynt John Baptiste iiij^{d}.—Wm. Coppyng, 1491 (v. 197).

HOLY TRINITY.—To the gyldyng of the Tabernacle of the Trinite in the church of Wattryngberry vj^{s} viij^{d}.—Symone Godfrythe, parson of Nettlestead, 1522 (vii. 270). To the trinite light vj^{d}.—Jn. Hyllis, 1524 (vii. 319).

ST. ANNE.—To the tabernacle of Saynt Ann iij^{s} iiij^{d}.—John Hyllis, 1524 (vii. 319).

ROOD.—To the light of the beame vj^{s} viij^{d}.—James William, 1522 (vii. 284). To ye roode a taper of wexe of 1^{lb}.—John Dedyke, 1532 (ix. 87).

ROOD OF THE NORTH SIDE OF THE CHANCEL DOOR.—To ye roode light of ye north side of ye chansell dowre iiij^{d}.—Jhon Dedyke, *alias* Clare, Yeoman, 1532 (ix. 87).

HERSE.—To the herse light iiij^{d}.—Joone Haywarde, 1522 (vii. 266). John Haywerd, 1524 (vii. 328).

WESTERHAM. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—James At Well, 1447 (i. 46). To be buried in the churchyard of O^{r} Lady at Westerham.—Wm. Chapman, 1541 (ix. 375).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Jn. Bettesham, 1499 (v. 353).

Vnto the gilding of the ymage of our blissed lady in the quere iij^{s}. iiij^{d}.—Richard Heyward, 1529 (P.C.C., 14 Jankyn). O^{r} lady at the trinite aulter.—John Chapman, 1523 (vii. 276).

OUR LADY OF THE PILLAR.—Lum. b^{te} Marie in le Pelow—John Lambe, 1489 (vi. 132). To the light of o^{r} lady of the Pyller a taper of ij^{lb} of wax—Jn. Maister, 1509 (P.C.C., 22 Bennett).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—John Bettesham, 1499 (v. 353).

ASSUMPTION OF OUR LADY.—A taper of v^{li} a fore the ymage off the assumpcyon of o^{r} lady.—Thos. Stacy, 1504 (vi. 106).

HOLY TRINITY.—A taper of ij^{li} wax to bren befor the trinite and o^{r} lady for euer at the trinite aulter.—Jn. Chapman, 1523 (vii. 276). One taper afore the Trinite.—Jn. Potter, baker, 1533 (P.C.C., 28 Hogen).

ST. KATHERINE.—Margery Attewell, 1444 (i. 27). To be buried nygth my fader in the chapell of Saynt Kateren.—Thomas Pottar, 1531, 1536 (ix. 213). Richd. Potter, 1511 (P.C.C., 6 Fetiplace), and John Potter, 1522 (P.C.C., 24 Jankyn).

ST. STEPHEN.—Lego fabric. et rep. altaris S^{ci} Stephani iiij^{d}.—Nich. at Forde, 1448 (i. 57).

ST. JAMES.—Isabella Kete, 1498 (v. 305).

ST. GEORGE.—Ad picturam imaginis S^{ti} Georgei vj^{d}.—Margery Attewell, 1444 i. 27). To the light of Seynt George a taper of a lb. of wax.—Jn. Maister, 1509, (P.C.C., 22 Bennett).

ST. CLEMENT.—My wife to keep all such lights as I have kept and yet doth that is to say oon Taper afore the Trinite and oon other afore Saint Clement.—John Potter, baker, 1533 (P.C.C., 28 Hogen).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Isabella Kate, 1498 (v. 305).—Jn. Maister, 1509 (P.C.C., 22 Bennett).

ST. ANTHONY.—Isabella Kate, 1498 (v. 305). A taper off j^{li} afore the ymage off sent Antoney.—Thos. Stacy, 1504 (vi. 106).

SEPULCHRE.—Volo quod Alicia ux. mea supportabit meum paschal. cereum cremend. coram Sepulchro in die parasives et eius mortis.—John Bettesham, 1499 (v. 353).

ROOD.—Ad operacionem de Roodelofte vj^{s}. vij^{d}.—Wm. at Well, 1474 (iv. 143).

To be buried w^{t} in the churche of Westerham in the myddell Ile afore the crucifixe.—Richd. Heyward, 1529 (P.C.C., 15 Jankyn).

Brotherhood. ST. GEORGE.*—To the brotherhoode of Saynt George iij^{s} iiij^{d} yerely out of Petts londes.—Thomas Pottar, 1531, 1536 (ix. 213). To the Brotherhood of Saynt George viij^{d}.—Joh^{n} Chapman, 1534 (ix. 180).

WICKHAM, EAST. *Dedication.* ST. MICHAEL.—Richard Poole, 1542 (x. 120).—Thomas Payne, 1544 (x. 120).

ROOD.—In the will of John Clerk, of Bexley, 1527 (P.C.C., 25 Porch) he leaves "a cowe to the church of East wecam to fynde a taper of wax before the rode in the same church of Est wecam."

[There are no wills of this parish prior to those noted above.]

WICKHAM, WEST. *Dedication.* ST. JOHN BAPTIST.—Ellen Woodward, 1450 (i. 79).—Wm. Chelseham, 1474 (iv. 189).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Wm. Chelseham, 1474 (iv. 189). Sep. in ecclesia sancti Johannis Baptiste de West Wykham in capella beate Marie.—Thomas Squery esquier, 1414 (P.C.C., 31 Marche).

OUR LADY OF PITY.—To be buried in the church of West Wykham on the northe syde afor our lady of Pitie.—Wm. Crowland, 1521 (P.C.C., 11 Maynwaryng).

SEPULCHRE.—Lum. circa Sepulcrum domini.—Jn. Wilet, 1450 (i. 78). To the same church of Wykham to mayntayne the light at Ester x ewe shepe.—Wm. Crowland, 1521 (P.C.C., 11 Maynwaryng).

ROOD.—To the payntyng of the crucifyx xij^{d} so that it be paynted withyn a yer.—Wm. Stone, 1471 (iii. 110).

ROOD BY NORTH DOOR.—To the makying of the Roode lofte at the North Doore xl^{s}.—Wm. Crowland, 1521 (P.C.C., 11 Maynwaryng).

WILMINGTON. *Dedication.* ST. MICHAEL ARCHANGEL.—John Austyn, 1442 (i. 6). To be buried in the cymytory of the holy archangel Saynt Michael in Wilmington.—Thos. Lambe, 1530 (viii. 277).

* The Village Inn bears the sign of St. George and the Dragon.

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Jn. Austyn, 1442 (i. 6); Thos. Lambe, 1530 (viii. 277).
ST. MICHAEL.—Jn. Austyn, 1442 (i. 6); Wm. Cohen, 1495 (v. 250).
ST. KATHERINE.—Jn. Austyn, 1442 (i. 6); Wm. Cohen, 1495 (v. 250).
ST. JOHN.—John Bywyndyll, 1443 (i. 10); John Goodebor, 1508 (vi. 210).
ST. NICHOLAS.—John Lambe, 1518 (vii. 119).
ROOD.—John Walter, 1472 (iv. 179); Wm. Cohen, 1495 (v. 250).

WOLDHAM. *Dedication.* ALLHALLOWS.—John Mychell, 1442 (i. 3). Jn. Clement, 1473 (iv. 135).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Richd. Colyn, 1456 (ii. 65). Thos. Michell, 1473 (iv. 108). Sep. in capella b^{e} Marie in ecclesia de Woldham.—Ric. Newbolt, 1457 (ii. 88). A prest to syng at o^{r} lady aulter in the parish church of Woldham.—John Forest, 1526 (viii. 42). To the light of o^{r} lady in our lady chauncell 12^{d}.—Jn. Bewley, 1526 (P.C.C., 16 Porch).
ALLHALLOWS.—To the ligth of Al halowyn iiij^{d}.—Jn. Philpott, 1498 (v. 306). To the church of Woldham a banner cloth of Alhallowys.—Thos. Yeate, 1530 (viii. 262).
ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY.—Lum. B. Tho. Martiris xij^{d}.—Jn. Mychell, 1442 (i. 3). Lum. Sancti Thome.—Thos. Michell, 1473 (iv. 108).
ST. KATHERINE.—Jn. Mychell, 1442 (i. 3). Henry Pylcher, 1473 (iv. 135).
HOLY TRINITY.—Richard Colyn, 1456 (ii. 65). To the image of the Trynite a schete.—Kateren Scherborn, 1515 (vii. 40).
ST. BLAISE.—Johanna Pigott, 1473 (iv. 108). To be buryed w^{t} in the chapell of Seint Blase and to the rep. of the same chapell c^{s}.—Stephen Slegge, 1460 (P.C.C., 21 Stokton).
ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Henry Pylcher, 1473 (iv. 135).
ST. GEORGE; ST. MARTIN; ST. ANTHONY; ST. ROCH.—To the light of Saint George iiij^{d}; to Saint Martyns light iiij^{d}; to Saint Anthony light iiij^{d}; and to Saint Roche light in the church aforsaid of Woldam iiij^{d}.—John Bewley, 1526 (P.C.C., 16 Porch).
ROOD.—John Mychell, 1442 (i. 3). Jn. Philpott, 1498 (v. 306).

WOOLWICH. *Dedication.* OUR LADY.—Sep. in porticu ecclie b^{te} Marie de Wolwiche.—Thos. Hethe, gent, 1455 (P.C.C., 14 Stokton). To be buried in the churchyard of Our Lady of Wolwiche in thest side of the porche there.—John Sharpe mariner, 1552 (xi. 189).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—Sep. in cancello coram ymagine b^{te} Marie.—John Haynes, rector, 1495 (P.C.C., 26 Vox). Jn. Gefferson, 1537 (ix. 248).
ST. CLEMENT.—Robert Gowge, 1532 (ix. 54).
ST. GEORGE.—Robert Gowge, 1532 (ix. 54).
HOLY TRINITY.—Tho. Atwode, 1462 (ii. 241). Wm. Robert, 1472.
ST. NICHOLAS.—Tho. Atwode, 1462 (ii. 241).
ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Wm. Robert, 1472.
ST. KATHERINE.—Robt. Rowland, 1477. Richd. Chamberleyn, 1510 (P.C.C., 37 Bennett).
ROOD.—Robert Gowge, 1532 (ix. 54). Yerely ij^{s} viij^{s} for a lamp before the holy rood.—Thos. Egle, 1491.

Brotherhood. To Saynte Clements brothered xij^{d}.—Jn. Gefferson, 1537 (ix. 248).
Nicholas Boveton or Boughton, Esq., in his will dated 26 Feb., 1517, desired "to be buryed within the new chapell that I lately caused to be made in the parisshe churche of Wolwyche"—but no dedication is mentioned—(P.C.C., 15 Ayloffe).

YALDING. *Dedication.* ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—John Cherlesownd, 1463 (iv. 113). To be buried in the churche erthe of Sanct Pet^{r} and Pall of Ealdyng.—Agnes Alchorn, 1534 (ix. 119).

Lights, &c. OUR LADY.—To o^{r} lady light xij^{d}.—Wm. Covenney, 1523 (vii. 331). To the ligthes calleid our lady ligth a cowe.—Wm. Farman, 1535 (ix. 179).
OUR LADY OF PITY.—A taper of ij^{ll} wex ij tymes in the yere to be renuyed burnyng affore o^{r} lady of Pety in Ealdyng.—Maryon Covenney 1523 (vii. 332). A taper of four pound before the ymage of our lady of Pittye for seven yeres, to be lightedde at all Soondaies and holidais when devyne seruice is saide or soong.—Thos. Colt, 1529 (P.C.C., 26 Jankyn). Johan Sevyng, 1534 (ix. 165).

ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL.—Henry Bechyng, 1474 (iv. 168). Wm. Barworth, 1510 (P.C.C., 29 Bennett).

ST. PETER.—V marke a boute the payntyng of the principall ymage of Seynt Petir in the hie Qwer of the p. church of Ealdyng, 1498.—Julian Morell (v. 323). I will ther shal be a tabernacle made to the ymage of Seynt Petir standing in the chaunsell at Yaldyng acording to the bargyn that I have made with Thomas Thorngate of Goutherst, carver.—Wm. Astyn, 1522 (P.C.C., 25 Maynwaryng). Wm. Newman, 1533 (ix. 89).

ST. KATHERINE; ST. MARGARET.—Sepel. coram ymaginibus Sancte Katerine et Margarete.—Alice Merston, 1443 (i. 14). A taper of wax p's of a grote to bren afore the image of Seynt Kat'yn in the sayde cherch.—John Morys, 1485 (v. 59). Wm. A. Downe, 1528 (viii. 229).

ST. NICHOLAS.—Nicholas Hayman, 1517 (P.C.C., 28 Holder).

ST. CHRISTOPHER.—Ad faciendum noui candalabri ante ymaginem S^ei Xpofori vj^s vij^d.—Nichs. Dan, 1442 (i. 17). Ad renouacionem imaginis Sancti Xpoferi vj^s viij^d.—John Jop, 1493 (P.C.C., 18 Vox). Wm. A. Downe, 1528 (viii. 229).

ST. JAMES.—A taper for euer beying a li. and a half of wax for to brenn afore the ymage of Saynt James in the sayde churche of Ealdyng the Sondays and at dobill feste at Dyvyne seruice of Godd ij tymes of the yere renuyed and that shal be a yenste the feste of the natiuyte of ou^r lorde god, and a yenst the feste of Saynt James the apostell.—Thomas Harblott, 1492 (v. 207). Wm. A. Downe, 1528 (viii. 229).

ST. ANTHONY.—Thomas Foulisden, 1517 (vii. 95). Wm. A Downe, 1528 (viii. 229).

ST. THOMAS; ST. STEPHEN.—To the lyght of Seynte Thomas and Seynte Stephyn iiij^d.—Thomas Codde, 1522 (vii. 262).

HOLY TRINITY.—A taper of a lb. before the ymage of the Holy Trinite.—Johan Seuyng, 1534 (ix. 165); and a stremer conteyninge the pycture of the Holy Trinite to be in the seid churche in and for the honour of God.

ST. CLEMENT.—To the light before Sent Clement iiij^d.—Thomas Rycharde, 1525 (viii. 16). Wm. A. Downe, 1528 (viii. 229).

ST. BLIASE.—A taper of wex to bren before the image of Seynt Blace in the church of Ealdyng, 1503.—Thos. Owde (vi. 85). Wm. Astyn, 1522 (P.C.C., 25 Maynwaryng).

ST. MICHAEL.—Taper to stand before ymage of Seynt Mihell tharchangel.—Wm. Astyn, 1522 (P.C.C., 25 Maynwaryng). Johan Seuyng, 1534 (ix. 165).

ST. ERASMUS.—Wm. Astyn, 1522 (P.C.C., 25 Maynwaryng).

ST. ARMELL.—Taper before the ymage of Saynt Armell (also Saints Mihell tharchangel, Erasmus, and Blase) to be lighted at high masse euery Sondaie and holydaie commanded by the chirch.—Wm. Astyn, 1522 (P.C.C., 25 Maynwaryng).

ROOD.—To the ligth of the hy beam xij^d.—John Morys, 1485 (v. 59). To the rood lygth xij^d.—Thos. Codde, 1522 (vii. 262). Ad reparacionem solarii Sancte Crucis iiij^d.—Stephen Fraunces, 1496 (v. 308). Lego hercie pendent. coram alta cruce vj^d et lego Lum. alte trabis iiij^d.—Stephen Atte Nasshe, 1474 (iv. 164).

HERSE.—Thos. Parlabyen, 1448 (i. 65). Lum. voc. le herssh.—Hugh Roger, 1473 (iv. 117).

TRENDYL.—To the trendyl lyght xx^d.—Thomas Codde, 1522 (vii. 262).

SEPULCHRE.—I will that the wyndow ouer the sepulture be dampned and a blynde arche to be made rising ouer the same sepulture and the wudwarke of the same sepulture to be made according to good wurmanship and afterwarde to be gilded with the Resurrexion of our Lorde.—Wm. Astyn, 1522 (P.C.C., 25 Maynwaryng).

As explained on page 241, thirty-one, out of the thirty-four parishes, which made up the Deanery of Shoreham, have been excluded from the present enquiry owing to the paucity of material. The following is a list of those West Kent Parishes which yet remain to be dealt with:—

Bexley.	Halstead.	Meopham.
Brasted.	Hayes.	Northfleet.
Chevening.	Hever.	Orpington.
Chiddingstone.	Hunton *alias* Huntington.	Otford.
Eard *alias* Crayford.	Ifield.	Penshurst.
Cray, Saint Mary.	Ightham.	Sevenoaks.
Darenth.	Keston.	Shoreham.
Downe.	Knockholt.	Stanstead.
Eynesford.	Lidsing.	Sundridge.
Farley, East.	Malling, East.	Wrotham.
Farningham.		

The annexed Table shows at a glance the Images and Altars formerly existing in the Parish Churches of West Kent, as detailed in the preceding pages (pp. 254 to 297), from which it has been compiled, and to which it may serve as a rough index. The Table is not intended to show the images, &c., in the churches at any given date, since it includes the whole period under consideration—1400 to 1558—but to enable the reader to see readily the relative popularity of the various saints and the extent in the diocese of the cult of any one in particular.

IMAGES IN THE CHURCHES OF WEST KENT.

ON THE THREE WAYS OF CANONICAL ELECTION.

BY

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When I became a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians some twenty years ago, one part of the ceremonial of that ancient foundation which particularly struck me was the method used in electing the President. Every year on Palm Sunday, (or, in modern times, the day after) the fellows were to meet in college, and there proceed to the election of a president. The election was on this wise. First of all, the Registrar read out the bye-law which governs the election of a president. There was no formal proposal or nomination: but then each fellow present wrote down on a balloting paper the name of the fellow for whom he voted; if the fellow added more than one name, the vote was null and void. The voting papers were then collected in a large silver vessel by the Junior Censor, and brought to the Senior Censor, and by him read out in the presence of the college. If two-thirds of the fellows present agreed upon a particular name, the bearer of that name was forthwith elected president. But if not, the two names having the highest number of votes were then again balloted for: in this latter case a simple majority of those present, the more part, determined the election.[1]

One would not expect that anything connected with 'the Science and Faculty of Physic,' as it is called in the Act of King Henry VIII. establishing the College of Physicians,[2] would lead one into the study of the Canon Law. But it is so. This election of the President is an example of an election *per scrutinium*, one of the methods of election spoken of in the Constitution *Quia propter*,[3] which occurs among the decretals of Gregory IX. and is indeed a little older than this, for it was published by Innocent III. in the fourth Council of the Lateran, held in the year 1215. It may be convenient to add here a translation of *Quia propter*: The title is: on making elections by scrutiny or compromise.

"Whereas, by reason of the diverse forms of election which some endeavour to find out, many hindrances are caused and great dangers ensue to churches widowed of their pastors; we decree that when an election is to be held, all shall there be who ought, wish, and are able conveniently to be present. Then that three members of the college shall be chosen to take the votes of all with diligence, secretly, and one by one: and if the votes have been written down, they shall immediately publish the result, no further hindrance being thrown in the way by appeal: when the votes have been compared, he is to be accounted chosen, in whom all, or the more part, or the more discreet part, (pars sanior) of the chapter agree.

"Or, indeed, the power of electing may be given to a few fit persons; who in the place of all may provide a pastor for the widowed church.

"An election made in any other way is null and void, unless perchance all agree by a sort of divine inspiration, and then the election is perfectly valid.

"Those who shall attempt to make an election that is not in agreement with these three forms shall be deprived of their power of election for this turn."

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[1] *The Charter, Bye-laws, and Regulations of the Royal College of Physicians of London*, London, 1892. Chap. IV. Bye-law xxix. p. 43.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 11.

[3] See Appendix I.

To describe these three ways of election more at length; and taking the last spoken of in *Quia propter* to be mentioned first, there are:

i. *quasi per inspirationem:* when the electors are all agreed to elect the same person and there is not a single dissident. There is nothing miraculous claimed for this. It is a mere method of recording the fact that all are of one mind.

ii. *per scrutinium:* when the votes are given either by word of mouth or by writing to persons appointed to receive them; 'omnes vel maior et sanior pars,' is the rule given in *Quia propter;* but now the consent of two thirds of those present is in many cases necessary.

iii. *per compromissum:* where the society or college agrees to depute the election to a small committee, such committee to elect without reference back to the original body.

There is a quaint account in English of the methods of election in the Additions to the Rule of St. Saviour and St. Bridget belonging to the nuns of Syon, a religious house in the parish of Isleworth.[1] As it well expresses the general plan of these elections, I will venture to give it below.

Whan the day of the eleccion is com, and dyuyne seruyse that belongeth to them for to performe afore none is ended, the brethren immediatly schal synge masse of the holy-gost, solemply, in stede of hyghe masse, in solempne aray, as the tyme askethe. Whiche ended, the chauntres, with another suster whom sche wyl take to her, schal begynne solempnly the ympn "Veni Creator Spiritus," whiche schal be songe to the ende, quyer to quyer, of the sustres; whiche doon, the priores, in a lowe voyce, withe note, schal say thys versicle, "Emitte spiritum tuum," and thes two collectes "Deus qui corda" and "Actiones nostras" withe "Per Christum dominum nostrum, Amen," bothe under one. And whyles the sustres synge thys, the confessour, withe hys brethren, schal say the same withe the seyd versicle and collectes. Thys done, the brethren schal begynne ther sexte, and the sustres chapter belle ronge forthewithe, they schal spedely come to the crates[2] of the eleccion, where as they may speke withe the brethren and seculers togyder. To the whiche crates also schal come the general confessour withe two of hys brethren, confessours to the sustres, suche as he wyl take withe hym for to assiste, and be there than as witnesses only, and not for to have any voyce in the eleccion. And whan al be come, the xxiiii[ti] article of the bulle of pope Martyn the fyfte schal be redde, whiche begynneth thus, "Obeuntibus vero vel cedentibus," et cætera. And this article also is to be red amonge the sustres the day before euery eleccion, as it is expressed in the xi[te] chapter of the Addicions.

After thys, the constitucions of the thre formes of eleccion schal be declared in englysch by some wele lerned manne in the lawe of holy chirche, beyng withe oute of the seyd crates, and a notary withe hym. That is to say, the wey of the holy-goste, the wey of scrutyny, and the wey of compromys. And yf it plese the sustres to accepte and preferre the wey of the holy-goste, than the priores or any other suster may say thus, "What seme ye of such a suster, N," expressynge her proper name and syr name. "Me semethe that sche is an able persone to thys office," and yf al answer "it plesethe them for to have her abbes" or geve any other answer, hauynge the strengthe of ful consente, thys wey is welle spedde, yf so be there were no trety nor no menes made before to chese her abbes, so that sche be of sufficient age, and born in wedlok. Nor it hurtethe not thys eleccion, thof sche so chosen assente not to her nominacion. But yf any other do it, or if any trety or compacte be made tofore for to chese her, than is this wey al to squatte. If the wey of the holy-goste prevayle, the pryores schal say in thys wyse, "In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen." "I, suster N. N. priores of this monastery of Saynt Saviour, and of Sayntes Mary the Virgyn and Birgitte of Syon, of the order of Saynte Austyn kleped of Saynte Sauiour, of the diocyse of London. In the name and byhalue of al us chesers, werkyng withe us, the grace of the Holy-goste before inwardly callyd and bysoughte, chese suche a suster, N.N. (*expressyng her proper name*), and her by name expresly professed in this monastery, beynge of sufficiente and lauful age, fre of birthe and borne in wedlok, wyse and discrete, in to the abbes of thys our monastery."

Of the wey of Scrutyny.

If it happe by the demerites of the chesers that it pleseth not God to inspire them the wey of the Holy-goste, than they schal go to the wey of scrutyny, whiche is the ordynary wey. To the laufel execucion whereof, alle the sustres moste name thre sustres for to serche and knowe the wylles of alle. Whyche sustres, so named, in nowyse schal lette any sustre, be sygne or worde, or be any other mene, that sche may not say and frely name whom sche wylle, nor reuele to any what other say, or whom any of hem name to be abbesse. And alle her wylles and nominacions herde in the presence of the general confessour, and of hys two seyd brethren, of the lerned man of lawe, and of the seyde notary; the same notary forthewithe schal putte in wrytynge as they come, whom every suster namethe to be abbes. And sche than in the forme that folowethe schal be chosen in to the abbes, whom al the covente or elles the more and sadder party have named ther to, so that the persone so named be eligible. And yf it so falle that for the dyuersite of voyces, dyuersly dyrecte in to dyvers persones, none suche persone yet is founde, than schal they have recourse to a newe scrutyny, and never cese of suche recourse tyl the more and holer party of them have directe ther voyces in to a certayn persone able to be chosen in to the abbes. This done, and publysched in general, one of the thre serches whom thei wylle assigne among themselfe, schal pronounce and chese that persone in to whom the covente, or the more and holer party haue consentyd, sayng thus, "In nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. I, N. N. suche a suster professyd in thys monastery of Seynte Sauyour and of Sayntes Mary the Virgyn and Birgitte of Syon, of the order of Saynte Austyn, named of Seynte Sauyour, of the dyocise of London, one of the serches taken and made in the acte of thys presente eleccion, in al that I have power

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[1] G. J. Aungier, *History and Antiquities of Syon Monastery*, Westminster, 1840. p. 287. Chapter xii. "Extracted from the Arundel MS. No. 146, preserved in the British Museum," p. 248.

There is also a very full account of the three methods in *Rituale Cisterciense*, Lib. viii. Cap. i. and ii. Lirinae, 1892, p. 434, a reprint of the editions of 1688 and 1720. See also Martene, *de antiquis monachorum ritibus* liber v. cap. i.

[2] It will be noted that the nuns of Syon did not speak of their *grille* but of their *grate*.

as in thys acte, and in the same power of that other two serches, and in ther name, and in the name of al our sustres of thys seyd monastery, chese in comen suche a suster, N.N., of this monastery expresly professyd, beyng in sufficient and lawful age, borne in matrimony, fre, wyse, and discrete, in to our abbes of thys oure seyd monasterye." Whiche eleccion thus execute and fynysched, eyther be the weye of compromys, or be the weye of the Holy-goste, the chauntres solempnly schal begyn forthewithe thys psalme "Te Deum laudamus" whiche psalme the sustres schal performe withe songe, quyer to quyer, to the ende.

It may be noticed that there are no particulars of the way of compromise given by the nuns of Syon, though they speak of it as one of the three methods.

I. To take first, elections *quasi per inspirationem*, by way of the Holy Ghost, as we call it in English. In ecclesiastical history we may remember elections sometimes said to be like this: such as the sudden acclamation with which St. Ambrose was elected Bishop of Milan, while not yet baptized; or the case of the famous Hildebrand, (Gregory VII.) though these are instances of election by popular tumult rather than of election according to the canon law.

Descending, however, to actual and undoubted cases, there is a full account of an election, by way of the Holy Ghost, of one of the last Abbots of Westminster, John Islip.[1] The monks being assembled on Tuesday the 27th of October, A.D. 1500, a mass of the Holy Ghost was said at the high altar; and the bell being rung to chapter, they heard in the chapter house a sermon on this text: 'Instead of thy fathers thou shalt have children whom thou mayest make princes.' Sermon being ended, *Veni Creator*, with the usual versicle and collects, was sung. Then the king's letters patent giving *congé d'élire*, granting as they do a perfectly free election, were exhibited and read in the chapter. All persons not qualified to vote were warned off by the prior, who was John Islip himself, and the constitution *Quia propter* was read by Dan Edward Vaughan, the director of the chapter. The same monk then asked the prior and convent by what way they would proceed in this election. To which they at once answered that they would proceed by way of the Holy Ghost. Thereupon Dan William Lambard stood up in his place and publicly, before the director and the rest, named Dan John Islip for abbot: and immediately all the monks, with the exception of John Islip, at once without any waiting, or discourse among themselves, or any other deed, with one voice and one spirit declared the prior John Islip to be chosen abbot. *Te Deum* was then sung and the elect conducted to the high altar, where the election was duly published to the clergy and people there present.

In the election of William Patten, whom we call William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester and founder of Magdalen College, Oxford, we have very nearly the same programme.[2] There is the same mass of the Holy Ghost, and singing of *Veni Creator*, reading of constitution *Quia propter*, and warning off of persons unqualified to vote; there is also a letter from the King, in which document he tells them that though they "aught not to procede unto thellect'on of a newe pastoure and fader for the chirch of Wynchestre a foresayd, withoute oure licence first had in that partie, yet natheles we aswel for the greet love and affect'on that we bere unto the said chirch"[3] recommend William Waynflete for bishop. Immediately then, without any debate, on a sudden, with one accord, the monks of Winchester elected William Waynflete for their bishop and pastor; and as at Westminster, so at Winchester they began at once to sing *Te Deum*, and the election was published at the high altar.[4]

Thus in the middle ages was carried out an election *per inspirationem*, by way of the Holy Ghost: and such also is the manner in which at the present day the election of bishops in England still usually takes place. I have notes of recent elections at York from Dr. Raine, one of the Canons, at Winchester from Dr. Kitchin, the Dean,[5] and at Lincoln from Mr. Venables,[6] the Precentor, one of our Vice Presidents. These gentlemen have been kind enough to notice on my behalf the proceedings at the elections, and from the printed materials and notes which they have been so good as to send me, I gather that the procedure in most

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[1] Richard Widmore, *An history of the church of St. Peter, Westminster*, London, 1751. Additional Instruments to Appendix, p. 234.

[2] Richard Chandler, *Life of William Waynflete*, London, 1811. Appendix p. 305. No. 5.

[3] See Chandler, appendix, p. 299. No. 1.

[4] The King seems to have been in a great hurry to get William Waynflete elected. Cardinal Beaufort died on Tuesday, April 11th. The King must have heard of it at Windsor the same day, for the English letter just quoted is dated April 11th. The petition of the monks for the leave to elect (*congé d'élire*) is dated the 12th of April (p. 300.) and the *congé d'élire* itself is dated April 15th at Canterbury, (p. 316.) while the election took place on the morning of that day, (p. 307.) The *congé d'élire* can hardly have been received at Winchester from Canterbury before the election took place, an irregularity which the King anticipates in a second English letter, dated April 13th (p. 302.) bidding the monks to procede to election on April 15th "in al godely haast" and that the letters patent shall bear date before, "having recommended in the moost specialle wise oure said clerc maister William Waynflete." The King did not confirm the election until April 27th.

[5] Now Dean of Durham.

[6] Since the paper was read, the church of Lincoln has had to mourn the loss of one of her most devoted sons.

cases remains mediæval. The mass of the Holy Ghost has disappeared, but even the sermon remains at York, *Veni Creator* persists everywhere, so also the reading of the *congé d'élire*, that is the letters patent granting the free election (the letter missive recommending the election of a particular doctor being quite separate) the Dean asking his brethren if they consent to the election of Dr. N. (just as at Syon we find the prioress asking the consent, and at Westminster Edward Vaughan,) the immediate consent, the singing of *Te Deum* and the publication at the high altar. At Lincoln the publication takes place at the choir gates, under the bishop's throne, and at the high altar. At York the Dean publishes the election in the nave, and at the choir gates. (See appendix III.)

The recent election at Wells is perhaps an example to be avoided rather than followed. One of the features of a canonical election, it will have been noticed, is the absence of debate; but at Wells the garrulity of a parliament seems to have invaded the chapter. Reporters were evidently admitted; and instead of setting soberly to business as soon as the *congé d'élire* and the letters missive were read, the doctor recommended to the chapter by the crown was positively proposed and seconded by two of the canons or prebendaries, and the question put as if the chapter had been a public meeting. It may be noticed that neither of the antiquaries of the chapter, the Dean or the Sub-dean, was present; and this perhaps may account for the extraordinary confusion of the proceedings.[1] In fact, the presence of shorthand writers and of other persons unqualified to vote is a serious irregularity; for if we look upon Ayliffe as any authority in English Canon Law, it may follow that there is no bishop of Bath and Wells at this moment; for after speaking of the threefold method of canonical elections, and that the bishop must not be elected in any other place but the cathedral church, otherwise the election is invalid, this writer adds "That Laymen shall not be present, and if they are, the Act shall be totally annull'd."[2]

The papal elections are now governed by the Bull *Æterni Patris* of Gregory XV. and this document[3] mentions *quasi per inspirationem* as one of the permitted methods of electing the pope. But though there are several instances of the election of a pope by this method, especially in the sixteenth century, one of the last being Sixtus V., yet it does not seem to have been actually used since the publication of the bull *Æterni Patris*, though distinctly permitted by this constitution. There is an instance of it in the election of Clement VII. After many days spent in fruitless balloting it was agreed to elect the Cardinal de Medici: and the future pope having come into the chapel, the Dean of the College of Cardinals said to him: Most Reverend Lord, all the most reverend Cardinals are well content that you be pope; and I now, as Dean, in the name of the most reverend Lords, and in the name of the Holy Ghost invoked by them, choose and pronounce you, the most reverend lord Julius, Cardinal presbyter and Vice Chancellor of the Holy Roman Church, as Pope and Roman Pontiff. Then all and singular the Cardinals standing around him said the same thing unanimously, and with a loud voice.[4]

Thus began the disastrous pontificate of Clement VII., to whom might be assigned the character of Reuben. "Unstable as water thou shalt not excel."

II. To pass on to election *per scrutinium*. Nowadays it is usually practised by means of voting papers; in the middle ages the vote was given by word of mouth to the scrutineers: consequently one of the first things to be done in an election by scrutiny was to appoint scrutineers, *scrutatores*, of whom, according to *Quia propter*, there were to be three. Of the electors a majority seems to be sufficient for a valid election: he was to be elected whom all, or the greater, and more discreet, part should choose. But before *Quia propter*, in the constitution *Licet de Vitanda* of Alexander III. A.D. 1180, it was determined that in papal elections two-thirds of those present should join in one name.[5]

An example of an election *per scrutinium* is set forth at length in the process of the election of William de Pickering to the Deanery of York in 1310.[6] The votes of the canons present, and of those absent given by their proctors, are recorded, na mes being given; at the first ballot there were twelve votes in favour of Robert de Pickering, seven in favour of William de Pickering, and two in favour of John de Merkingfeld; but Robert gave way in favour of his kinsman William; John de Merkingfeld also withdrew; and there followed therefore an unanimous election of William de Pickering.

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[1] *The Guardian*, Sept. 1894. p. 1409 col. iii. from the *Wells Journal*.

[2] John Ayliffe, *Parergon Iuris Canonici Anglicani*, London, 1726. p. 243.

[3] *De electione Romani Pontificis*, printed at length in *Caeremoniale continens ritus electionis Romani Pontificis*, Romæ, 1724. p. 37.

[4] J. B. Gattico, *Acta selecta Caeremonialia sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae*, Romae, 1753. p. 323.

[5] *Caeremoniale*, just quoted, p. 5.

[6] James Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, Rolls Series, 1894. vol. iii. p. 227.

The proceedure in the Convocation house in the University of Oxford may recall to some of us in the method of collecting the votes, (not in the making of speeches,) the mediæval method of election by scrutiny expressed by word of mouth. The proctors are the scrutineers: they demand the vote of the graduate, which is recorded by pricking with a needle; just as the Queen still appoints the sheriffs by pricking a roll opposite the name of the sheriff. The votes of the graduates being collected, the vice-chancellor announces: 'Maiori parti placet' or 'Maiori parti non placet,' as the case may be.

Of the 'way of scrutiny' we have a well-known example in the ordinary method of electing the pope. It has been seen that the pope may be elected by way of the Holy Ghost or by compromise, but scrutiny is the ordinary way. And of the papal election we have so many details given to us, the ingenuity of generations of Italian minds having been applied to hinder fraud in the voting, and the election itself is so famous and important, that we may dwell for a little on its particulars. The literature of the papal election is very abundant, but the modern details we may take from the constitution of Gregory XV. published in 1621–22.[1]

As in other elections, there is a mass of the Holy Ghost, a sermon, and *Veni Creator* sung as the Cardinals follow the papal cross into conclave. The first day nothing is done but the preliminary business; in the evening the conclave is definitely closed, and until the conclave be shut up, no election can take place. On the second day the cardinals proceed to election. Mass is said in the Pauline chapel at which all the cardinals communicate, and they then determine by which of the three methods the election shall take place. That *per scrutinium* is usually chosen.

In the account of a papal election written by James Caietan who died in the middle of the fourteenth century, we are told that if the cardinals agree to proceed by way of scrutiny they elect three scrutineers.[2] Then three scrutineers of the scrutineers are chosen, who look after the scrutineers and write down in duplicate the votes as they are given. Each cardinal could vote for more than one: though Caietan remarks that it is a bad plan, but much practised in his day. Then the votes being given they were all read out aloud by one of the cardinal deacons with the name of the voter attached to them. With this we may contrast the modern system where the greatest care is taken to prevent the name of the voter transpiring. This open voting was forbidden at the Council of Trent.[3] The votes recorded by the scrutineers of the college being read, they then proceed to read the votes in duplicate of the scrutineers or the scrutineers; and finally there is a comparison of the number of votes received by each candidate: the Cardinal of Ostia, so many; the Cardinal of Tusculum, so many; just as they do in the present century, for Mr. Hartwell D. Grissell has most obligingly shown me some of the lists made out at the last conclave, with the numbers of votes given for each cardinal. Caietan adds there is no comparing of merit with merit, of zeal with zeal, but only of number with number. A majority of two-thirds was required for a valid election.

It is clear that balloting papers were used in the time of Caietan. Very good reproductions of the modern balloting papers are given in the *Caeremoniale* which has been quoted;[4] but I owe to Mr. Grissell again the opportunity of reproducing by photography one of the balloting papers prepared for the last conclave, when there was elected the present pope, Leo XIII.

Voting-papers are prepared by the masters of the ceremonies. If the papers cannot be printed they must be written by one hand; and a stock of them is kept in two basons on a table before the altar in the conclave, so that the cardinals may take one as they come to vote.

The papers are ordered to be oblong, the breadth less than the height; that is the latter is to be about a palm, while the former is half a palm. The specimens shown me by Mr. Grissell were about 5¾ inches by 5, or 147 millimeters by 125, so that in more modern times the directions of Gregory XV. have not been closely observed. At the top are two words only: I . . . . . Cardinal[5] (to be filled up with the Cardinal's name; say: I, John Henry, Cardinal Newman) and a little below are two circles, upon which the seals are to be put. In the midst follow these words in two lines in Latin: choose as pope my most reverend lord, the lord cardinal N.[6] Then at the bottom of the voting-paper there are also two circles for the

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[1] See *Caeremoniale* already quoted, p. 50.

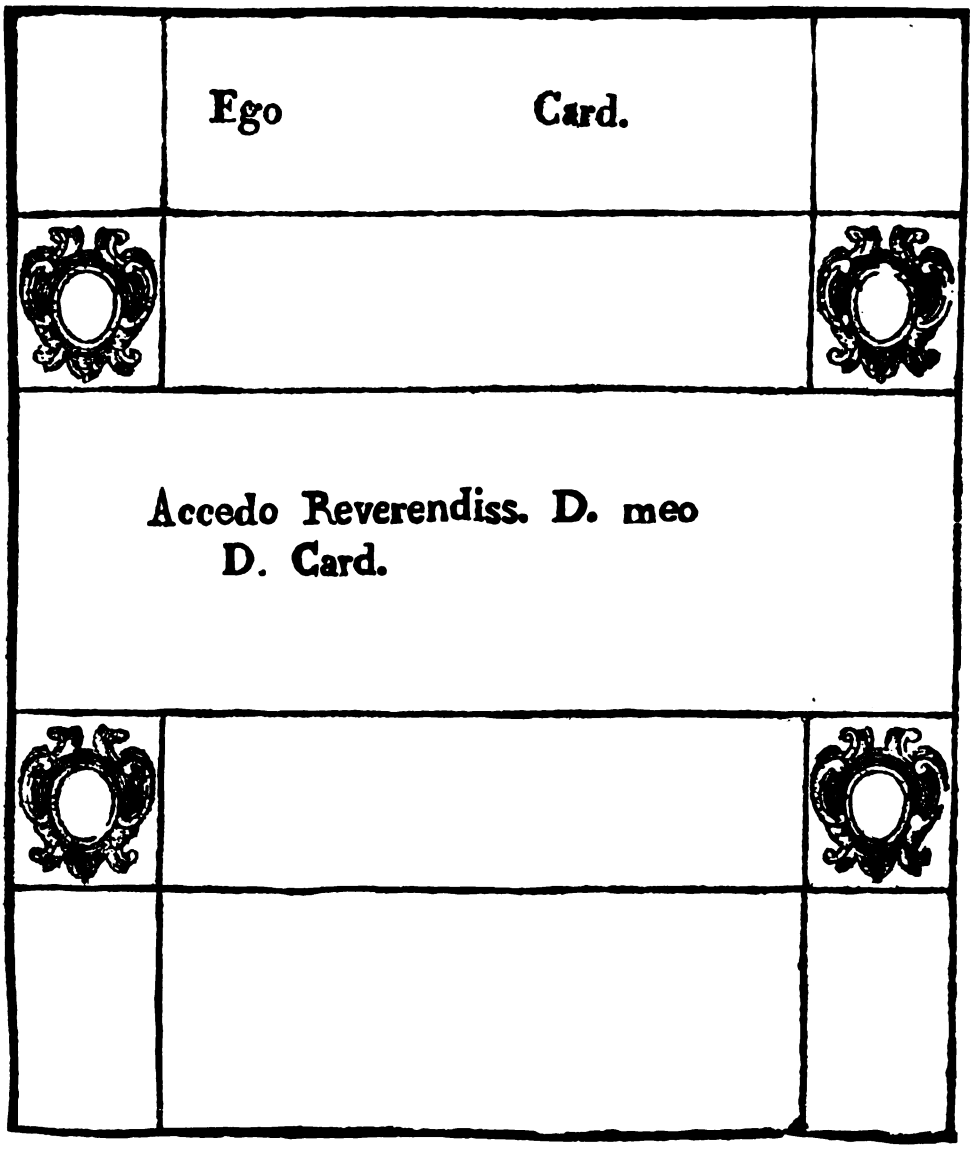
[2] J. Mabillon, *Musei Italici* tom. ii. Lutet. Parisiorum, 1724. p. 246. *Ordo Romanus* XIV.

[3] *Canones et Decreta SS. Œcumenici Concilii Tridentini*, xxv. cap. vi.

[4] See pp. 57 to 63 for reproductions of the balloting paper spread out, *verso* and *recto*, or half folded, ready for voting.

[5] Ego Card.

[6] Eligo in Summum Pontificem R. D.



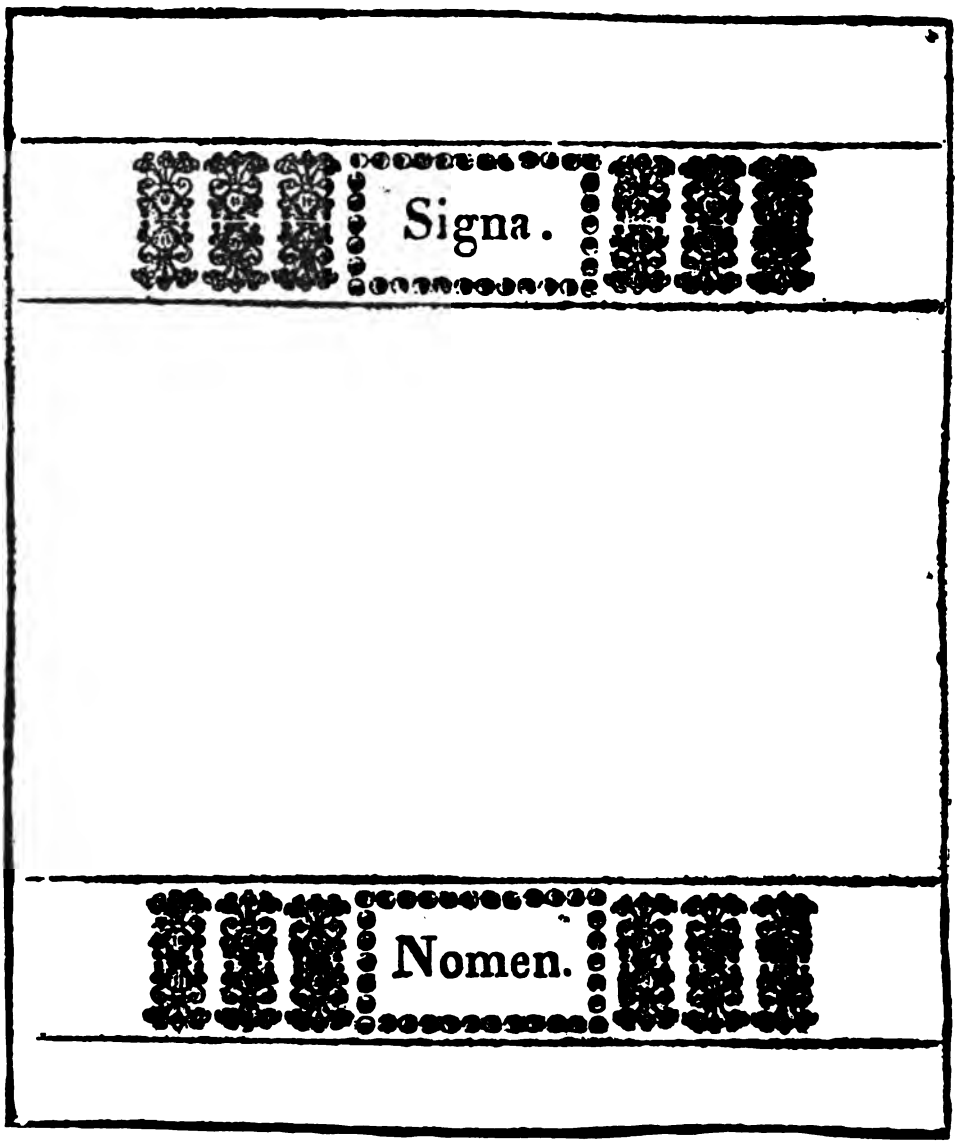
CARDINALS' VOTING PAPER.—RECTO.

A facsimile of a voting-paper for the *accessus* used in the election of Pope Leo XIII. Mr. Hartwell D. Grissell, M.A., F.S.A., Chamberlain to His Holiness, has kindly allowed it to be made for the Society as an illustration to this paper.

The voting-papers used in the *scrutinium* and the *accessus* are the same, excepting that instead of 'Accedo Reverendissimo D. meo D. Card.' in the *accessus* paper, there is 'Eligo in Summum Pontificem D. meum D. Card.' in the *scrutinium* paper.

The block from which this voting-paper has been printed would seem to have been made in the last century, if not earlier.

seals, as above, and a space for the Cardinal's number and motto, called *signa*. At the back of the voting-paper where at the top the cardinal will write his name, at the bottom his number and motto, are ornamental designs called by the Italian printers *fregi*. I believe the English printers call it 'head piece'; they are like the scrolls at the head of a chapter in a last century edition. These are printed on the back to hinder the writing on the front, the name and *signa*, from showing through; (see the facsimile) for extraordinary pains are taken to prevent the name of the voter becoming known to the scrutators: when the cardinal is to vote he approaches the table or tables where there are ink and pens and other apparatus, but all arranged so that



CARDINALS' VOTING PAPER.—VERSO.[1]

those who write may be seen, but what is written not seen. The cardinal then fills up the voting paper in a disguised hand, and seals in the places marked with red wax; using not his own arms but a seal with three numbers, or with three letters, or one simple design. The seals can be seen by the scrutators: but without breaking the seals the scrutators cannot read the name or motto of the cardinal voting. This rule of great secrecy makes the folding of the voting-paper a serious affair. First, both top and bottom are folded over so that the name and motto of the cardinal are hidden and the ornamental designs only appear on the back; then the paper is folded again so as to reduce the voting-paper to the length of a man's thumb. Then it is folded again between the two lines of Latin printed in the middle of the paper, and the voting-paper is then ready to be carried to the altar, and put into the chalice.

The cardinal then takes the voting-paper with his two first fingers and openly carries it, raised on high, to the altar where the scrutators are, on which there is a large chalice covered with a paten. There kneeling he prays for a short time, and rising says with a loud voice, reading from

[1] It will be noticed that in this facsimile of the *verso* of the voting paper the word *signa* is at the top, and *nomen* at the bottom. The voting papers reproduced in the *Caeremoniale* (pp. 59. and 63.) have *nomen* at the top and *signa* at the bottom, and this latter agrees with the directions in the *Caeremoniale.*

a card set on the altar: "I call to witness Christ our Lord, who is to judge me, that I choose him whom in the sight of God I judge ought to be elected and I will answer for the same in *accessus*." Then he places the voting-paper on the paten and thence puts it into the chalice and bowing to the altar returns to his place.

All the cardinals having voted, the chalice is shaken many times while it is covered with the paten; and the votes are then taken out and counted. If they do not correspond with the number of the cardinals, the whole set of papers is forthwith burnt, and a fresh balloting begun. But if they correspond, the scrutineers take out a voting-paper, show the seals intact, and read the name voted for aloud, so that all the cardinals can hear, and note in their papers on which are printed the names of all the cardinals in conclave. The votes being counted, the voting-papers are run on a file through the printed word 'eligo', and put aside. After this, comes the *accessus*, which is a repetition of the voting in the scrutiny, but with different voting-papers. The voting-papers of the scrutiny and *accessus* are then compared, the numbers and mottoes at the lower parts of the voting-papers being examined and found to correspond, but the upper parts, however, with the names of the cardinals, as yet preserve their seals unbroken.

Then the votes are counted. If one name do not obtain two-thirds of the votes, whether in the scrutiny alone, or in the scrutiny and *accessus* combined, no pope is elected. But if one name have two-thirds of the votes, then they open the upper part of the voting-paper of the cardinal with that name where the cardinal has written his own name; and if it appear that he voted for another, the election is good; but if he voted for himself, null, on account of the lack of one vote: not, however, if there be more than two-thirds voting for him.

The voting-papers, whether there have been an election or not, are next examined by certain officers called *Recognitores* who see if the votes be really as given out by the scrutineers. Last of all, the entire set of voting-papers used in this ballot are burnt.

In the early statutes of the Colleges at Oxford[1] we find methods of election of a head clearly based upon the Constitution *Quia propter*. At Balliol the statutes of Sir Philip Somerville correspond in these particulars with those of Robert Fitz-Hugh Bishop of London. The election is to be by scrutiny; and the scrutineers are to take the votes secretly, apparently by word of mouth, and then write them down. Then they are faithfully to announce the election; and he is elected for whom 'major pars communitatis consenserit': i.e. a bare majority. If the votes be equal, then the 'pars sanior' is to have the casting vote: and the 'pars sanior' is defined to be the seniors and those who are well learned men.[2] At Queen's College the election of the head was always to be *per scrutinium*, and the election was by the majority.[3] At New College the fellows were to be unanimous, if possible; if not unanimous, then the election was to be by a majority of those present. Five scrutineers are ordered; one divine, another a canonist, a third a civilian, and two masters of arts. It is expressly stated that as soon as an absolute majority is obtained the person backed by that majority is elected Warden.[4] At All Souls, the fellows choose two Fellows whose names are submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, who chooses one.[5] There was something like this at Merton in 1274. Seven of the more discreet seniors were to inquire of the 'Scholars' who would be a good warden; of the names received in this inquiry the seniors were to choose three who were to be named to the patron, by whose authority one of these three would be chosen.[6] At Lincoln the election of the head seems to have been by a mere majority.[7] So also at Brasenose.[8] At Magdalen[9] and Cardinal College[10] we meet with an unusual feature in these elections, the nomination of candidates. Ordinarily, no one is proposed in an election by scrutiny.

At Corpus Christi, in the early 16th century, balloting papers make their appearance. The election of the President is to be by the seven senior fellows. This reminds one of an election *per compromissum* and of the seven 'elects' at the College of Physicians. The two eldest of these are the scrutineers; they write down their own votes upon a *schedula* secretly and privately, and their own names as well. When they have given their votes, then the rest of the electing body give theirs secretly and privately. The election is by a majority; and in the statutes of this college appears the injunction that you are not to vote for yourself.[11] At St. John's (founded in the reign of Philip and Mary) we have the voting-papers again.[12] I have been told that at this college the chalice is used for the collection of the votes, as it is in the

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[1] I have used the edition of the *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, Stationery Office, 1853, in three volumes. The statutes of each college have a separate pagination; thus the pages given belong to the separate pages of the statutes of each college spoken of.

[2] pp. ix. 4 [3] p. 8. [4] p. 24. [5] p. 13.
[6] p. 33. [7] p. 15. [8] p. 3. [9] p. 7.
[10] pp. 23, 156. [11] p. 3. [12] p. 14.

papal election, but I have no certain information of this. At Pembroke we have also a reminiscence of the papal election in the direction that as soon as the votes have been counted and written down, the voting-papers are to be burnt.[1]

In nearly all these college elections it will be noticed that a bare majority is enough, not two-thirds of the voters as at the College of Physicians, a proportion not insisted upon in *Quia propter* though it has been necessary in papal elections since the twelfth century.

What is the present method of electing heads of houses at Oxford I have not taken the trouble to enquire. We know that the Universities have been visited by commissions, each more ignorant than its forerunner of the nature and constitution of a university;[2] so that next to nothing of antiquity remains untampered with. "That which the palmer worm hath left hath the locust eaten; and that which the locust hath left hath the canker worm eaten; and that which the canker worm hath left hath the caterpillar eaten." These ancient institutions have been looked upon as vile bodies upon which experiments might be tried; or as subjects to be brought into close conformity with the Benthamite examining body in Burlington Gardens.

St. Paul's Ecclesiological Society knows too well that restoration, reform, and renovation, are only other names for ruin; and there is little now left at the Universities but the buildings; and even these are being rapidly restored away.

III. The third method of election is by compromise, that is, by a small committee. It seems an advantageous way of settling the business when there is a large body to consult; and it prevailed at the College of Physicians from Henry VIII.'s time to our own. By the Charter there was a body called the elects, "from hence forward to be called and cleaped Elects; and that the same elects yearly choose one of them to be President of the said commonalty."[3] This committee was abolished in the general changes made in the constitution of the college in the years 1858—60. The Bishop of London is still usually elected *per compromissum*.

Archdeacon Cheetham tells me of a very notable thing that happens at Rochester when a bishop of that see is elected. At the stage in the proceedings when the chapter should be asked by what way they will proceed to election, the Dean always proposes that the election be by compromise, to which, however, the chapter does not agree; and the election goes on *quasi per inspirationem*. For, if all be not agreed to proceed *per compromissum*, that method of election cannot be enforced. From a document printed by Gattico it would appear that the assent to proceed to the election of the pope *per compromissum* must be unanimous; and that even if one elector prefer *per scrutinium*, the election must be by that way.[4] The number of the compromissors was nearly always uneven, so that no dispute could arise from equal voting.

To take a mediæval example of the way of compromise, we may choose the election of Robert of Winchelsey as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1292, because this election is early and because we have abundance of documents in Wilkins drawn up *sede vacante*.[5] To take first the document which records the appointment of the compromissors. The chapter being assembled, they were first asked by what way they would proceed to election? and it was agreed unanimously (nullo penitus reclamante) that they would provide by way of compromise for the church of Canterbury, widowed of its archbishop and pastor. They then elected as compromissors Martin of Clyve, the penitentiary, G. de Romenal the precentor, R. de Adersham sub prior, J. de Welles treasurer, R. de Celeseya, J. de Wy, and R. de Clyve monks, that is seven of the monastery, 4 obedientiaries or officers and three plain monks. They were to elect either unanimously or by a bare majority (omnes vel major pars vestrum) and they might elect whom they chose, one of the monks of Canterbury, or another: and whosoever was chosen would be Archbishop of Canterbury.

The same day the compromissors met, and they did then choose Robert of Winchelsey, Archdeacon of Essex, and Doctor of Divinity, to be Archbishop of Canterbury.

We have also a very full account of the election by compromise of Archbishop Stratford in 1333.[6] The prior and chapter chose three monks: Robert of Dover, sub prior; John of Sandwich; and James of Oxeney; and gave to them power to take to themselves 7 more

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[1] p. 4. See also the *Rituale Cisterciense*.

[2] To show the care with which the new statutes have been framed and the necessity there was for reform, I may say that in one college, where there had never been any difficulty in electing a head from the middle ages to the present time, the first election under the new statutes nearly ended in a deadlock, and a deadlock out of which there was no way, though counsel's opinion and the like measures were taken. It is not surprising therefore to be told that many of the men who took a leading part in introducing these 'reforms' now express great sorrow for the share which they had in this work of destruction.

[3] *Charter, Bye Laws*, &c., p. 10.

[4] Gattico, *op. cit.* p. 124.

[5] David Wilkins, *Concilia*, Lond. 1737. t. ii. p. 189.

[6] Wilkins, *op. cit.* p. 565.

monks of Canterbury to be compromissors, four of whom to be a quorum, and to elect a proper person as archbishop. The three monks first mentioned then proceeded to choose as compromissors Thomas Goldston precentor, Hugh of St. Margarets almoner, Richard of Ichham, William of Coventry sacrist, Richard of Wyllardseye, Edmund of Adesham, cellarer, and Hugh of St. Ives, reader.

These compromissors going apart, after much talk about many names, chose, by a unanimous vote John, Bishop of Winchester. After *Te Deum* the election was published from the rood loft to a large number of the faithful.

Sometimes there was only one compromissor to whom the election was entrusted, and he might not be a member of the Society. For example Dr. Aidan Gasquet tells me that the last abbot of Glastonbury was elected in this fashion, Cardinal Wolsey being appointed 'compromissor *totaliter*.' By virtue of this commission Whiting was appointed abbot.[1] He was one of the victims of Thomas Cromwell.

The canonists seem to be agreed that in the case of a sole compromissor he may not elect himself. It would show that he was ambitious and it would be a disgraceful thing and the like.[2]

One of the most important elections in the history of the English Church is that of Matthew Parker to the See of Canterbury. This was by a sole compromissor; and the *processus* lately printed shows the extraordinary care taken to preserve even the unessential forms of a canonical election.[3] The forms observed remind one very greatly of those used in the election of John Islip at Westminster in 1500[4] or of the other earlier elections that have been described.

The bell being rung to chapter, they entered the chapter house and the Queen's letters patent (*congé d'élire*) granting a free election were then read: it does not appear that any Letters missive nominating Matthew Parker were exhibited. Then all unqualified persons were warned off, and the chapter *Quia propter* read; and on being asked by what way they would proceed to election, the chapter unanimously decided that they would proceed by way of compromise: and they then appointed Nicholas Wotton, the Dean, sole compromissor on condition that he would immediately proceed to election, in the face of the chapter. Having accepted the burden of the compromise, he gave his vote for Matthew Parker. Then the chapter leaving the chapter house and entering the choir of their church, sang *Te Deum laudamus* in English, and William Darrell, one of the canons, authorised by the chapter, duly published the election to the clergy and people.

Election *per compromissum* still goes on in our day. We often see that a colonial bishopric is to be provided for by the Archbishop of Canterbury and one or two other compromissors. And at this very moment there is such an election going on under our eyes. We are told that the See of Adelaide is void by the translation of Dr. Kennion to that of Bath and Wells. The Synod of Adelaide, with whom apparently the right to elect rests, has appointed the Archbishop of Canterbury as compromissor, and he is to join to himself other compromissors (as we have seen the monks of Canterbury did,) in the persons of the Bishops of Wakefield and Manchester, the Bishop-elect of Bath and Wells, and Bishop Selwyn.[5]

At the election of the present Bishop of London (Dr. Temple) the Chapter proceded by way of compromise, the Dean (Dr. Church) being appointed sole compromissor. (See Appendix IV.)

Of the election by way of scrutiny I can speak favourably as a highly practical method of electing a head. There is no proposing or seconding, and none of the dreary speech making which makes the transaction of business in modern England so unspeakably wearisome. Election by way of compromise is really that practised by many learned societies at the present day. The council as a matter of fact elect the officers, the Society at large merely registering the decrees of the body to whom they have entrusted the nomination. We are rarely sufficiently blessed in being all of one mind to make election *quasi per inspirationem* frequent, without external influence: a fate lamented even in the middle ages, for Prior Laurence in his life of Bishop Bateman of Norwich tells us: Via eligendi per viam, quae dicitur, spiritus sancti, quæ modernis temporibus rarissime est attrita.[6]

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[1] F. A. Gasquet, *The last Abbot of Glastonbury*, Lond. 1894. p. 33.
[2] P. M. Passerini de Sextula, *De electione canonica*, Romae, 1661. Cap. xxii. Qu. 8. p. 334.
[3] Denny and Lacey, *De Hierarchia Anglicana*, Londini, 1895. Appendix III. p. 201.
[4] See above p. 301.
[5] See *Guardian*, Nov. 7, 1894. p. 1735. col. ii.
[6] Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, Lond. 1735. Vol. ii. Lib. vii. p. 2. § 8. I am indebted for this reference to Dr. E. C. Clark, Regius Professor of Civil Law in the University of Cambridge.

This brings to an end the short sketch of the three ways of election that were once prevalent in the middle ages. The paper contains nothing that is at all new to those who have paid some little attention to the canonical methods of election. I have only ventured to bring the matter under the notice of the Society because the recent scene at Wells made me think that the diffusion of a little elementary knowledge might be useful to those who have to conduct canonical elections. They might be brought more into accordance with the Canon Law which is still in force in this country, where not contrary to the Queen's prerogative and the laws and customs of this realm. The constitution *Quia propter* was read, it has been seen, as the law of the proceedings, at the election of Archbishop Matthew Parker in Queen Elizabeth's time, and apparently it governed the mode of election: so that we have an excellent precedent for conforming ourselves to its directions, and no reproach of want of loyalty to established authority can be brought against us if we follow its rules.

Appendix I.

The Constitution *QUIA PROPTER.*

The following is the Latin text of *Quia propter*, taken from Labbe and Cossart, *SS. Concilia*, Paris 1671 t. XI. pars i. col. 176, with the variations inserted in square brackets, which are given by Æ. L. Richter, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, Lips. Tauchnitz 1839, pars ii. col. 85, in the *Decret. Greg.* ix. Lib. I. tit. vi. Cap. xlii.

Concilium Lateranense IV.

Cap. xxiv. De Electione facienda per scrutinium vel compromissum.

Quia propter electionum formas diversas quas quidam invenire conantur et multa impedimenta proveniunt, et magna pericula imminent ecclesiis viduatis: statuimus ut cum electio fuerit celebranda praesentibus omnibus qui debent et volunt et possunt commode interesse, assumantur tres de collegio fide digni qui secrete [secreto] et singulatim voces [vota] cunctorum diligenter exquirant [inquirant] et in scriptis redacta mox publicent [ea *add.*] in communi, nullo prorsus appellatione [appellationis] obstaculo interiecto: ut is collatione adhibita [habita] eligatur, in quem omnes vel maior vel [et] sanior pars capituli consentit [consenserit]. Vel saltem eligendi potestas aliquibus viris idoneis committatur qui vice omnium, ecclesiae viduatae provideant de pastore. Aliter electio facta [Vel electio facta] non valeat, nisi forte communiter [unanimiter] esset ab omnibus quasi per [Dei *add.*] inspirationem Divinam [*om.*] absque vitio celebrata. Qui vero contra praedictas [praescriptas] formas eligere attentaverint, eligendi ea vice potestate priventur.

Illud [autem, *add.*] penitus interdicimus ne quis in electionis negotio procuratorem constituat nisi sit absens in eo loco de quo debeat advocari [vocari] iustoque impedimento detentus venire non possit: super quo, si fuerit opus, fidem faciat iuramento; et tunc si voluerit uni committat de ipso collegio vicem suam. Electiones quoque clandestinas reprobamus, statuentes [statuimus] ut quam cito electio fuerit celebrata, sollemniter publicetur.

Appendix II.

The form of the licence to elect or *CONGÉ D'ÉLIRE.*

It would appear that up to the time of St. Anselm the Kings of England appointed bishops by simple delivery of the crosier. St. Anselm himself became Archbishop-elect of Canterbury when William Rufus forced the crosier into the saint's unwilling hands. But in St. Anselm's days some change in the manner of appointment took place, possibly about the time of the Council of London, in 1107.[1] The Bishop of Oxford considers that Roger of Salisbury was the first bishop in England canonically elected,[2] and this election appears to have taken place on April 13th, 1103 or 1102,[3] which is thus several years before the Council of London. The same distinguished authority quotes Henry of Huntingdon to show that Stephen promised free elections to the clergy; and in the constitutions of Clarendon it is agreed that the elections of prelates shall take place in the King's chapel.[4]

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[1] See David Wilkins, *Concilia*, Lond. 1737. t. i. p. 387. In this council it is said of King Henry I. "investituras amodo ecclesiarum per annulum et baculum remisit, electiones praelatorum omnibus ecclesiis libere concessit." See also S. R. Gardiner (*Student's History of England*, i. 126) who tells us that it was in Anselm's agrement with Henry I. that the chapters acquired the right to elect the bishop in the king's presence.

[2] W. Stubbs, *Constitutional History*, Oxford, 1878. iii. 296. Note 2. See also iii. 302, § 704 and i. 635.

[3] Le Neve, *Fasti Eccles. Anglic.* 1854. Ed. Hardy. Vol. ii. p. 594.

[4] W. Stubbs, *Select Charters*, Oxford, 1870, p. 114.

But soon after, for election in the king's chapel, there seems to have been substituted the *congé d'élire*. Certain canons were deputed by the chapter to repair to the King's court and announce the death of the bishop; making supplication for leave to elect a new bishop. Of the document in answer to this supplication we have an early instance in a *congé d'élire* in the third year of King Henry III. directed to the Chapter of Hereford. It is from the Public Record Office, Patent Rolls 3. Henr. III. part 2. m. 4. 23. April, 1219.

Licencia eligendi. Rex capitulo Heref' salutem.

Venerunt ad nos transmissi nobis ex parte vestra cum litteris vestris viri discreti Th. Decanus ecclesie vestre H. Archidiaconus Salop. et magister N. de Wulurunehamt' concanonici vestri nunciantes nobis decessum H. bone [bone *repeated and struck out*] memorie qui vobis pastor prefuit et petentes licenciam eligendi pastorem alium sibi et vobis concedi. Quorum peticioni condescendentes concedimus vobis licenciam eligendi vobis pastorem idoneum regno nostro utilem et nobis fidelem, salvo in omnibus iure regie dignitatis.

In some ten years later the form of the letters patent has altered a little, and it has nearly crystallized into the shape which it has retained with slight changes for six hundred years.[1] One may compare the letters patent sent in 1894 to the Chapter of Wells with those sent in 1275 to the same Chapter, and the form is very nearly the same, one being in English and the other in Latin. The Latin document has been taken from Prynne's *Records*.[2]

Rex dilectis sibi in Christo Decano et Capitulo Wellensi salutem.

Accedentes ad nos dilecti nobis Henricus de Monte forti et Magister Robertus de Brandon, cum literis Capituli vestri patentibus, nobis humiliter ex parte vestra supplicarunt, ut cum Ecclesia vestra Wellensis et ecclesia Bathoniensis sint per decessum bone memorie Willielmi nuper episcopi vestri pastoris solacio destitute, vobis et Priori et Conventui Bathoniensi alium eligendi episcopum licenciam concedere dignaremur.

Nos igitur vestris in hac parte precibus favorabiliter inclinati, licenciam illam vobis et ipsis duximus concedendam.

Mandantes quatinus vos una cum ipsis talem vobis eligatis in episcopum et pastorem, qui Deo devotus, regimini ecclesiarum predictarum necessarius nobisque et regno nostro utilis et fidelis existat.

In cuius &c.

Teste Rege apud Oveston xx. die Decembris.

Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith, to our trusty and well-beloved the Dean and Chapter of our cathedral church of Wells, Greeting.

Supplication having been humbly made to us on your part, that whereas the aforesaid church is now void and destitute of the solace of a pastor by the death of the Right Rev. Father in God Doctor Arthur Charles Hervey, commonly called Lord Arthur Charles Hervey, late Bishop of Bath and Wells, we would be graciously pleased to grant you our fundatorial leave and licence to elect another Bishop and pastor of the said see.

We being favourably inclined to your prayers in this behalf, have thought fit, by virtue of these presents, to grant you such leave and licence.

Requiring and commanding you, by the faith and allegiance by which you stand bound to us, that you elect such a person for your Bishop and pastor as may be devoted to God and useful and faithful to us and our Kingdom.

In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent.

Witness ourself at Westminster, the twenty-fourth day of August in the fifty-eighth year of our reign. In warrant under the Queen's sign manual.

MUIR MACKENZIE.

In the later *congé d'élire* the visit to the king's court of the deputation of monks or canons is not spoken of, and in place of the visit there is mentioned only a letter in which supplication is made for leave to elect. Further instances of this may be seen in the *congé d'élire* of William Waynflete[3] and much later in that of Matthew Parker.[4]

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[1] See the form sent to the Chapter of Salisbury in 1228. (W. H. Rich Jones, *Vetus Registrum Sarisberiense*, Rolls Series, 1884. vol. ii. p 102.)

[2] William Prynne, *The third tome of an exact Chronological Vindication*, &c. Lond. 1668. p. 165. (King Edward I. Chap. II.) Pat. 3. Edw. I. memb. 34. Mr. C. Trice Martin, F.S.A. has very kindly read this and the preceding document with the originals in the Public Record Office.

[3] Richard Chandler, *Life of William Waynflete*, London, 1811. Appendix p. 316.

[4] Denny and Lacey, *de Hierarchia Anglicana*, Londini, 1895. Appendix III. p. 201.

In England I have found no trace in the episcopal elections of a practice which is said to be followed by the new Roman Catholic chapters in this country; viz. that of submitting to the Roman Court three names marked respectively *dignus*, *dignior*, *dignissimus*. The best approach to it that I have noticed is in the election of a Warden of All Souls, where two names are submitted to the Archbishop of Canterbury from which he chooses one.[1] But the rights of these chapters are not always respected; for it is taught by the canonists that as the pope is an autocrat (summus Ecclesiae pastor, princeps et monarcha[2]) he can revoke the privileges conceded to the chapters of electing their own heads. This was done in choosing a successor to Cardinal Wiseman. The name of Dr. Errington, his coadjutor *cum iure successionis*, was sent to Rome as *dignissimus*, but all three names were disregarded, and Monsignor Manning was appointed to the vacant place, while those who had voted for Dr. Errington were severely punished. From the point of view of the chapters there would seem to be but little to choose between pope and king.

Appendix III.

Dr. Raine, one of the canons of York, has very kindly given to me a copy of a notice printed at York at the time of the election of the present Archbishop, Dr. Maclagan; and it is here reproduced to show the order of procedure that is common in many English cathedral churches. At the top of the sheet is printed 'York Minster', the crossed keys of St. Peter dividing the two words.

Proceedings on Election of an Archbishop.

1. The Chapter assemble in the Zouche Chapel and proceed to the Chapter House in procession preceded by the Choir singing—"The Church's one Foundation," *verses* 1, 2.
2. The Choir halt and divide in the vestibule, the Chapter passing into the Chapter House.
3. The President declares the Chapter open.
4. The Procession returns to the Choir, the Choir singing the remainder of the Hymn.
5. The Dean gives an address on the subject of the assemblage.
6. The Litany is said.
7. The *Veni Creator* is sung.
8. The Chapter return to the Chapter House, the Choir remaining in their seats.
9. The Apparitor is sworn to the Execution of the Citations, and makes his call three times.
10. The Dean reads a Schedule declaring absent Canons contumaceous.
11. The Writ of Congé d'élire and the Letter Missive are read by the Registrar.
12. The Vote is taken, and the Dean reads a Schedule expressing consent.
13. The Dean undertakes to publish the Election.
14. The Dean and Chapter proceed to the Nave, and the Dean publishes the Election.
15. The Dean and Chapter return to the Chapter House.
16. The Election is decreed to be certified to the Queen and the Archbishop-Elect.
17. Proctors are appointed to exhibit the Letters certifying the Election.
18. The Dean and Chapter return to the Choir.
19. When the Dean reaches the Choir Gates he turns, and again publishes the Election.
20. The Dean and Chapter enter their stalls.
21. The Dean recites "We Praise Thee, O God," and the Choir proceed with the *Te Deum*.
22. The Prayers for the Queen and for the Archbishop-Elect, Bishops and Clergy are said by the Succentor Vicariorum.
23. The Dean gives the Benediction.
24. The Dean and Chapter proceed to the Chapter House, the Choir preceding them and singing Hymn 302, *verses* 1—3.
25. The Instruments of Election and the Proxies are read and decreed to be Sealed.
26. The Dean and Chapter proceed to the Zouche Chapel where they are Sealed, the Choir preceding them and singing Hymn 302, *verses* 4—6.

A. P. Purey-Cust, *Dean*.

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[1] Statutes p. 13 in *Statutes of the Colleges of Oxford*, Stationery Office, 1853, vol. i. See also Merton, p. 33

[2] P.M. Passerini de Sextula, *De electione canonica*, Romae, 1661, cap. 1.

Appendix IV.

I am indebted to the Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D. F.S.A. Subdean and late Cardinal of St. Paul's, for the courteous help which he gave me in copying the following document, which is in his possession, and the knowledge of which I owe to the Rev. William Russell, M.A. Mus. Bac. Minor Canon and late Almoner of St. Paul's.

The document here printed is evidently of considerable antiquity; and it may be noticed that it appears to be the custom at St. Paul's to elect the Bishop of London by way of compromise, the Dean being the sole compromissor, or, as he is called at St. Paul's, the arbiter.

9th March, 1885.

FORM OF PROCEEDING

ON THE

Election of the Right Reverend Frederick Temple, Lord Bishop of Exeter, to be Bishop of London.

The Dean and Chapter being assembled in the Chapter House at Half-past Eleven o'Clock on Monday, the 9th day of March, 1885 (the Bell having been first rung) the Verger appears, and produces the original Citatory Mandate, with a Certificate of the Service thereof endorsed thereon, and a Schedule thereto annexed, containing the names of all the Canons and Prebendaries cited by virtue of such Mandate; the Chapter order Her Majesty's Letters Patent and Letter Recommendatory to be read; which being done, the Canons and Prebendaries having or pretending to have a right, voice, or interest in the Election, are called at the Door to appear and proceed in such Election, if they think fit.

The Dean and the rest of the Chapter assume John Benjamin Lee, Notary Public, to be the Actuary, and also desire William Price Moore, and Harry Wilmot Lee to be Witnesses of the Election.

The Canons and Prebendaries as before mentioned being again called, the Dean with the consent of the rest of the Chapter reads and signs the first Schedule, pronouncing contumacious all the Canons and Prebendaries cited to appear, and not appearing, and decreeing to proceed further in the Business of Election, notwithstanding their absence.

The Dean, with the consent of the rest of the Chapter, reads and signs the Monition and Protestation, or second Schedule; monishing all persons suspended, excommunicated, and interdicted, or not having business with the said Election to depart from the Chapter House, and protesting that the voices of such as are absent (if any hereafter shall intervene) afford no assistance or do any prejudice to this Election, and pronouncing the Canons and Prebendaries present to be a full Chapter.

The Dean then publicly declares the Chapter, and sets forth the three Canonical ways of Election, viz., by acclamation, scrutiny, and compromise. If the Chapter agree to proceed by way of scrutiny, the votes are taken. If the Chapter agree to proceed by way of compromise, as heretofore used in Saint Paul's the Canons and Prebendaries agree upon the Dean as Arbiter, upon condition that before he should go from the Chapter House he should choose a fit and lawful man (to whom the major part of the Chapter should seem to incline) as Bishop and Pastor, promising to accept him as Bishop whom the said Arbiter shall think fit to elect. Whereupon the Arbiter accepting the said compromise, he gives his vote and the votes of the rest of his Brethren the Canons and Prebendaries aforesaid, for the Right Reverend Frederick Temple, Doctor in Divinity, now Bishop of Exeter, and thereupon reads and signs the Schedule of Election.

The Dean and Chapter accepting the said Election, and person elected, give power to the Dean to publish, declare, and make known to the Clergy and People the said Election and Person elected, and then grant a proxy to certain persons therein named, to certify the said election, as well to the Lord Bishop elect, with request of his consent, as to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, and also the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Lastly, the Dean duly publishes, declares and makes known the said Election and the person elected.

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